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THE HISTORY OF JAMAICA.

OR,

GENERAL SURVEY OF THE ANTIENT AND MODERN STATE OF THAT ISLAND:

WITH

Reflections on its Situation, Settlements, Inhabitants, Climate, Products, Commerce, Laws, and Government.

IN THREE VOLUMES.

ILLUSTRATED WITH COPPER PLATES.

VOL. II.

—— mea fuit ſemper hâc in re voluntas et ſententia, quemvis ut hoc vellem de iis, qui eſſent idonei ſuſcipere, quàm me;—me, ut mallem, quàm neminem.

CIC. Orat. in CÆCILIUM.

LONDON:
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MDCCLXXIV.

TOPOGRAPHICAL DESCRIPTION OF THE ISLAND.

CHAP. VII.

SECT. I.

JAMAICA is divided into three counties, Middlesex, Surry, and Cornwall. The county of Middlesex contains about 1305235 acres, and has eight parishes, and fourteen towns and hamlets; viz.

Parishes.	Towns.	Hamlets.
St. Catharine,	St. Jago de la Vega,	Passage Fort.
St. Dorothy,	Old Harbour,	Market.
St. John,		
St. Thomas in the Vale.		
Clarendon,		Cross, Chapel.
Vere,		Carlisle Bay.
St. Mary,	Scots Hall Negro Town,	Rio Nuevo, Port Maria, Saltgut.
St. Anne,	St. Anne,	Laughlands, Runaway Bay.

I shall begin with an account of St. Catharine; which, having been the first-inhabited by the English, is entitled to precedence, more especially as it contains the antient metropolis of St. Jago de la Vega, or, as it is commonly called, Spanish Town, the original name being chiefly used in acts of assembly, proclamations, and other public documents. It is situated in about 18° 1′ North la-

titude, and in 76° 45′ longitude, Weſt from London. It ſtands about ten miles Weſtward of Port Royal; eleven from Kingſton, by the way of Paſſage Fort; and about eighteen by the road of Halfway-Tree, in St. Andrew's. It is ſaid by ſome authors to have been founded by Chriſtopher Columbus, whoſe family took the ducal title of la Vega from it. Other accounts, with more appearance of probability, aſſert, that it was built by Diego, the ſon of Chriſtopher, about the year 1520. The accounts given us of its magnitude and opulence are ſtrongly ſuſpected of exaggeration. Some writers inform us, that it contained above two thouſand houſes, ſixteen churches and chapels, and one abbey, before the invaſion under Penn and Venables; and that the Engliſh ſoldiers exerciſed their proweſs againſt theſe edifices with ſo furious a zeal, as to leave only two churches and about five hundred houſes undemoliſhed [*a*]. Other authors, with more appearance of credibility, relate, that it contained one thouſand ſeven hundred houſes, two churches, two chapels, and one abbey: but even this account allows pretty largely for the Spaniſh or white inhabitants; who, according to the moſt certain information of the Engliſh officers who went over with the army, and afterwards ſettled here, did not exceed fifteen hundred: ſo that, if theſe writers are to be believed, the houſes out-numbered the inhabitants. The Engliſh army eſtabliſhed their head-quarters here; and, as they had occaſion for moſt of the houſes that were habitable, we muſt ſuppoſe that they only pulled down thoſe of an inferior claſs, together with the religious edifices, which, as far as their ruins and tradition can afford evidence, conſiſted of an abbey and two churches, the one called the Red, and the other the White Croſs. There is reaſon to believe, that, after the ſeat of government was transferred to Port Royal, the town of St. Jago became thinned of inhabitants, who

[*a*] This is Hickeringell's account. He was the earlieſt writer on the affairs of this iſland, and himſelf in the army at the time of the conqueſt under Venables; but it is poſſible, that he might have eſtimated the number of houſes by conjecture only, or been miſinformed. According to the beſt teſtimonies, the whole Engliſh army, at the time of their entering the town, did not conſiſt of more than about nine thouſand, including a regiment of marines. Allowing therefore ten to each houſe, when they were in quarters (which, conſidering the ſmallneſs of theſe edifices, may be reckoned full ſufficient), the number they ſpared from deſtruction may be ſuppoſed about nine hundred, for the accommodation of the officers and men.

gradually

gradually left it, either to reſide at the new metropolis, or to ſpread themſelves in the country: in conſequence of which, a great many of the Spaniſh houſes were ſuffered to decay; and others were pulled down, to enlarge areas; while ſome were converted into warehouſes and ſtables; ſo that at preſent it does not contain more than between four and five hundred inhabited by white perſons; but, when thoſe inhabited by free Negroes, Mulattoes, and ſlaves, are taken into account, the whole number may be eſtimated at about twelve hundred. The preſent church was erected where the Spaniſh Red Croſs Church formerly ſtood, at the Eaſtern end of the town; the White Croſs ſtood at the Northern extremity, at a ſmall diſtance from the river, on a very agreeable ſpot, which is now occupied with a handſome modern-built houſe. On digging the foundation for this houſe, ſeveral large pieces of wrought ſtone were turned up. They appeared to be of the white lime-ſtone, or ſpecies of ſhell-marble, ſo common in the neighbouring hills, and to have been the lintels of doors or windows belonging to the old church [*b*]. The abbey was ſituated on the South ſide of the parade, where the guard-room and chapel now ſtand, and extended back to the governor's houſe. The baſes of two columns, which once ſupported a large arch-way leading into the abbey, were viſible but a few years ago: they ſtood near the South end of the public offices, were about eight feet ſquare, compoſed of brick-work, cemented with ſo fine a mortar, that in removing them the bricks were all ſhivered in pieces. I have ſeen in this town a great many large ſtone-mouldings, for the baſes and other parts of columns; which, as well as the ſculptures dug out of the ruins of Sevilla Nueva, in St. Anne's, appeared to have been executed by no mean artiſts. The Spaniſh eccleſiaſtics (however blameable in other reſpects) muſt be allowed ſome merit in having cultivated the elegances of architecture in theſe remote parts of the world. Some of their public

[*b*] In blocks of this ſtone, or marble, I have ſeen very perfect ſhells of the Jamaica muſcle and pectina. In ſome parts of the country, where it overſpreads the ſurface, and has ſuffered a torrefaction from the accidental firing of the woods in dry weather, it appears pitted all over; and the little cavities, only divided from each other by ſharp points, theſe have been occaſioned by violent ſhowers falling upon the rock when its face was ſoftened by fire. A gentleman's houſe built of this material, being unfortunately burnt, the walls continued ſtanding till a ſeaſon of heavy rain came on; when they fairly diſſolved into a ſubſtrate of lime.

ſtructures at St. Domingo, the Havannah, La Vera Cruz, Carthagena, Panama, &c. would make a noble figure even in European cities. The fanatic rage, or heedleſs indifference, of the Engliſh who firſt ſettled in Jamaica, occaſioned the ruin of the Spaniſh buildings dedicated to religious uſes here; ſo that poſterity can only form an opinion of their magnificence from ſuch fragments as here and there are to be found in a neglected ſtate, as being of too large dimenſions to be employed in any building of modern ſtyle. In the ſituation of the town, the Spaniſh founder ſhewed a good deal of judgement, but not much regularity in the diſpoſition of the ſtreets; yet it is better laid out than moſt of thoſe in England. That a Weſt-India town ſhould be irregularly planned is, indeed, almoſt inexcuſable, not only on account of health, which ought to be principally regarded, but becauſe it is formed as it were at once. Thoſe in England had not the ſame advantage; they grew for the moſt part from two or three ſolitary cottages, planted by the ſide of ſome road, or at the interſection of croſs-roads, which having been traverſed at firſt without any exactneſs, the ſame meandring lines continued after the ſides of theſe highways were built upon and converted into ſtreets; which name is derived with more propriety from the word *ſtrait*, or narrow, than from *ſtraight* or not crooked, when it is applied to the towns of England. St. Jago ſtands on a rocky ſlope, gradually aſcending from the river Cobre to an extenſive plain, called the Town Savannah; ſo that the rain-water, which ſometimes falls heavily, eſpecially in the ſeaſons, paſſes away with a free current into the river; by which means the town is guarded from many inconveniencies. From Port Royal harbour it is diſtant about ſix miles N. W.; and, the land having an eaſy fall from it to the water-ſide, without any intervening moraſs, it receives the ſea-breeze with little diminution of force or purity. Towards the North it is about two miles from the hills, which ſink ſo much in that direction, in compliance with the courſe of the river, as to give a fine opening from the extenſive vale of Sixteen-mile-walk, and admit the land-wind. The town is about a mile in length, and ſomewhat more than a quarter in breadth, lying longitudinally North and South; and contains about twenty ſtreets and lanes, a ſquare, a church, a chapel, and other public buildings,

ings, which I ſhall particularly ſpeak of. The church is ſituated in the South-Eaſt quarter of the town, near the entrance coming from Paſſage Fort. It is an elegant building of brick, in form of a croſs, conſiſting of four ailes, of which the main aile meaſures one hundred and twenty-nine feet in length, and twenty-nine in breadth. As it is without a tower, the congregation is ſummoned by a ſmall bell hung in a wooden frame, which is erected in the church-yard; the pulpit, pews, and wainſcotting, are of cedar and mahogany; and the ailes for the moſt part paved with marble. The altar-piece is handſome, and adorned with carved work; and the decalogue in gilt letters: fronting it, at the Weſt end of the main aile, is a gallery ſupported on columns, and furniſhed with an exceeding fine organ, which coſt 440*l.* ſterling, and was ſet up in the year 1755. The organiſt has a ſalary of 120*l. per annum* currency, paid by the pariſhioners, and receives other emoluments, his aſſiſtance being generally required at the funeral obſequies even of the free Negroes and Mulattoes buried in this pariſh. The cieling is neatly coved, and graced with two magnificent chandeliers of gilt braſs; and the walls are hung with ſeveral monuments of marble, plain, but well-executed. The governor's pew is diſtinguiſhed from the reſt by being raiſed higher, and crowned with a canopy. The two chandeliers were the gift of private perſons; and part of the communion plate, I have been told, was plundered from a Roman catholic church ſome years ago, at the attack of Port Louis, in Hiſpaniola: it has more of grandeur than elegance in its faſhion. The building was erected in two years, at the parochial expence, on the foundation of the former one, which was irreparably damaged by the hurricane of Auguſt, 1712. About the year 1762 it received a thorough repair, and at preſent yields to none in the iſland for a becoming neatneſs. The proviſion made for the rector conſiſts of a very convenient dwelling-houſe in the town; ſixty acres of rich paſture-land, within a ſmall diſtance of it, the donation of Mr. Edward Morgan in 1674; and upwards of five hundred acres in the neighbourhood, patented in the ſame year "for the uſe of the pariſh of St. "Catharine, towards the maintenance of the miniſter:" but this latter parcel has not as yet been appropriated to the original deſign;

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the different incumbents having been either unwilling or unable, by reaſon of the expence, to diſturb the poſſeſſion of thoſe perſons who have occupied it; though it will ſcarcely admit of a doubt, but that it was meant as a glebe to be annexed to the rectory *in perpetuum*, there being no other aſſigned to the purpoſe. The preſent rector is Doctor Lindſay; the ſtipend is 300*l.* currency *per annum*: but the whole profit of the living has been eſtimated double that ſum at leaſt; for, as the duty is great, the occaſional fees are conſiderable.

The chapel ſtands on the South ſide of the ſquare, near the governor's houſe. It is built much in the ſtyle of the common-halls belonging to the inns of court in London: the walls are crowned with battlements; and on the centre of the roof is a cupola and clock. It was founded juſt after the earthquake of 1692, in a religious panic, during the adminiſtration of Sir William Beeſton. How long it remained conſecrated to pious uſes is uncertain; but the founder, as if conſcious that a wicked race of people would ſucceed, who, forgetful of that calamity, might incline to profane it, cauſed an inſcription, cut in marble, to be fixed up on one end of the building; which denounces a moſt terrible imprecation againſt any perſon or perſons who ſhould dare to put it to any other uſe than that for which it was originally intended. Notwithſtanding this, it was afterwards converted into an arſenal of ſmall-arms, chiefly for the free Negroes and Mulattoes. In the year 1760, it contained two thouſand ſix hundred and ſeventy-two ſtand of firelocks, and three hundred and three brace of piſtols: it generally has a ſtand of about three thouſand; for keeping of which in good order, the aſſembly pay an annual ſalary to an armourer. Adjoining to this ſtructure is the guard-houſe; where a party of regulars are every day on duty to attend the governor. The governor's, or, as it is more uſually called, the king's houſe occupies the whole Weſt ſide of the ſquare. The plan of this pile was deſigned and approved of under the adminiſtration of lieutenant-governor Moore; but the building was not completed till the arrival of his excellency governor Lyttelton in 1762. It was erected, at the ſole charge of the iſland, under the inſpection of Mr. Craſkell, then engineer of Jamaica, and deſigned for the uſual place of reſidence of

of the commander in chief. The expence of building and furniſhing it amounted to near 30,000*l.* currency; and it is now thought to be the nobleſt and beſt edifice of the kind, either in North-America, or any of the Britiſh colonies in the Weſt-Indies. The firſt floor is raiſed about four feet above the ground; the ſecond is an Attic ſtory; the length of the façade is about two hundred feet; and of the whole range, including the yard and offices, about two hundred and ſixty. The cornices, key-ſtones, pediments, copings, and quoins, are of a beautiful free-ſtone, dug out of the Hope river courſe, in St. Andrew's pariſh. The entrance is by a lofty portico, projecting from the middle of the front about fifteen feet, ſupported by twelve columns of Portland-ſtone, of the Ionic order. The pediment which riſes above the Attic ſtory is ſuperb, and very properly ornamented with the imperial arms of Great-Britain, in carved work well-executed. The pavement of the portico is of white marble, the aſcent to which is by a flight of ſteps of the ſame material. This portico gives an air of grandeur to the whole building, and very happily breaks the length of the front. Two principal entrances lead through it into the body of the houſe; the one opens into a lobby, or ante-chamber; the other, into the great ſaloon, or hall of audience, which is well-proportioned, the dimenſions being about ſeventy-three by thirty feet, and the height about thirty-two: from the cieling, which is coved, hang two braſs gilt luſtres. A ſcreen, of ſeven large Doric pillars, divides the ſaloon from an upper and lower gallery of communication, which range the whole length on the Weſt ſide; and the upper one is ſecured with an elegant entrelas of figured iron work. The Eaſt or oppoſite ſide of the ſaloon is finiſhed with Doric pilaſters; upon each of which are braſs girandoles double-gilt; and between each pilaſter, under the windows of the Attic ſtory, are placed, on gilt brackets, the buſts of ſeveral ancient and modern philoſophers and poets, large as life; which being in bronze, the darkneſs of their complexion naturally ſuggeſts the idea of ſo many Negroe Caboceros, exalted to this honourable diſtinction for ſome peculiar ſervices rendered to the country. At the North end, over a door which opens into the lobby, is a ſmall moveable orcheſtra, made to hold a band of muſic on feſtive occaſions. The furniture

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below conſiſts of a great number of mahogany chairs and ſettees, ſufficient to accommodate a large company; this room being chiefly uſed for public audiences, entertainments, balls, and the hearings of chancery and ordinary. At the South end are three folding-doors, opening into a ſpacious apartment, in which, by the governor's permiſſion, the council uſually meet; whence it has received the name of the council-chamber. At this end it was deſigned to place full-length portraits of their preſent majeſties, and likewiſe of the prince of Wales and his late majeſty, between the pilaſters; but I am informed they have not yet been obtained. Above the council-chamber is a banqueting-room, or drawing-room, of the ſame ſize, hung with paper, and neatly furniſhed. This room communicates with the upper gallery and a back ſtair-caſe, and enjoys a view of the ſaloon through ſome windows ranging with thoſe of the Attic ſtory: it is ſeldom uſed, except on public days, and is perfectly well-calculated for the purpoſe. Theſe different apartments take up about one-half of the whole building. The room over the lobby, being ſomewhat darkened by the pediment of the portico, was converted by governor Lyttelton into a chapel, for private devotions. It is neatly fitted up, and with great propriety adapted to this uſe. The Northern diviſion of the houſe conſiſts of three large rooms below, communicating with each other, and with a long gallery; all of which are handſomely furniſhed and well-lighted: this gallery has commonly been uſed either for public ſuppers, when balls were given in the hall, or as a ſheltered and retired walk in wet weather. The upper ſtory is diſpoſed in a ſuite of chambers, divided by a long narrow gallery from a range of ſmaller apartments or cloſets, intended for lodging the governor and part of his houſhold. The two Northernmoſt rooms above and below are provided with a chimney, and all the neceſſary apparatus for a good fire; which in the rainy ſeaſons is healthy and not diſagreeable. In this new building are three ſtair-caſes, all of which are private; a circumſtance, perhaps, overlooked when the plan was drawn, and not more attended to when it came to be executed: yet there is ſufficient ſpace in the lobby for carrying up a very magnificent central one, anſwerable to the other parts of ſo capital a ſtructure; and this no doubt will, ſome time or other, be

added

added, as a neceſſary improvement to compleat it. Behind is a ſmall ſquare garden, laid out in dry walks, and planted with Seville orange, genip, and other fruit-trees, with ſome flowering ſhrubs intermixed; but it is not ſo well cultivated as to merit a further deſcription. Adjoining to it are two little ſquare courts, furrounded with the old buildings, which comprehend ſeveral lodging-rooms, the private ſecretary's office, a large ſervants hall, kitchen, and other convenient offices. South of the whole is a ſpacious area, environed with the ſtables, coach-houſe, granary, &c. and this area communicates with the parade, or great ſquare, by a large gate-way. All the apartments and offices belonging to the houſe are extremely commodious and airy. In ſhort, I believe there is no one of all the colonies where the commander in chief is lodged in a manner more ſuitable to his convenience, and the dignity of his rank. On the oppoſite ſide of the parade, directly fronting the governor's houſe, is a coloſſal building, erected likewiſe by the inhabitants of the iſland at a very great expence: it was begun about ſeventeen or eighteen years ago; but is not yet completed, nor probably ever will be. It puts us in mind of the gentleman's beard, deſcribed by Martial, that grew under the operation of a bungling barber; the half firſt-ſhaved called again for the razor before the other half was finiſhed. This huge pile of brick and mortar is rudely raiſed into two ſtories. Below is an arcade of large extent, of ſixteen circular arches, and one elliptical in the centre, of ruſtic work, upon the top of which is a lofty pediment raiſed upon four Doric columns. The body of the building is retired, to afford an open gallery, ſecured by a balluſtrade, and floored with pitch pine-boards, very badly adapted to the climate, where the rain and ſun are ſo deſtructive to wood-work thus expoſed. The upper ſtory is aſcended by a large ſtair-caſe, which divides from the firſt landing into two branches, both terminating at the two ends of a ſpacious lobby; the South end opens into the aſſembly-chamber and ſpeaker's room; the other end, into the court-houſe and jury-room; and the front, into the gallery. Below are ranged the ſeveral offices of the iſland ſecretary, provoſt-marſhal, regiſter in chancery, and clerks of the crown and court; for the uſe of which, as they coſt ſomewhat annually in repairs, theſe officers pay to the public a certain mo-

derate rent, amounting to much leſs than they would pay, if they were obliged to hire houſes, which formerly was the cuſtom. The offices being thus ſo compactly diſpoſed, and ſo contiguous to the courts of juſtice, a very ſignal convenience reſults to all perſons having buſineſs to tranſact in them. The aſſembly-chamber, or commons-houſe, is about eighty feet in length by about forty. At one end of it a ſort of amphitheatre is raiſed, with mahogany, ſome little elevation above the floor, and lined with ſeats for the members: the ſpeaker's chair is exalted ſtill higher. On the floor is a long table, at which the clerk ſits; and thereon are regularly heaped, during the ſeſſion, ſeveral manuſcript folios of laws, minutes, and votes, the Engliſh ſtatutes at large, votes of the Britiſh houſe of commons, with pens, ink, and paper, for the inſtruction and accommodation of the ſenators. The ſpeaker's room is furniſhed with proper conveniences for the private committees appointed to meet in it. The cieling of the commons-houſe is lofty and vaulted, except the part of it immediately over the ſeats; this is boarded and flat, in order to render the debates more diſtinct and audible. The court-houſe is well-deſigned, and extremely commodious for the judges, jury, barriſters, and other parties that attend it. The doors of the two houſes are directly fronting each other; ſo that, when the ſupreme court is held during the ſeſſion of the aſſembly, the ſpeaker and chief-juſtice are ſeated *vis à vis*: Thus the judges ſeem tacitly admoniſhed to a juſt diſpenſation of the law and their duty; their conduct being amenable to the inquiſition and impeachment of the commons in aſſembly. The two bodies thus circumſtanced, the one met for framing, amending, or repealing, the other for enforcing, expounding, or deciding upon, the laws, afford to the ſpectators a ſtriking picture of the legiſlative and executive departments, as moulded by our happy conſtitution (though here exhibited only in miniature), each harmonizing the other; ever acting and re-acting; various, yet concurrent. This building, which lines one entire ſide of the parade or ſquare, had originally a cupola on the middle of the roof, which gave an appearance of lightneſs and variety to the view; but, having afterwards been found too cumberſome, and productive of ſome inconveniences, it was taken down; by which means, the front ſeems

too

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A View of the King's House and Publ

Published as the Act directs Ju

to face page 10 Vol. II.

L. Bonner, Sculp.

Public Offices at S.t Iago de la Veja.

ects July. 1.st 1774.

too much extended, and has too heavy an aſpect to pleaſe the eye. The brick columns of the arcade are much too maſſive and clumſy, appearing as if they were intended to ſuſtain ſome enormous weight, but hitherto ſupporting only a ſlight floor, which is ſo leaky as not to anſwer the purpoſe of ſcreening the offices and paſſengers underneath from a tranſient ſhower. The pediment in the centre, and the projection of the ſpeaker's and jury rooms at each end, are ſome little relief. But, taking the whole ſtructure together, and reflecting on the vaſt ſums of money that have been thrown away upon it, we may juſtly queſtion, whether conſummate diſhoneſty or ignorance was the chief architect [c].

On

[c] From the grand or ſupreme law-court which is held here (if the *choſe in action* be for a ſum above 300*l.* ſterling), an appeal lies to the court of errors; or, if ſentence of death be paſſed for felony, the appeal is to the governor alone, who for all ſuch crimes, except murder and treaſon, can ratify or annul the judgement of the court as he pleaſes; but, in the two laſt-mentioned caſes, may either reſpite the offender till the royal pleaſure thereupon be known, or order immediate execution. The grand court is held four times a year, each ſeſſion continuing three weeks. Till the year 1758, all cauſes of more than forty ſhillings throughout the iſland were tried in this town; when an act was paſſed for dividing the iſland into three circuits, in each of which aſſizes are held the like number of times in the year. From the courts that are held in Surry and Cornwall, a *venire* lies in ſome caſes to that in Spaniſh Town. All informations upon actions for breach of the laws of trade and navigation, duties, cuſtoms, imports and exports, quit-rents, and eſcheats, are triable in the ſupreme court only. And, in all actions for the property in ſlaves or their freedom, or in ejectment, dower, partition, titles affecting lands or tenements ariſing in the counties of Cornwall or Surry, the judges of the ſupreme court may direct the iſſue to be tried at St. Jago de la Vega by a Middleſex jury. From the grand court the appeal goes on, as before related, to the court of errors; and, after judgement given in the court of errors, the party caſt may travel with his cauſe before the king in council at home: he muſt, indeed, after the deciſion in the court of errors, if it affirms the ſentence of the grand court, pay into the complainant's hands the amount of the action, he giving ſecurity to the defendant for re-payment of it in caſe the ſentence ſhould be reverſed at home.

It is true, that by theſe appeals it has been ſuppoſed that juſtice is more likely to be adminiſtered; but they are nevertheleſs highly prejudicial with regard to the immoderate delay which neceſſarily enſues: for, let the evidence be ever ſo clear and concluſive, an action of debt upon a ſimple bond may be brought by the defendant (after judgement has been obtained upon it in the grand court) before the governor and council in the court of errors; where it may poſſibly ſlumber a whole year, or more, before it can be heard and decided, and before the plaintiff can receive any juſtice or redreſs; for, how deſirous ſoever the governor himſelf may be to haſten judgement, it is not always in his power to do it. He may advertiſe the holding ſuch a court from time to time, but to very little purpoſe, unleſs a quorum of his council are pleaſed alſo to attend and aſſiſt him; who are ſometimes intereſted in the matter in diſpute, either as principals or collaterals, and conſequently ſo far diſqualified to preſide upon it as judges. I have before obſerved on the inconveniences which attend this appeal-court; and ſhall therefore only add, that it has long been the ſincere wiſh of all the inhabitants (except the partizans of knavery and litiga-

On the North ſide of the parade is a ſmall building, called the old court-houſe, where the ſupreme court was formerly held, and the

tion) to ſee it entirely aboliſhed. The judges of the grand court are veſted with the privilege of preſiding either in the Surry or Cornwall courts, as well as that in Middleſex; whereas none of the puiſne judges, who are ſpecially appointed for either of the former, are permitted to ſit in the latter. The number of actions, which in this ſmall community are every year brought before the grand court, will appear almoſt incredible: yet the books of entry in the clerk of the court's office, which are an undoubted authority in this reſpect, ſhew, that there are near four thouſand new ones inſtituted *per annum* upon an average. Hence a conception may be formed of the vaſt quantity of buſineſs tranſacted in this court, and of the emoluments derived from it to the members of the law. Among all the cauſes which lead to the multiplication of this evil, none are more conducive than the following: 1ſt, the fraudulent conduct of executors; 2dly, the transfer of property from hand to hand by exchange of papers; 3dly, the fallacious fixtures of plats by roguiſh or ignorant land-ſurveyors; 4thly, the great delay of juſtice by a multiplicity of appeal-courts; 5thly, expenſive and diſſipated habits of living: of theſe, the laſt-mentioned may be reckoned the principal. Property here is oftener rather nominal than real. A man, in poſſeſſion of an eſtate yielding 2000 *l. per annum*, ſpends as much, and lives as though he actually had a right to a clear income of that amount, notwithſtanding it may be greatly encumbered. The conſequence of this muſt be, that, if he ſpends the whole income at the very time when he owes at leaſt one half of the value of his property, in a very few years he is obliged to part with both the eſtate and income too; eſpecially if any of the uſual caſualties, ſuch as the death of Negroes and cattle, drowth, or floods, ſhould happen to impair it. A wiſe planter, therefore, ſhould never ſpend above one third of his income, nor value his property at a higher proportion. But how precarious ſoever fortunes are in this part of the world, and liable, from various and innumerable cauſes, to ſudden changes, and however frequent ſuch inſtances; yet few here take warning by the fate of others, or ſeem awake to their own danger, till unhappily they experience the ſame themſelves: ſo that we may apply what Juvenal ſaid of Rome in his days:

Hìc ultra vires habitûs nitor; hìc aliquid plus,
Quam ſatìs eſt; interdum alienâ ſumitur arcâ.
Commune id vitium eſt: hìc vivimus ambitioſâ
Paupertate. Sat. iii. v. 179, *et ſequent.*

"—Here attir'd beyond our purſe we go,
"For uſeleſs ornament and flaunting ſhew:
"We take on truſt, in ſilken robes to ſhine,
"Though poor, and yet ambitious to be fine." Dryd.

And this is literally true of us; for we are ſo ambitious to live up to, or rather beyond, the nominal income of our eſtates, that ſometimes a perſon, whoſe produce amounts in groſs to at leaſt ſix or ſeven thouſand pounds a year, is greatly diſtreſſed to pay his taxes, or even to raiſe the ſum of fifty pounds.

In ſhort, ſo numerous are the law-ſuits in the iſland from different cauſes, and the fees paid to council ſo large, that the gentlemen of the bar make ſeveral thouſand pounds *per annum* by their practice; and, in regard to attornies, there are not ſo few as one hundred; ſome of whom, in a few years, acquire very conſiderable fortunes. The evil practices of ſome among them called for a regulation by law. Accordingly, an act of aſſembly, paſſed in 1763, ordains, that none ſhall be admitted to practiſe as ſolicitor or proctor in any court of law or equity in this iſland, without producing his admiſſion as ſuch in Weſtminſter-hall; or court of chancery, king's-bench, common-pleas, or exchequer in Ireland; or unleſs he ſhall have been an articled clerk five years at leaſt to a ſworn-attorney or ſolicitor in Jamaica, and certified upon examination before two barriſters to

be

the governors kept their chancery-ſittings; but, ſince the removal of theſe courts into more convenient places, it is of no further uſe than for every commander in chief, on his firſt arrival in the town, to go into and take the uſual oaths; and at other times for holding elections of the parochial repreſentatives or officers; and, during martial law, as a guard-room for the militia. Adjoining to this ſtructure is a range of building, which fills up this ſide of the ſquare, and comprehends a tavern, a lodging-houſe, and a barber's ſhop; all of which are well ſituated for good buſineſs in their way. Theſe houſes make an appearance that is rather diſgraceful to the other environs of the ſquare. The tavern is an old Spaniſh building, which, tradition ſays, was antiently a ſtable for the mules and horſes belonging to the Spaniſh governor. The ſquare has within it an octagonal incloſure, ſurrounded with a parapet-wall and rails, ſecured at proper diſtances by brick quadrangular columns, crowned with free-ſtone; this was intended as an ornament, but it unfortunately has too much the reſemblance of a cemetery: on two of the ſides are double gates for the convenience of paſſage from the publick offices to the governor's houſe. The original houſe of reſidence for our governors conſiſted partly of the old Spaniſh edifice, and partly of irregular additions made from time to time by Sir William Beeſton and other Engliſh commanders in chief. The Spaniſh hall of audience was compleatly left till the year 1761, when it was entirely pulled down to make room for the preſent building: nothing of art or elegance graced the inſide of this hall: it was lined throughout with boards, or rather planks, unequally hewn with an adze; none of them appearing to have undergone the embelliſhment of the plane; theſe were rudely nailed

be fitly qualified for ſuch profeſſion. So perſons, who have been writers to the ſignet in Scotland for three years, may, upon producing certificate of ſuch ſervice, and going through one year's further clerkſhip in Jamaica, and being approved of upon ſimilar examination, be admitted in like manner. And, to prevent colluſive co-partnerſhips, all partnerſhips, contracted between attornies and ſolicitors, muſt be reduced to writing, duly ſigned, ſealed, and executed, in form, and recorded in the ſecretary's office; and the names of all the partners indorſed on all writs, and other proceſs and proceedings, wherein they may be concerned. And, in order to put a ſtop to frivolous ſuits, it is enacted by another law, that, if the debt and damages to be recovered upon any perſonal action (except for matters affecting titles or intereſt of land, ſlaves, or their freehold or inheritance) appear not to amount to forty ſhillings or upwards, no greater coſts ſhall be allowed to the plaintiff than the ſum of ſuch debt or damages; but leſs may be awarded at diſcretion of the court.

to upright poſts, which ſupported the roof. The poſts were for the moſt part crooked, not even ſquared, and many of them had ſome remnant of their bark; but they retained for the moſt part their primitive ſolidity. The whole of the wood-work, indeed, ſeemed to have paſſed through no other hands than thoſe of a clumſy ſhip-carpenter. The Spaniſh taſte for the elegancies of architecture ſeems to have been reſtricted to their religious ſtructures. They are, however, to be commended for providing all their American towns with a ſquare. The ſquare in this town is not only a decoration, but the means of rendering the governor's houſe, and the courts of juſtice, more airy, pleaſant, and healthful. In the Weſt-quarter of the town ſtand the gaol for the county of Middleſex, a free-ſchool, a poor-houſe, and the ſhambles. The gaol is a ſquare of eighty-five feet, and contains an open area within of about fifty-two: it is under the direction and management of the provoſt-marſhal, or his deputy, who ſometimes is not ſo careful as he ought to be in ordering the apartments to be kept clean and wholeſome: on the contrary, the room appointed for the reception of felons, which runs along one ſide of the court, is ſo loaded with filth in general, as to be perfectly peſtilential, not only to the miſerable wretches who are there confined, but to the poor debtors, who now and then are indulged with liberty of acceſs into the court by way of enjoying a ſhort walk in the open air: add to this, that on the outſide of the wall there is ſuffered a conſtant accumulation of putrid mud and water, ſufficient to poiſon all the neighbouring atmoſphere. In this delightful place of cuſtody debtors and malefactors of all ſorts, all ſexes, and complexions, are promiſcuouſly crowded; a circumſtance highly diſgraceful to the publick humanity, more eſpecially in a country where it is thought politically expedient to maintain a diſtinction between Whites and Negroes. It is therefore not a little aſtoniſhing, that the debtor and the criminal ſhould be huddled together; and that White perſons, who have committed no other offence than that of inſolvency, ſhould be aſſociated with the moſt beſtial and profligate wretches of the Negroe race, as if it was intended to ſhew that incarceration, like death, is a leveler of all diſtinctions. The number of perſons generally in confinement conſiſts of about twelve

twelve Whites and one hundred Negroes. Upon enquiry in 1761, it was found that the whole allowance, given to the debtors for their ſuſtenance, was one pickled-herring and five plantains each *per diem* (value ſeven-pence halfpenny), or two cakes of caſſada-bread in lieu of plantains: this was barely enough to keep life and ſoul together. From this ſpecimen, ſome judgement may be formed of the hardſhips which a malicious creditor may in this country inflict upon his debtor; and it is therefore not in the leaſt ſurprizing, that, to avoid ſuch company, ſuch fare, and abominable lodging, a debtor ſhould run all hazards, and defend himſelf by force and arms, rather than enter into this hole of Calcutta. The laws, however, are rather more favourable here than in England; for a debtor, delivering an account upon oath of all his effects, and having nothing to maintain him, may be let to hire in open court; which is now a mere form, and a mode of his deliverance; and any creditor, diſſenting and inſiſting on his continuance in gaol, muſt pay the debtor a weekly ſubſiſtance of three ſhillings and ſix-pence for ſo long as he remains in dureſſe, which by ſome men of no feeling or principle has often been done. Attempts have been made at different times to enlarge this priſon, and build a diſtinct place of confinement for debtors; but this beneficent purpoſe ſeems to have been defeated by a ſpirit of jealouſy ſubſiſting among the leading gentlemen of the iſland; ſome having indulged a principle of wantonly oppoſing every ſcheme and project offered for the advantage of this devoted town; others eſpouſing an opinion, that the county of Middleſex alone ought to bear ſuch burthens, in which it is pretended that the other two counties are not at all intereſted [*d*]: while thoſe who are of the county are unwilling that the whole expence ſhould be aſſeſſed upon them, inſtead of a general equal taxation; alledging that, this town being the ſeat of government, public offices, and the chief courts of juſtice to which civil and criminal matters are often removed from the other county-courts, the buildings neceſſary to be erected here,

[*d*] Since the above was written, the aſſembly have ſhewn a due humanity to the ſufferings of theſe unfortunate perſons, by purchaſing a piece of land, adjoining to the South part of the gaol, of one hundred and fifty by one hundred and twenty feet, and granting 1000*l.* for incloſing and erecting proper buildings upon it. They have alſo enlarged the debtor's allowance from 7½*d.* to 1*s.* 3*d. per* day.

or ſuſtained for the publick convenience, ought in reaſon to be erected and ſuſtained at the publick charge; and undoubtedly, if the whole iſland is intereſted in what concerns the ſeat of government, records, and juſtice, which it certainly is, there is full as much reaſon for a general tax to rebuild or repair the gaol as to rebuild or repair a houſe of reſidence for the governor. Not far from the gaol ſtands the free-ſchool, built and partly endowed at the expence of Peter Beckford, eſq; formerly lieutenant-governor of the iſland, who left by will 1000*l.* currency; which ſum was borrowed by the public, and 10*l.* *per cent* intereſt allowed ever ſince for the purpoſe of better ſupporting it: augmentations have alſo been made by other legacies; ſo that the whole income at preſent is 190*l.* *per annum*, of which the maſter annually receives 140*l.* and the ſurplus is lodged in the hands of the treaſurer, ſubject to ſuch uſes as the governors (conſiſting of the whole legiſlative body of the iſland, the judges of the ſupreme court, and the rector of this pariſh for the time being) may think fit to direct. This foundation was incorporated by an act of aſſembly, and deſigned for the inſtruction of a certain number of boys, the offspring of poor parents, in reading, writing, grammar, arithmetic, and other mechanical and practical knowledge. It has generally from twenty-five to thirty poor boys; and, if it was well regulated, it might prove an uſeful ſeminary; ſuch an education being ſufficient to qualify the boys for a variety of profitable employments in the iſland: but it may be pronounced of this, as of many other charities of the like kind, that as yet it has ill-anſwered the intent of its founder. Near the ſchool is the ſhambles or market-houſe, where the butchers meat ſlaughtered in this town is by law appointed to be ſold. It is under the direction of an officer, who receives a yearly ſtipend as clerk of the market. His buſineſs is, firſt, to ſee that the meat expoſed to ſale is ſound and fit for uſe; and, if he finds it otherwiſe, he is to cauſe it to be immediately burnt. He is likewiſe to prove all the ſcales and weights uſed here and in the different ſhops within the town; and, on diſcovering any fraud or deficiency, he may levy the penalty impoſed by law. He has a power too of arbitration in all diſputes that may happen between buyer and ſeller relative to weighing of meats and

other goods. There is a further power likewiſe veſted in him of more importance than all the reſt; which is, to ſee that no butcher exacts more for his meat than the prices ſettled by law; but this part of his duty has never of late years been complied with. The common prices of moſt kinds of meat ſold here are now generally double what the law has allowed; and little notice is taken of it. The market for butchers meat begins at day-break, and is uſually over by eight o'clock in the morning. The Jews have a butcher of their own, who ſlaughters and diſſects in the Moſaic manner; the ſecret of which ſeems chiefly to conſiſt in his choice of the fatteſt, fineſt ſubjects. The hoſpital is a ſmall diſtance from the market-place. It was founded by the charitable legacies and donations of well-diſpoſed perſons, and calculated for the reception of tranſient poor perſons; who are lodged, cloathed, fed, and properly taken care of: and a gentleman of the faculty is paid an annual ſalary by the public, for attending their ſick, and furniſhing them with ſuitable medicines. The barracks for the regular troops are ſituated in the Southern quarter of the town, on an airy, healthful ſpot. The front is a lofty brick-building, of two ſtories. Behind it is a ſpacious ſquare court, ſurrounded with ſhed-rooms: they are capable of holding three hundred men; but, the accommodations deſigned for the officers having proved extremely improper for the purpoſe, the men are too much left without a due controul, moſt of their principal officers having lodgings provided for them at ſome diſtance in the town; ſo that, for want of their reſidence in the barracks, the privates have often committed riots, and other miſdemeanors at night, in the neighbourhood. Yet there is a very commodious unoccupied ſpace adjoining, where proper apartments might be built for the officers; in conſequence of which, the diſcipline of theſe troops would be much better kept up, and a final ſtop put to ſuch enormities. Their hoſpital ſtands on the Eaſt ſide of the town, near the river, in a very ill-judged ſituation; for the ſupport of which building, and neceſſaries for their ſick, the aſſembly makes every year an ample proviſion. Near it is the powder magazine belonging to the town; built of brick, and capable of holding fifty barrels; this is conſtantly guarded by a centinel. Juſt acroſs the river, a ſmall diſtance from

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this place, is a look-out, called Beacon hill, which had formerly a ſtaff and colours raiſed upon it, for the purpoſe of giving alarm. As there is a very extenſive view from the ſummit, commanding the harbour of Port Royal, and the Eaſtern ſhip-channel, in the offing, this appears the moſt proper ſcite for erecting a fortreſs, if one ſhould ever be thought neceſſary for better defending the town. At preſent, here is neither fort nor battery; all its defence conſiſts in fourteen or fifteen ſmall braſs field-pieces, honey-combed with age, and committed to the care of a captain, a lieutenant, and a company of matroſſes, all of the militia; who flaſh a little powder from this train of artillery, to announce the royal birth-day, and a few other joyous occaſions [z]. Beſides theſe, are two or three companies of regulars, and five or ſix of horſe and foot militia, a medley of Chriſtians, Jews, Pagans, Negroes, and Mulattoes. The Jews, who are numerous here, have a convenient burial-ground walled in, at ſome diſtance out of the town; and a ſynagogue in the Eaſtern quarter, not far from the river: this place of worſhip has ſeveral well-adapted ornaments. Here they aſſemble, and read a portion of the Law and the Prophets every ſabbath-day. They obſerve moſt of their antient feaſts and faſts; and marry, circumciſe, and bury, according to the cuſtom of their fore-fathers. Some of them are good men, and do many benevolent actions to Gentiles as well as their own fraternity; but much the greater part of them (I fear) are very ſelfiſh and tricking, fraudulent in their trade, and rigid in their tranſactions, not only with Chriſtians, but with one another. Of the houſes erected by the Spaniards before the Engliſh conqueſt, upwards of fifty are ſtill remaining, very little the worſe for time or weather. We are not informed of the particular time when they were built. The town was twice taken; firſt, by Sir Anthony Shirley in 1592; and afterwards by colonel Jackſon, about the year 1638; but hiſtory does not men-

[z] It deſerves the attention of the legiſlature, whether their procuring a new train of field-pieces, of moderate ſize, and a company of ſkilful European matroſſes, would not be of the utmoſt importance to the defence of the iſland. Whoever has read the progreſs made in Hindoſtan, by a handful of European troops, cannot but be aſtoniſhed at the victories they gained againſt ſuch unequal numbers, and ſolely by the right management of their artillery. A ſmall body of men, with ſuch a bulwark, may reſiſt all the efforts of fifty times their number, who have no artillery: and it is no leſs ſerviceable in an open plain, than in defending a paſs.

tion that they deſtroyed the houſes. It is pretty certain they ought to be regarded as antient, as it is now near one hundred and twenty years ſince the invaſion under Venables. Their duration for ſo long a time in defiance of earthquakes and hurricanes, ſome of which, ſince the Engliſh ſettled here, have been ſo violent as to demoliſh ſeveral more modern buildings, is a demonſtrative proof of the Spaniſh ſagacity, and affords an uſeful leſſon to the Engliſh inhabitants; for although theſe houſes are inconveniently ſmall, yet this can be no objection to the method of ſtructure, ſince it would be eaſy to enlarge the plan, by lengthening the front, or by building three ſides of a ſquare after the Eaſtern manner, which allows ſufficient range for a great variety of apartments. The Spaniards had to guard againſt the ſudden concuſſion of earthquakes, the impetuoſity of hurricanes, the drift of the heavy periodical rains, and the heat of the ſun. We find their houſes excellently well contrived to anſwer theſe different purpoſes; with the further merit, that the materials of which they are built were cautiouſly prepared in ſuch a manner as to become extremely durable. A certain number of poſts of the hardeſt timber, generally *lignum vitæ*, brazilletto, or fuſtick, of about eighteen feet in length, and ſix to eight inches diameter, being firſt well-ſeaſoned and hardened in ſmoak, were fixed at proper diſtances to the depth of two or three feet in the ground; then a wall of brick, incloſing theſe poſts, was carried up with very ſtrong mortar to the plate, which was pinned with wooden ſpikes to the tops of the poſts. The main rafters were ſmall, but, being of the like hard wood, and perfectly well-ſeaſoned, were ſufficiently ſtrong: theſe were likewiſe pinned upon each other, and at their angle of interſection at top formed a crutch, to receive the ridge-pole. The ſmaller rafters were of the leſſer ebony trees, ſtript of their bark, hardened in ſmoak, notched at bottom, and being placed at the diſtance of about eighteen inches from each other, were pinned to the plate. Athwart theſe ſmall rafters, a ſtratum of the wild cane (*arundo Indica Bambu ſpecies*), previouſly ſmoaked, was tied on by way of wattling, with ſtraps made of the bark of the mohoe or mangrove trees. Upon theſe wattles, ſome mortar was laid, to the thickneſs of about four inches; and the whole covered with large

pantiles, well bedded in. The thickneſs of theſe roofs, from the outward ſhell or tile-covering, to the ceiling within, was about eight or ten inches. A canopy of ſo ſolid a texture was certainly well contrived to ſhelter the inhabitants from the diſagreeable effects of a vertical ſun; and accordingly it is found by experience, that theſe old Spaniſh houſes are much cooler than our modern ones, covered with ſhingles (or ſlips of wood half an inch thick, formed like ſlates), which are not only very ſubject to be ſplit in nailing, and ſo create leaks, but are not ſolid enough to exclude the ſun's impreſſion, nor lie ſo compact as to prevent a ſpray from being driven in by the wind in heavy ſhowers, which occaſions a moiſt and unwholeſome atmoſphere within doors. Beſides, theſe ſhingled tenements are very hot in the day-time, and cool at night; whereas the Spaniſh houſes preſerve a more equal temperament of air by day and by night. Their materials preſerve them greatly from accidents by fire; and, conſidering their ſtability, they ſeem to be the cheapeſt and beſt-contrived kind of buildings for this iſland. It is plain, therefore, that the Engliſh, in neglecting theſe uſeful models, and eſtabliſhing no manufacture of tiles, but erecting lofty houſes after the models in the mother-country, and importing an immenſe quantity of North-American ſhingles every year for covering new roofs, and repairing old ones, conſult neither their perſonal ſecurity, their convenience, their health, nor the ſaving of a moſt unneceſſary expence [f].

The chief error the Spaniards committed in their buildings was the placing their ground-floors too low: theſe were nearly on a level with the ſurface of the earth out of doors, or at moſt raiſed only a few inches higher. Some of their houſes in the town have, indeed, acquired a raiſed foundation in the courſe of time; for, the torrents of rain having gradually waſhed and hollowed the ſtreets

[f] It is remarked by Ulloa, that the walls of Caxamarca (an Indian town in Peru), and of ſeveral houſes in the neighbouring vallies, although built on the very ſuperficies of the earth without any foundation, have withſtood thoſe violent earthquakes which overthrew the more ſolid buildings of Lima, and other large towns, erected by the Spaniards. Experience inſtructed the natives, that, in parts ſo liable to earthquakes, it was improper to dig a foundation in order to ſtrengthen the walls. He mentions it as a tradition, that, when the newly-conquered Indians ſaw the Spaniards ſink foundations for their lofty buildings, they laughed, and told them, "they were "digging their own graves;" inſinuating, that earthquakes would bury them under the ruins of their houſes; a prophecy which has been moſt fatally verified in the ſequel.

in

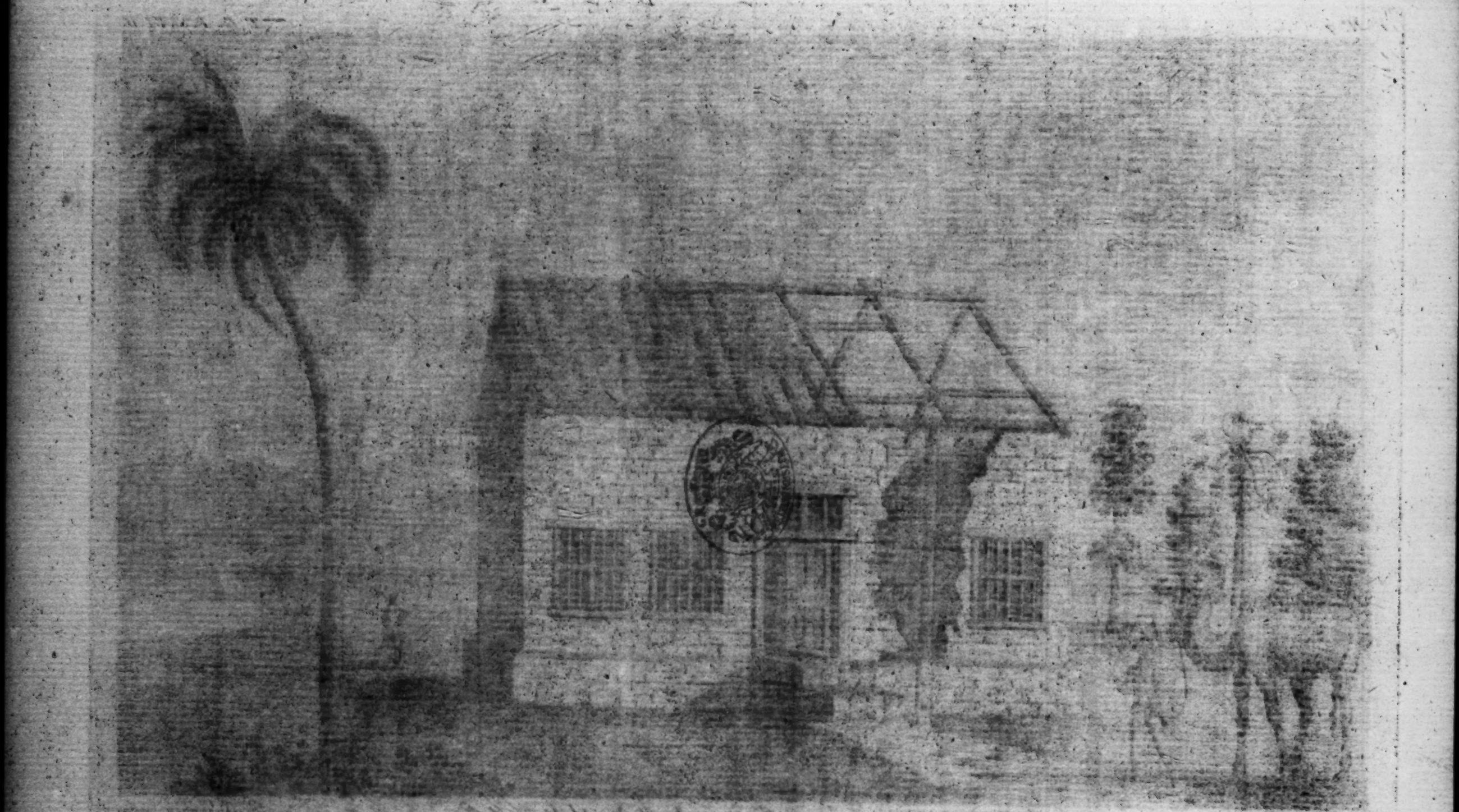
N.° 7

To face P. 20. Vol. II.

View of a Spanish Building.

R. B. Godfrey sculp.

Published as the Act directs 1.st June 1774.



in ſome parts lower and lower, the ſucceſſive inhabitants of theſe houſes were obliged to add a foundation where the water had undermined the walls, and from time to time, as the earth happened to be ſwept away; ſo that the foundations of many of theſe antient piles have in fact been laid long ſince the ſuperſtructure. Their houſes had no piazzas originally: the Engliſh made theſe additions, in order to render them more cool and pleaſant. But they have been attended with ſome inconvenience in another reſpect; for, the ſtreets being laid out, ſome of thirty, and others not exceeding forty, feet in breadth, theſe ſheds incroach ſo far on each ſide, that the midway is too narrow, and liable to obſtruct carriages. The Engliſh in general have copied the ichnography of the Spaniſh houſes with great uniformity [g]. They are, for the moſt part, diſpoſed in three diviſions: the centre room is a hall, communicating at each end with a bed-chamber; the back part, uſually a ſhed, is divided in the ſame manner, and communicates with the front, or principal hall, by an arch, which in ſome houſes is wainſcotted with mahogany, in others covered only with plaiſter. They are ſmall, and rather inconvenient for a family, eſpecially when it conſiſts of ſix or ſeven perſons. Great alterations have, however, been made by the Engliſh inhabitants; and ſeveral of theſe old houſes have received very conſiderable additions, which make them more roomy and commodious. In the piazzas many families may be ſaid to live the greater part of their time; the ſhade and refreſhing breeze inviting them to employ moſt hours there, that are not devoted to eating, drinking, and ſleeping; nor can there be a more agreeable indulgence enjoyed by the maſter of the houſe, than to ſit in an elbow-chair, with his feet reſting againſt one of the piazza-columns; in this attitude he converſes, ſmoaks his pipe, or quaffs his tea, in all the luxury of indolence. Almoſt every dwelling-houſe throughout the iſland is detached from the kitchen and other offices; which, though different from the practice in England, is a very judicious arrangement for this climate, where the fumes and ſmoak of the kitchen, and the ſtench of other neceſſary offices, would be intolerable in too near a neighbourhood. But few of the inhabitants are curious in the decorations of their

[g] See Plate IV.

apartments;

apartments; the halls are ſeldom adorned with any thing better than a large pier-glaſs or two, a few prints, or maps: the greateſt expence is beſtowed upon the arch of the principal hall, which is generally of mahogany, and in ſome houſes well-executed. They have for the moſt part fluted pilaſters, ſupporting a regular entablature, ornamented with modillons, dentils, &c. But it is more frequent to behold all the orders of architecture confuſedly jumbled together. The windows of the Spaniſh houſes were generally made with little turned pillars, placed upright, and ſhutters on the inſide. However convenient theſe might have been for the conſtant admiſſion of air, they are at preſent almoſt totally exploded, and ſaſhes more generally in uſe: to which are added jealouſy-ſhutters, or Venetian blinds, which admit the air freely, and exclude the ſun-ſhine. It is but of late, that the planters have paid much attention to elegance in their habitations: their general rule was, to build what they called a *make-ſhift*; ſo that it was not unuſual to ſee a plantation adorned with a very expenſive ſet of works, of brick or ſtone, well-executed; and the owner reſiding in a miſerable, thatched hovel, haſtily put together with wattles and plaiſter, damp, unwholeſome, and infeſted with every ſpecies of vermin. But the houſes in general, as well in the country-parts as the towns, have been greatly improved within theſe laſt twenty years. The furniture of ſome of them is extremely coſtly; and others conſtructed in ſo magnificent a ſtyle, and of ſuch durable materials, as to ſhew that they were not intended for a mere temporary reſidence.

It might not be foreign to the ſubject here to remark, that, by the general uſe of ſhingle coverings throughout the Northern and Weſt-India colonies, and the utter neglect of planting young trees in the room of what are cut down for this manufacture, it is very certain, that they will every year grow dearer to the ſugar iſlands, and that the price may increaſe, till the people of Jamaica will be forced either to employ their own growth of timber for this uſe, or fall upon tile-making. The builders, therefore, of new houſes, or works, ſhould conſider this, and make their walls of a due thickneſs to ſuſtain ſuch an additional weight hereafter.

SECT.

SECT. II.

THE river Cobre, which waſhes the foot of the town on the Eaſt, takes its ſource near Luidas, and about twenty-two miles North-weſt from the town, riſing in a cave, called River-head, and ſuppoſed by many to have a ſubterraneous communication with Pedro's river, which is diſtant from it about ſix miles Weſt. The Cobre likewiſe buries great part of its waters, and does not form any conſiderable ſtream till it has run ſome diſtance from the cave. It is afterwards joined by the Rio Magno, Rio d'Oro, and Rio Pedro, with ſome ſmaller ſtreams; ſo that, on reaching the town, it is from ſixty to eighty feet in breadth, and in ſeveral places very deep, but in others generally fordable, unleſs ſwelled with the heavy rains which ſometimes fall in the mountains above. Its bed, where it ranges near the town, is depreſſed and lowly, the water being in general not diſcernible beyond the verge of its banks. The current here is rapid, though almoſt ſilent. It is of unſpeakable ſervice to this neighbourhood, not only in its conſtant ſupply of water, for the uſe of the town, but in promoting cleanlineſs and health; for every day throughout the year ſome hundred Negroes and Mulattoes of both ſexes reſort to it from the town, to waſh their perſons and linen.

It has been imagined, that the Spaniards gave it the name of the Copper river, from its paſſing through a vein of that metal. But it is more probable, that they chriſtened it after a ſimilar name of ſome river in Old Spain, as they are known to have done in regard to many others, and in particular the Rio Minho, in the pariſh of Clarendon. Beſides, although its water appears to have a fine blueiſh tinge, eſpecially where it runs between the two ranges of hills proceeding from Sixteen-mile-walk, which has confirmed many in their opinion of its being tinctured with copper; yet this appearance is nothing more than a common deception, cauſed by the azure of the ſky reflected from the ſurface of the water, and remarkable chiefly where it is deepeſt, the current moſt gentle, and conſequently the ſurface extremely ſmooth, and therefore in the

fitteſt ſtate to reflect images; and to this effect the great height and vicinity of the incloſing ridges very much contribute [*b*]. It is ſtrange, indeed, that the experiment, tried upon it ſo long ago by Sir William Beeſton, has not corrected this popular error; for he found, that with an infuſion of galls the water acquired a deep green inclining to black [*i*]. But the moſt certain teſt of an intermixture of copper is made with the cauſtic *volatile alkali*, as ſpirit of *ſal ammon.* combined with quick lime-water; theſe, if the ſmalleſt particles of copper be diſſolved, would cauſe the whole to aſſume a beautiful blue colour. This experiment was tried ſome years ſince by Doctor Browne, without producing any ſuch effect. Now, as the teſt of an iron impregnation is the black or duſky colour it ſtrikes with the vegetable aſtringents, ſuch as tincture of galls, and as the *foſſile alkali* will give a greeniſh caſt, it ſeems probable that this river is impregnated with no other metal than iron, and with a copious admixture of a calcareous earth, or lime. The purgative quality of the water, when drunk immediately from the river, is very properly conjectured by Doctor Browne to proceed from the clay with which it is in general copiouſly charged; becauſe it loſes this quality when ſettled in jars and cleared of its load; which would not be the caſe if it proceeded from ſalts, or a ſolution of metals; and becauſe many other waters, of ſimilar appearance, poſſeſs the like qualities in their turbid ſtate, though known to be not impregnated with metallic ſubſtances. Agreeably to this opinion, it is found by the inhabitants of the town, who keep this water in large jars, that, after ſtanding for ſome time till the foeculencies have ſubſided, it entirely loſes the effect juſt mentioned, and becomes as clear, ſoft, and pleaſant, in its depurated ſtate, as any water in the world. In this ſtate it was tried by an hydroſtatical apparatus, and found equal in lightneſs to Briſtol Hot-well water. We may therefore ſafely conclude, that it has been very unjuſtly ſtigmatized; and that, if the Spaniards ſuppoſed it impregnated with copper, they adopted this miſtaken notion

[*b*] So Virgil calls the river Tyber *cæruleus*, azure, or ſky-coloured. Æn. viii. v. 64.——Some have conjectured, that the original name was Rio Cobra, from the Portugueſe *cobra*, which ſignifies a ſnake, and might with great propriety allude to the ſerpentine courſe of this river.

[*i*] An infuſion of galls in water, impregnated with copper and quick lime, ſtruck an orange colour inclining to reddiſh.

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through ignorance of the means by which its contents might be diſcovered. In Old Spain the water is remarkably light, pure, and wholeſome: to this, and the ſerenity of the air, it is attributed that the Spaniards are free from the ſcurvy, notwithſtanding their indulgence in pork, the leaſt perſpirable of all animal food. The Spaniards in America are therefore (from a national prejudice) particularly nice in the choice of their water, which forms the chief of their daily beverage. It is not improbable, what I have heard ſome of the oldeſt inhabitants of St. Jago relate, that the Spaniards formerly here uſed to be at the trouble of procuring water, for their common drink, from the Bridge river, ſix miles Weſtward from the town; and that all of them kept their drinking-water in large jars, ſo many in number as to have always one ſufficiently clear for uſe, while others were in the courſe of depuration. The river Cobre, having a free current from the town to the harbour of Kingſton, uninterrupted by rocks or falls, and flowing through a pretty level, open country, might undoubtedly be made navigable up to it by means of locks; but the expence of ſuch an undertaking, and the ſhort diſtance of land-carriage, are objections that may probably reſtrain the inhabitants from ever attempting it. The river abounds with excellent mullets, mud-fiſh, eels, calapever, jew-fiſh, craw-fiſh, and prawns. It has only one bridge, which croſſes it in the road leading towards Sixteen-mile-walk. This bridge is flat, and compoſed of planks on a frame of timber-work, which reſts upon two ſexangular piers, and two buttreſſes projecting from the banks, conſtructed with piles, and braces interlaced with maſonry. In great floods, the river has been known to riſe ſeveral feet above the floor without injury, notwithſtanding the vaſt preſſure of ſo large a column of water. This is aſcribed to the reſiſtance of the water below or under the flooring, which enables it to ſuſtain this weight above. In the year 1699, an arched bridge of brick was conſtructed ſome miles below the town, in order to keep open the communication by land with Kingſton; but, for want of a proper foundation, it was ſoon ſwept away by a flood, and never ſince re-built. Attempts have lately been made to get an act paſſed for building one at the publick expence, and more conveniently ſituated; but, through

ſame ſpirit of jealouſy which I have before noticed, and the diſinclination of many to conſider it as a matter of general benefit to the iſland, the ſcheme was laid aſide [k]. So that perſons, travelling by land to and from Kingſton, or the Eaſtern diviſion of the iſland, are obliged to ford or ferry over the river, and very frequently at the peril of their lives. Ridiculous as the prejudices of faction are in ſo ſmall a community, yet they are capable of producing miſchievous effects. Publick ſpirit, and a liberal way of thinking, naturally tend to the ornament and improvement of every country where they reſide. The contrary, or a perverſe and ſelfiſh principle, excludes every thing that is great and generous from its narrow view, and wages eternal war againſt the public welfare. I am ſorry to ſay the latter rule of conduct has been too predominant in this iſland; but we will hope for a time when good ſenſe and rectitude of heart ſhall triumph over this falſe and groveling policy. The ſtreets of the town, I have remarked, are rendered inconveniently narrow by piazzas added to moſt of the houſes; the worſt effect ariſing from their want of due breadth is a great increaſe of heat during the ſultry months of the year, the wind not having ſpace enough to circulate freely through them, and diſperſe the confined air, which becomes very diſagreeable from the reflection of ſo many brick walls. They are repaired with pebbles brought from the river-courſe, which prevents their being clogged with mud, as ſome other towns of the Weſt-Indies are, and anſwer the end of a regular pavement, by not admitting the rain-water to ſtagnate. They are kept tolerably clean by a publick ſcavenger, paid by an annual aſſeſſment on the houſes; and the filth collected from them is removed to certain places appointed on the outſide of the town.

The church-yard, being ſituated in the windward part of the town, is very injudiciouſly allotted for the common burial-ground. Dry weather occaſions numberleſs chaſms in it; and the wet, which uſually ſucceeds, inſinuating through theſe apertures into the graves,

[k] It is true, an act was paſſed in 1767, and truſtees named for carrying it into execution. But, as this act only empowered them to receive 5000 *l.* from any perſons inclined to contribute towards it by voluntary ſubſcription, it ſeems to have given no other power than what might have been exerciſed without it.

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there is reaſon to believe, that noxious exhalations muſt ariſe from them, which cannot fail of rendering the atmoſphere unwholeſome to ſuch houſes as lie in a proper direction to receive them. In the hot months, particularly June, another annoyance happens from the duſt; which, by the power of the ſea-breeze, generally violent at that time of the year, is blown into the houſes in ſuch abundance, as to be exceedingly troubleſome, and occaſion ſore eyes: the particles are ſo ſubtle, that it is very common to ſee a dining-table, which has been perfectly clean before the cloth was laid, appear entirely covered with a fine powder upon removing it. The inhabitants, if they ſhut their doors and windows, are almoſt ſuffocated with heat; and, if they ſuffer them to continue open, they are in danger of being ſtifled with duſt; but, neceſſity obliging them to the latter expedient, they ſwallow it copiouſly with their food. Theſe annoyances might attract compaſſion, if they were not eaſily remediable: the firſt, by taking in a new burial-ground a little to leeward of the town; the next, by making uſe of water-carts, to ſprinkle the ſtreets, once or oftener in the day, during that time of the year when the duſt has been found moſt troubleſome: ſo fine a river gliding under the town ſeems, indeed, to point out this experiment to them ſo obviouſly, that it is aſtoniſhing they have hitherto neglected it. The air of the town has always been eſteemed healthy. But it is on the decreaſe with reſpect to inhabitants. It appears, from the regiſter of marriages, births, and burials, that, from 1670 to 1700, the town and pariſh contained above four times more white perſons than at preſent. They have even diminiſhed ſince the year 1746, as will appear by the following average-table of burials from that year to 1756:

	White Refiants.	White Paupers and Tranſients.	Soldiers.	Free Blacks and Mulattoes,	Total.
Average *per annum* of Deaths,	61	12 3/9	15	16 1/9	104 6/9

According to the above table, the whole number of Whites, excluſive of Jews, was probably about two thouſand, or near ſix hundred more than the preſent. From the beſt accounts it appears, that the average of marriages, baptiſms, and funerals, ſtands thus:

Marriages,	— 14	per annum.
Baptisms,	— 80	
Funerals,	— 100	

Of the baptisms, not above one-third are Whites; the marriages include all ranks and complexions; but the ſoldiers, paupers, tranſients, and free Blacks and Caſts, make up the greateſt part of the burials. Hence it appears, that the marriages, and conſequently the births, are in no proportion to the deaths; and the decreaſe of people may from this cauſe be very naturally accounted for. The number of the inhabitants in this pariſh may be thus eſtimated, viz.

Reſiant Chriſtian Whites in the Town.	Ditto in the Country.	White Paupers and Tranſients.	Soldiers, including Wives and Children.	Jews.	Free Blacks and Caſts.
700	308	176	240	350	900
Deaths annually, about 1 in 24		1 in 22	1 in 16	1 in 26	1 in 26

Inhabitants.	In Town.	In the Country.	Total in the Pariſh, of all Complexions.
Chriſtian Whites,	700	308	
Paupers and Tranſients,	176		
Soldiers, &c.	240		
Jews,	300	50	
Free Blacks and Caſts,	800	100	
Slaves,	1960	5348	
	4176	5806	9982

The regiſters in this pariſh have, like moſt of the others in the iſland, been very incorrectly kept. They are, however, tolerably perfect from 1669 to 1702, and from 1746 to the preſent time. The want of due regularity prevents them in general from being uſeful for grounding calculations of this ſort. If the ſeveral rectors had been obliged to enter atteſted copies of their regiſters once a year in the ſecretary's office, we ſhould have poſſeſſed very competent information upon this ſubject.

The Jews here are remarkably healthy and long-lived, notwithſtanding their diet is frequently ſalt-fiſh, and ſuch kind of aliment, not generally eſteemed very wholeſome; and that the greater number of them deal in damaged ſalt-butter, herrings, beef, cheeſe,

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and in train-oil; a congregation of ſtinking commodities, which is enough to poiſon the air of their habitations. Their ſhops may be ſcented at a great diſtance; and, in what is called the Jew-market in this town, a whole ſtreet of their houſes reeks inceſſantly with theſe abominable odours. But theſe people are abſtemious, and ſo temperate, that a drunken Jew is rarely ſeen. They are particularly nice in drinking the pureſt water, which moſt of them uſe unmixed; and others make only a very ſmall addition of rum. They are exceedingly fond of garlic, which generally has a place in all their ſauces, and is known to be a great antiſeptic; and they indulge in chocolate. The more luxurious among them gormondize chiefly on fiſh; and no doubt but their religious faſts, of which they are very rigid obſervers, now and then interpoſing, aſſiſt in freeing them from noxious redundancies. I think they may be ſuppoſed to owe their good health and longevity, as well as their fertility, to a very ſparing uſe of ſtrong liquors, their early riſing, their indulgence in garlic and fiſh, their adherence to the Moſaic Ritual in the choice of ſound and wholeſome animal food, their free uſe of ſugar, chocolate, and nouriſhing fruits, their religious purifications, and faſts. The free Negroes and Mulattoes fare rather harder in reſpect of eating, and are not ſo averſe to ſpirituous liquors; for both men and women are frequently intoxicated; but their way of life is more laborious; they are more abroad in the open air, which renders them hardier; and their occupations or amuſements give them ſuch conſtant exerciſe, as to keep them from ſuffering by repletion; beſides, their diet conſiſts chiefly of nouriſhing broths, in which pulſe and vegetables are principal ingredients. They too are very fond of good water and chocolate; they indulge in ſmoaking tobacco, devour large quantities of pepper ſuch as this country produces, and ſeldom let a day paſs without bathing, and ſcouring their ſkins. Their bodies and conſtitutions ſeem peculiarly adapted to a hot climate; yet, perhaps, they owe their health not more to this adaptation, than to their mode of living; ſince it is certain, that the native Whites in this iſland, I mean ſuch of them as are not addicted to drunkenneſs, nor have any hereditary diſtemper, are equally healthy and long-lived.

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The greater mortality, obſervable here among the ſoldiers and tranſient Europeans, muſt be aſcribed to their importing with them the Engliſh cuſtoms of eating and drinking in exceſs, but chiefly the latter; and their liberal indulgence in a vile ſophiſticated compound of new rum, pepper, and other ingredients, brewed here by the Jew-retailers; who, as they pay a tax on their licences, and a duty on the rum they retail, have recourſe to this villainous practice, in order to enhance their profit upon the miſerable conſumers, who are chiefly the ſoldiers, and meaner claſs of Whites. That this has been, and is ſtill, the main cauſe of bad health among the troops is evident; for, when they are in quarters not locally unwholeſome, and where they cannot get at it, they are known to be very healthy. If the ſpirit was even ſold to them without this adulteration, it could not fail of producing fatal effects; for the Jews could not afford to keep it ſo long on hand, as to become what is called old rum, and then retail it at their uſual low price. They would therefore ſell it freſh from the ſtill; in which ſtate it is ſo fiery, as to be no leſs unfit for human potation, than burning brimſtone; yet ſome of the ſoldiers have been known to drink off a bottle of it at one ſitting. The officers have often attempted to check this evil, by puniſhing the delinquents; but a more certain method would be by prevention. The common ſoldiers, employed in the Weſt-India ſervice, or at leaſt the recruits ſent over, have frequently been the very refuſe of the Britiſh army: theſe men cannot be broke of their ſottiſh habits; but, ſince they muſt and will have ſpirituous liquor, care might be taken to provide them with ſuch as, while it gratifies their inclination, may be the leaſt detrimental to their health. The commanding officer, (for example) in town might appropriate a certain part of their country pay, and lay in every year a ſtock of the beſt rum, free from all bad taſte and ſmell, and permit it to be retailed by a ſutler to the men; taking care, that none ſhould be iſſued of leſs than a twelvemonth's age, and limiting the price to what they now pay the Jew-retailers, which could very well be afforded, as the ſoldier's rum is exempted from all duty. The ſutler choſen for this purpoſe would no doubt be a man on whoſe ſobriety and honeſty they could ſafely depend; at leaſt, ſhould he be guilty of

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breach of his truſt, he would be liable to a regimental puniſhment. The terror of this would form a ſecurity for his good behaviour; the men would be much better pleaſed, and beyond any doubt more healthy.

The town is partly under a civil and partly military police; a kind of *diviſum imperium*, which the civil power exerciſes by day, and the military by night. The civil government conſiſts of a *cuſtos*, or chief magiſtrate, and the inferior juſtices of peace and conſtables. The centinels here, after the day is cloſed, according to an antient uſage, which has ſubſiſted ever ſince the days of Cromwell, challenge all paſſengers, as in a regular garriſon, and patrol the ſtreets at certain hours, to apprehend all offenders againſt the peace, and prevent robberies. It is a certain proof of the more regular lives of the families here, as well as in Kingſton, than heretofore, that at eleven o'clock at night it is very rare to ſee a light in any houſe, except the taverns; and even theſe are now very ſeldom infeſted with riots and drunken quarrels, which formerly were ſo common. The town was antiently a regular garriſon, the ditch ſtill remaining which was thrown up by the Spaniards towards the ſavannah, and terminated at a baſtion flanked with a fortified building, called the Fort-houſe, the name of which is ſtill preſerved. The plain, of which the ſavannah is a part, extends, in its whole length, not leſs than twenty-two miles; but its breadth is unequal, being in ſome parts ten miles, in others five; and, towards St. Dorothy's, grows more and more contracted, till it does not exceed three. After leaving this end of it, and paſſing to the N. W. among the Clarendon Hills, we meet with ſmaller levels here and there, as the Palmeto and Lime ſavannahs, till we come to St. Jago ſavannah, where the champaign again enlarges to the extent of about ten by fifteen miles. Theſe tracts were formerly exceeding beautiful, having only ſome clumps of graceful trees irregularly ſcattered over their face, which gave but little interruption to the proſpect. I have been informed by an elderly gentleman, a native of the iſland, that he could remember the time when they were nearly in this ſtate; but at preſent they are overſpread and diſfigured in moſt parts with the achaia, or American opopinax, a dwarf prickly tree, which it is found almoſt impoſſible to

eradicate. It infeſts the paſture-lands, and incroaches continually on the roads, to the very great annoyance of travelers, eſpecially by night, when they cannot ſo well guard their faces from being ſcratched; ſo that a man, who rides among them in the duſk, is obliged to keep his whip and hands in conſtant employment, in order to parry the over-hanging branches. That part which bounds on the Weſt ſide of the town, and called the Town ſavannah, conſiſted formerly of one thouſand two hundred acres, allotted for exerciſe, and has a common of paſture for the uſe of the inhabitants; but, ſeveral perſons having ſettled upon and occupied the ſkirts of it, the pariſhioners obtained an act for enabling them to leaſe out ſeven hundred acres, at 5*s. per* acre, and footland at 6*d. per* foot; and reſerved the remaining five hundred to be kept open and clear, at the expence of the pariſh, and for ever to be held ſacred to the purpoſes only of exerciſe and health. The ſpace uninclоſed is about two miles in circumference. Here the races are generally held every year in the month of March. For encouraging a breed of large horſes, one hundred piſtoles are annually granted by the aſſembly, by way of king's plate, to be run for by any ſtone-horſes or mares, carrying ten ſtone each, of fourteen pounds to the ſtone. There are generally two days ſport, beſides either bye-matches, or a ſubſcription purſe. On theſe occaſions the concourſe of people is very great; ſome thouſands are ſeen aſſembled on the ſavannah; and the multitude of carriages and horſes, all in motion, form a very pleaſing part of the amuſement. On this plain the regular troops, and ſometimes the militia, are trained and reviewed. But its principal uſe is as a paleſtra, for the daily exerciſe of the inhabitants of the town in the morning and afternoon. In manner of living, the Engliſh here differ not much from their brethren at home, except in a greater profuſion of diſhes, a larger retinue of domeſtics, and in wearing more expenſive cloaths. The climate obliging them to uſe the finer ſort of fabrics, theſe are of courſe the moſt coſtly; and hence appears the great advantage to the mother-country of furniſhing her Weſt-India colonies with their cloathing. The ſuperior fineneſs of manufacture is all clear gain to her artiſts; and the conſtant wear, by the effects of perſpiration and waſhing, occaſions an immenſe conſumption. The thick, cheap, and durable

rable cloths, which are well-adapted to the frozen zone, will not anſwer here; and the atmoſphere corrodes every kind of iron or ſteel ware very quickly. The demand therefore for numberleſs products of the home induſtry is (from a train of invariable cauſes) likely to continue as long as theſe colonies continue to exiſt. Here are none of the ſubſtantial inhabitants who do not keep their coach or chariot with four or ſix horſes. The ſhop-keepers have their two-wheel chaiſes, or kitereens [*l*]; and they who cannot afford a carriage, even to the pooreſt free Negroe, will not be without a ſaddle-horſe or two. As this is an inland-town, it derives its chief ſupport from the reſidence of the governor and publick officers; the gentlemen of the law; the aſſembly and council; and the conflux of people who reſort hither from the country parts on buſineſs, particularly during the ſittings of the ſupreme or grand court of law near four months in the year; and the ſeſſion of the aſſembly, which generally laſts from the beginning of October till the Chriſtmas holidays. At theſe times univerſal gaiety prevails; balls, concerts, and routs, alternately hold their reign. The governor, according to antient cuſtom, gives a ball and entertainment once a year at the king's houſe, in honour of his majeſty's birth-day. The appearance of company on this occaſion is generally brilliant, the ladies vying with one another in the richneſs of their dreſſes; every one makes a point of exhibiting a new ſuit of finery; and this regulation is ſo laviſhly indulged, that ſuch a ball is ſeldom attended with leſs than three or four thouſand pounds expence to the gueſts, which however is ſo far excuſable, as it is laid out in Britiſh manufactures [*m*]. When the town is full of company, here is a very good market; at other times of the year, it is but indifferently ſupplied. In general, the mutton is much better, and the beef much worſe, than in Kingſton; the latter town being furniſhed with beeves from the rich paſtures of Pedro's Cockpits, where the fattened cattle are inferior to none in America. The mutton conſumed in Spaniſh Town is chiefly brought from the adjacent ſalt-pan paſtures, and

[*l*] So called from the firſt-imported, which came from Kettering, in Northamptonſhire.

[*m*] During one half of the year, the inhabitants enjoy all the ſtillneſs and tranquillity of a country-village; and, in the other, the ſcene is totally changed, and they revel in the pleaſures of a town.

the penns of Vere; it is ſmall, but deliciouſly ſweet, fat, and juicy. The market is likewiſe tolerably well-ſupplied with ſea and river fiſh, black crabs, the Jamaica oyſter, poultry of all ſorts remarkably fine, milk, vegetables, and fruits, Weſt-Indian and North-American. The flour comes for the moſt part from New-York, inferior to none in the world; and the bread is excellent. The butter is imported from Cork and North-America, which cannot be much commended: the inhabitants, reconciled to it by cuſtom, ſhew no diſlike to it, although it is ſometimes ſo rancid, that repeated waſhings will not ſweeten it. Some few in the lowlands make a ſort of freſh butter, but in ſmall quantities, and commonly inſipid. The vales of Pedro are capable of ſupplying the town with this article, if the penn-keepers or graziers there were encouraged to manufacture it for ſale. What is manufactured there for their own uſe is of a delicate flavour, and will keep good for ſeveral days, and even weeks. The cheapneſs of the imported butter, which is generally ſold for ſixpence ſterling the pound, and the great plenty of it, together with a long continued habit of uſing no other, may be the reaſon why the inhabitants are not very ſolicitous about making any change; but it would doubtleſs be attended with a conſiderable ſaving to the iſland, and tend much more to health, if they were to promote and eſtabliſh ſuch a manufacture among the inland penn-keepers. It is ſome time before an European palate can accommodate itſelf to the rank ſtuff ſerved up at the tables here. On the other hand, I have known many perſons who, upon their firſt arrival in Britain from Jamaica, could not endure the taſte of freſh-butter; and I have heard of a lady who, for ſome years after her coming over to England, uſed to order ſome firkins of the Iriſh butter to be brought regularly to her from Jamaica: ſo difficult it is to relinquiſh what cuſtom, *altera natura*, has made agreeable to us.

As ſome readers may be deſirous of knowing the market-prices of proviſions in this town, I ſhall offer the following table, formed agreeably to the experience of ſome years. It muſt be underſtood, however, that here, as in other places, there can be no ſuch thing as a ſtandard and invariable rate for theſe neceſſary articles; and

and that their rates muſt vary according to the reigning plenty or ſcarcity, and other predominant cauſes.

		Jamaica Currency.						Reduced to Sterling.					
		s.	d.	q.	to s.	d.	q.	s.	d.	q.	to s.	d.	q.
Beef,	*per* pound,	0	6	0	0	7	2	0	4	1	0	5	1
Ditto, prime parts,	ditto,	1	3	0	1	10	2	0	10	3	1	4	0
Tongue,	each,	3	1	2	3	9	0	2	2	3	2	8	1
Mutton,	*per* pound,	1	0	0	1	3	0	0	8	2	0	10	3
Lamb,		1	3	0	0	0	0	0	10	3	0	0	0
Ditto,	*per* quarter,	4	4	2	5	7	2	3	1	1	4	0	0
Calf's head,		6	3	0	0	0	0	4	5	3	0	0	0
Veal,	*per* pound,	0	7	2	0	0	0	0	5	1	0	0	0
Ditto, prime parts,		1	0	0	1	3	0	0	8	2	0	10	3
Pork,		0	7	2	0	0	0	0	5	1	0	0	0
Kid,		0	7	2	0	0	0	0	5	1	0	0	0
Turtle Calipaſh,	*per* pound,	0	7	2	0	0	0	0	5	1	0	0	0
Ditto Calipee,		1	3	0	1	6	0	0	10	3	1	0	3
Fiſh large,	ditto,	0	6	0	0	7	2	0	4	1	0	5	1
Ditto ſmaller, *per* ſtring of four, five, or upwards,		0	7	2	0	0	0	0	5	1	0	0	0
Ducks tame,	*per* couple,	3	1	2	3	9	0	2	2	3	2	8	1
Ditto wild,	ditto,	5	0	0	6	3	0	3	6	3	4	5	3
Teal,	ditto,	5	0	0	6	3	0	3	6	3	4	5	3
Capons,	ditto,	6	3	0	10	0	0	4	5	3	7	1	3
Hens,	ditto,	3	9	0	5	0	0	2	8	1	3	6	3
Geeſe fat,	each,	7	6	0	0	0	0	5	4	1	0	0	0
Turkies fat, according to ſize,	ditto,	8	9	0	18	0	0	6	3	0	12	10	1
Chickens,	ditto,	0	7	2	0	0	0	0	5	1	0	0	0
Pigeons,	*per* pair,	1	10	2	2	6	0	1	4	0	1	9	2
Eggs,	ſix to twelve, variable,	0	7	2	0	0	0	5	1	0	0	0	0
A roaſting-pig,		5	0	0	0	0	0	3	6	3	0	0	0
A hog,	about	23	9	0	0	0	0	16	11	3	0	0	0
Rabbits fat,	each,	4	4	2	0	0	0	3	1	1	0	0	0
Salt-fiſh,	*per* pound, about	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	2	1	0	0	0
Shads,	*per* barrel, about	20	0	0	0	0	0	14	3	1	0	0	0
Flour,	*per* cwt.	17	6	0	22	6	0	12	6	0	16	1	0
Ditto, ſuperfine,	*per* ditto,	30	0	0	35	0	0	21	5	1	25	0	0
Biſcuit,	*per* ditto,	30	0	0	32	6	0	21	5	1	23	2	3
Salt,	*per* buſhel,	1	10	2	0	0	0	1	4	0	0	0	0
Wax-candles,	*per* pound,	3	9	0	0	0	0	2	8	1	0	0	0
Spermaceti ditto,	ditto,	2	6	0	0	0	0	1	9	2	0	0	0
Plantanes,	*per* dozen, about,	1	3	0	0	0	0	0	10	3	0	0	0
Corn Maize,	*per* buſhel,	5	0	0	5	7	2	3	6	3	4	0	0
Ditto, in the ears,	*per* three dozen,	0	7	2	0	0	0	0	5	1	0	0	0

Oyſters are ſold in ſmall baſkets, and variable in price; as are likewiſe many of the articles above-mentioned; on which account, I have given their average loweſt and higheſt rates of ſeveral years. The variation of price is cauſed by the occaſional plenty or ſcarcity

incident to them. The vaſt abundance of fiſh caught here, and its not being a proviſion that can be kept ſweet for any long time, are the cauſes of its cheapneſs at moſt of the ſea-ports. Fiſh and turtle are often ſold at leſs prices than are expreſſed in the table; and they furniſh a conſiderable part of ſubſiſtence to the people inhabiting thoſe places. The prices in Spaniſh Town are in general higher than in Kingſton, where the market is under a better regulation, and both the demand and ſupply more conſtant and ample. The latter town is alſo far better accommodated with vegetables of all kinds, produced in the Liguanea mountains.

By the above table, compared with the following, may be ſeen how much the prices of ſome proviſion have riſen above what they formerly were. An act of aſſembly, paſſed in the year 1693, eſtabliſhed the rates thus, viz.

		Jam. Currency.			Sterling.		
		s.	d.	q.	s.	d.	q.
Beef and goat, —— ——	*per* pound,	0	4	0	0	3	0
Mutton, —— —— ——	ditto,	0	6	0	0	4	1
Veal, prime parts, —— ——	ditto,	0	9	0	0	6	3
Ditto, other parts, —— ——	ditto,	0	7	2	0	5	3
Hog, lamb, and turtle, ——	ditto,	0	7	2	0	5	3

The ſettlers in thoſe days were fewer in number, yet either found means to ſupply a larger quantity, or be contented with ſmaller gains. In the year 1672, Doctor Blome writes, that horned cattle were ſo numerous, that, although there had been every year ſo many killed, yet their number ſeemed not much to be leſſened. Hogs too he mentions were in very great plenty, as well thoſe wild in the mountains, as tame in the plantations. We may conjecture, therefore, that the greater part of the beef and pork, then brought to market, were of the wild ſort; for theſe animals overran the woods and ſavannahs, and were ſlaughtered by all perſons who choſe to go in queſt of them. This probably made the ſettlers ſo very inattentive to the breeding of cattle, that in proceſs of time, as the wild ones became diminiſhed, and the plantations increaſed, they began to introduce a ſupply from the Spaniſh Main. A dependence upon theſe importations, and the low price which they formerly coſt, ſtill further diſcouraged the iſland-breed; and at preſent the ſugar-eſtates, ſo vaſtly increaſed in their number, conſume

ſume a large proportion of what are bred here. There ſeems no remedy for this, but, by an act of legiſlature, to encourage the iſland-breed, and throw gradual reſtraints upon the importation; by which means, beef might poſſibly, in courſe of a few years, return to a more moderate price; which would be a very deſireable event to the inhabitants, and even to the breeders themſelves; to whom the certainty of demand, and largeneſs of conſumption, would make amends for the diminution of price; and thus might be ſaved many thouſand pounds now paid for foreign ſalted beef, which is neither ſo wholeſome, nutritious, nor pleaſing to the white ſervants, ſoldiers, and others, as freſh meat. The high price of fowls, and the other ſmall articles, is to be lowered by the introduction of more ſettlers, by encouraging a traffic in ſuch articles, and particularly enlarging the annual plant of corn, the ſcarcity of which is the ſole cauſe why eggs are in general ſo cheap, and poultry ſo dear; for, when corn is ſcarce, fowls will devour more of it in value than they yield at the market. The greater abundance there is provided of theſe foods, the more money will be ſaved to the iſland in various ways; and it would conſequently grow more populous and thriving, and better able to maintain families; a matter of the utmoſt concern to all who wiſh to ſee it flouriſh; marriages, the beſt ſource of well-peopling it, and from which ſome men pretend they are at preſent deterred, from the expenſiveneſs of houſekeeping, would be greatly promoted; nor would many uſeful perſons emigrate from the colony, if they could live in it at as cheap a rate in general as in Europe. To live otherwiſe in an iſland, ſo fertile and ſo capable of affording not only the comforts, but the luxuries of ſuſtenance, in the greateſt profuſion, is a reproach to induſtry and policy; but to adminiſter fit and practicable remedies will redound equally to the honour of legiſlature, and to the public welfare. Spaniſh Town covers a large extent of ground, many of the houſes having great areas, and ſeveral lots being vacant or unbuilt. Theſe circumſtances render it the more healthy and pleaſant; and a variety of trees in conſtant verdure, being ſcattered among the buildings, more eſpecially in the ſkirts, it has the rural appearance of a village. The town ſeems, however, to be rather on the decline, not having

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yet recovered the blow which it received during the adminiſtration of governor Kn——s; who, in order to carry a favourite point againſt the country, and in furtherance of this deſign to gain a majority in the two other branches of the legiſlature, very artfully cajoled into his intereſt ſeveral opulent merchants and principal inhabitants of Kingſton, by hinting to them a plan of removing the ſeat of government, the courts of juſtice, and public records, to their town. The lucrative conſequences of this project were deſcribed in ſuch captivating terms, that they joined heart and hand with him to effect it; and at length, after a violent ſtruggle which threw the whole country into commotions, they ſucceeded by gaining a corrupt majority in the houſe of aſſembly, garbled by very iniquitous and illegal practices. The deprivation of theſe main ſupports, and the uncertainty of property in a town liable to ſuch mutations at the arbitrary will of a governor, reduced its inhabitants to the utmoſt diſtreſs: ſome quitted it; and many perſons were deterred from purchaſing land, or occupying houſes in it; while all thoſe, who ſubſiſted in its neighbourhood by ſupplying the market, were agitated with the dread of inevitable ruin. Upon a full diſcuſſion of this matter before the board of trade, and a juſt repreſentation ſubmitted to the king in council, the ſcheme appeared ſo wicked and injurious to private rights, as well as public welfare, that the projector of it was recalled, and expreſs inſtructions given his ſucceſſor to ſummon a new and legitimate aſſembly of repreſentatives: which being complied with, they paſſed a law, reinſtating the ſeat of government, offices of record, &c. in Spaniſh Town, and eſtabliſhing them there immutably; and this law was afterwards confirmed by the crown.

But the town has not yet recovered its former population and opulence. The proprietors of houſes and lands in and near it are ſcarcely yet free from apprehenſions of another removal; and their terrors have ſince been awakened, more than once, by attempts from the Kingſton quarter to repeat the blow, by purſuing the former mode of acquiring an undue majority in the houſe of aſſembly, for the purpoſe of repealing that law. Hence has ariſen a confirmed party in that branch of legiſlature; and the great ſtruggle at every election is, to regulate the balance of power in the new houſe.

houſe. Each ſide, through a ſecret jealouſy, is too apt, by an uniform ſyſtem of oppoſition, to reject various meaſures of public utility, which are greatly wanted, for the improvement and general benefit of the iſland. It is much to be regretted, that ſuch animoſities ſhould ſtill prevail; and more ſo, that cauſe ſhould be given for keeping them alive. An artful and malevolent governor alone could wiſh to foment the ſpirit of diſcord, with a view of turning it to his own advantage, by ſiding with the ſtronger party, and thus acquiring a ſet of advocates ready to promote or vindicate his rapacious and unjuſt proceedings. A wiſe and good governor will think he beſt ſerves the king and his ſubjects by ſteadily diſcouraging every attempt towards re-kindling this deſtructive flame.

The ſituation of this town, ſo centrical with reſpect to the whole iſland, renders it extremely convenient for holding the chief courts of juſtice; and to this end it is ſtill further adapted, as being undiſturbed by the noiſe and tumult uſual in places of great trade. The records are ſafer here; becauſe, upon the invaſion of an enemy, it is too diſtant from the ſea-coaſt to be firſt attacked, and there would be ample time for removing them into Sixteen-mile-walk; or, ſtill further, to the inmoſt receſſes and fortreſſes of the iſland, for their ſecure preſervation. Thus, although the town might be afterwards taken and plundered, the records would be ſafe; nor could an enemy follow them expeditiouſly, if they may be ſuppoſed an object worth acquiring; the road leading to Sixteen-mile-walk being full of places proper for ambuſcading, or eaſily rendered impaſſable by felling of trees, and throwing down ſome of thoſe huge rocky maſſes which over-hang it. The town ſerves beſides as a grand ſtore-houſe, or magazine, for ſupplying great part of the county of Middleſex with articles of cloathing, huſbandry, ſalt-proviſion, and other neceſſaries, moſt of which are brought from Kingſton, which therefore is very much benefited by this extenſion of its inland commerce; an advantage it would not, in all likelihood, enjoy without the aſſiſtance of Spaniſh Town; for, in this caſe, not only the conſumption of ſuch articles muſt be greatly diminiſhed, but many of the planters would probably rather import what they wanted, or eſtabliſh a new mart at Paſſage Fort, as being far more convenient for their buſineſs than Kingſton. Conſidered

alſo as a garriſon, it will appear to form a great additional ſtrength to the midland-part of the iſland, and has ſo proved in ſeveral internal diſturbances that have occurred from Negroe mal-contents; particularly in 1761, when the detachments of horſe-militia and regular troops, ordered from hence, to quell a dangerous inſurrection, which had broke out in St. Mary's pariſh, arrived there ſo expeditiouſly, as to give almoſt immediate protection to the inhabitants. A colony of ſuch extent would unqueſtionably become much ſecurer, if more towns were formed in convenient parts of it. Inſtead therefore of labouring to ruin a town ſo antient and beneficial, the men of ſenſe and fortune in the iſland ſhould rather endeavour, by ſuitable encouragements and proviſions, to found new ones in thoſe uncultivated diſtricts where congregations of people are much wanted, to add more links to the chain of communication, which ought to pervade every part of ſo fruitful and delightful a country.

The conteſt about removing the ſeat of government, before-mentioned, became the cauſe of ſetting up a printing-houſe in this town; for, before that æra, the votes of aſſembly were printed at Kingſton. But the partizans of Spaniſh Town formed an aſſociation to ſupport a new preſs in their town. From this iſſues a weekly paper of intelligence, compiled moſtly from the London and North-American prints; but it is chiefly convenient to the inhabitants as a vehicle for advertiſements of different ſorts. Some occaſional pamphlets have likewiſe received their birth from it; and a new edition of the laws was lately preparing. The votes of aſſembly and the annual bills are printed here; the journals of the council are printed in Kingſton, where two preſſes are eſtabliſhed, and two weekly papers. Thus each of theſe branches of legiſlature having its ſeparate preſs, I need not remark, that, when political differences ariſe, an extraordinary employment is given to theſe machines, by appeals to the public, and the arguments on either ſide *pro* and *con*: but it is doubtful, whether theſe diſputations, carried on as they generally are with great vehemence and acrimony, do not tend more to exaſperate than to conciliate. The preſs of Spaniſh Town was devoted to a far better uſe, when the aſſociation of gentlemen before-mentioned made it ſubſervient to the intereſts of morality, and

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the improvement of the iſland, by publiſhing a weekly eſſay under the title of The Planter, which was ſupported for a conſiderable time in a lively, entertaining manner. In a garden belonging to Mrs. T——s, in this town, are two trees called baobab, or the great-cotton, deſcribed by Adanſon, in his account of Guiney, from whence the ſeeds were brought and planted here. Some call this likewiſe the capot tree; of which ſpecies Boſman relates, that he has ſeen ſome capable, with their ſpreading boughs, of ſhading twenty thouſand men, if ranged cloſe; and ſo tall, that a muſquet ſhot could hardly reach the top. At Axim, there is ſaid to be one which ten men could not graſp; and, in Prince's iſland, another, the trunk of which could not be ſurrounded by four and twenty men, their arms at full ſtretch: not that the body itſelf is ſo enormous; but the ſprouts adhere in ſuch a manner as to ſeem to form one uniform trunk. The wood is light and porous, ſcarcely fit for any other uſe than making canoes. The tree bears a ſpecies of cotton, uſed in Guiney by the European factors for ſtuffing beds, inſtead of feathers. Theſe in Spaniſh Town are as yet of only a moderate bulk; but, if they ſhould ſpread in time into the diameter reported by theſe authors, they will require much more room than has been allotted to them. The bark and leaves are ſaid to poſſeſs ſome virtues in the cure of fevers. And they deſerve to be propagated; but the beſt ſcite would be the rich bank of ſome river.

Paſſage Fort, formerly called The Paſſage, from its being the place of embarkation for Port-Royal, is ſituated on the Weſt ſide of the harbour, about three quarters of a mile from the mouth of the Cobre, and ſix from Spaniſh Town. It was once defended by a ſmall fort, of ten or twelve guns, which has long ſince been demoliſhed. It is at preſent a ſmall village, conſiſting of about fifteen houſes, chiefly inhabited by wharfingers, warehouſe-keepers, and the maſters of wherries and hackney-chaiſes, which conſtantly ply here with paſſengers to and from the towns. Theſe wherries generally put off from Paſſage Fort from ſix to ſeven o'clock in the morning, before the ſea-breeze ſets in, and are favoured with a gentle land-wind. On their return, they go directly before the breeze, which ſometimes blows up the harbour with great violence.

They are accommodated with tilts or awnings, and navigated entirely by Negroes. This is a barquadier for Spaniſh Town, and moſt of the plantations in St. Catharine, St. Thomas in the Vale, and St. John. The merchant-ſhips which load from hence uſually lye off the hoſpital of Greenwich, where they receive their cargo out of large boats, or lighters, there not being depth of water ſufficient for veſſels of burthen to come nearer the wharfs. The ſituation is low, and ſubject to inundations from the harbour in ſtorms. This place is famous in the annals of Jamaica for the landing of colonel Jackſon in 1638, and of Venables in 1655. The firſt-built town was wholly deſtroyed by the great earthquake of 1692, and never thoroughly rebuilt; nor is it probable that it will ever grow again into a town. The want of ſufficient depth of water, perhaps, firſt induced Mr. Henderſon, an enterprizing and ſpirited gentleman, to form a new and more convenient ſhipping-place on the North-Eaſt ſide of Salt-pond hill, under cover of the Twelve-apoſtle battery; this he has effected at a very large expence, and with much judgement. The depth of water admits ſhips of burthen very near to the wharf, and already there appears the dawning of a new town; which, by attracting the moſt conſiderable part of the buſineſs, ſeems to forebode the ſpeedy decline of Paſſage Fort. This new barquadier is called at preſent by the name of Port-Henderſon; and, beſides its uſe for ſhipping off ſugars, and other produce, with the utmoſt diſpatch, it has opened a ready communication on that ſide of the harbour with the ſquadron and Port-Royal Town; which cannot fail of proving extremely convenient, more particularly in time of war. At the back of Salt-pond hill is a remarkable cave. The adit leading into it is narrow and low; but the cave itſelf is from twenty-five to thirty feet diameter, and of good height. The floor of it is ſtrewed with human bones; and there runs a tradition among the Negroes, that a white perſon many years ago collected a vaſt pile and conſumed it to aſhes: a large quantity ſtill remains; and, from the conformation of the ſkulls, they are thought to have been Indian. Some have imagined that the Indians made uſe of theſe receſſes as a ſort of catacombs, or oſſuaries, for their dead. The antient Mexicans laid their dead bodies without burial on the ſur-

face

face of the earth, and environed them with ſtones or bricks. Theſe rocky chaſms and cavities, frequent in many parts of Jamaica, naturally offered as convenient and durable ſepulchres. But this conjecture, though ingenious, is not ſupported by any proof, that the Indians of this iſland were governed by the ſame cuſtom. There are better grounds for ſuppoſing, that they interred their dead; and that the bones, found in theſe places, are no other than the relicks of the laſt remnant of that unfortunate people, who periſhed here beneath the inſupportable tyranny of their conquerors, as I ſhall hereafter take occaſion to relate.

Spaniſh Town is defended on the South by a range of hill, called Healthſhire, corruptly Hellſhire, about nine miles in length, and ſix in breadth; which ſpace contains about thirty-four thouſand acres, for the moſt part ſo rocky and barren, as not to be worth inhabiting. Its chief produce is lime; which is made here in large quantities, and ſent by water to Kingſton. The air on theſe hills is extremely healthy: the rocks are concealed from view by innumerable aromatic herbs, ſhrubs, and trees, poſſeſſed of great medicinal virtues, though hitherto explored only by a few curious perſons. This whole diſtrict is filled with the larger ſpecies of mock-bird, whoſe lively notes ſerve to chear its dreary vales. The curatoe and aloes grow here very luxuriantly; and ſome experiments have been made, by a gentleman who lived here, with the ſilk-graſs and grape-vines, which were found to thrive extremely well. The ſoil is alſo productive of potatoes, yams, and other Weſt-India roots, and all the melon tribe, in great perfection. There is an exceeding good fiſhery on the coaſt; but the want of water-ſprings, there being only one, that I have heard of, in the whole tract, and the few articles of profit to be gained from ſuch a ſoil, will probably be the means of its remaining for the moſt part in a ſtate of nature. The ridge of high land, part of this tract, which faces Port-Royal harbour, is called Salt-pond Hill, from a large piece of ſalt-water on the South Weſt ſide of it, covering near ſeven hundred acres. This was formerly a ſalt-work; which, with two more in the pariſh of St. David, was conducted by a captain Joſeph Noye, who made from them in one year ten thouſand buſhels, and affirmed, that he could have made as many tons, if there had been

a vent for ſo much at the market. But the great manufactory of ſalt at Tortuga cauſed this article to fall ſo cheap, that it has for many years paſt been diſcontinued in Jamaica. This ſalt-pond is about four feet in depth, and moſt plentifully ſtocked with good fiſh; which are a more profitable article of traffic to the preſent owner, who ſends them daily for ſale to Spaniſh Town, little more than ſix miles diſtant.

The pariſhioners of St. Catharine, St. Thomas in the Vale, and St. Dorothy, formerly exerciſed a ſort of right in common of making ſalt here, for the uſe of their families: but, during the government of Sir Thomas Lynch, they agreed with Sir Thomas Modiford, who had patented the circumjacent lands, that he ſhould deliver them annually at the rate of half a buſhel of ſalt *per* head, including Blacks and Whites, only not to exceed five thouſand buſhels in the whole; for which they were to pay 1s. *per* buſhel. This agreement was confirmed by an act of aſſembly, but has been for many years diſuſed.

About four miles North and North-weſt from the town is another range of hills; over which is ſcattered a great number of polinks, or places applied entirely to the cultivation of garden-ſtuff, fruits, and ſuch ſort of proviſion, for the town-market. The range, diſtinguiſhed by the name of the Red Hills, from their reddiſh ſoil, is thought to produce the ſeveral Weſt-India fruits, of a better flavour than almoſt any other part of the iſland. Many of the town-inhabitants have little ſettlements here, with good houſes, to which they occaſionally retire. No part of the world can enjoy a more agreeable or healthy air. The Spaniards formerly eſteemed it a Montpellier; and numbers uſed to paſs over from Cuba, in order to reſide here for the re-eſtabliſhment of their health. From many parts of theſe hills the proſpect is rich and extenſive, commanding a view of the town, the paſtures adjacent, the harbour and ſhipping at Port Royal, and of the veſſels coming in or going out. Theſe hills are deſtitute of ſprings; but the inhabitants eaſily ſupply that want by preſerving rain-water in ciſterns or jars, which they find extremely pure and ſalubrious.

The ſoil of St. Catharine's pariſh is various. The hills abound with lime-ſtone rock; the champaign conſiſts chiefly of ſavannah

land,

land, or a rich brick mould; the paſture lands in the neighbourhood, and what lie adjacent to the river, are of the latter kind; the rainy ſeaſons have been for many years too uncertain in this part of the country for the cultivation of the ſugar-cane, to which the nature of the ſoil is excellently adapted: but the richneſs of their graſs makes amends; and the owners draw conſiderable profit by breeding cattle and ſheep, and fattening for the town-markets. Indigo once flouriſhed in all this diſtrict. Attempts have, within theſe few years, been made by one or two gentlemen to revive it; but dry weather baffled their project, and convinced them of its impracticability. The well-water in theſe parts is in general brackiſh, or containing an admixture of ſalt; which ſeems to indicate the exiſtence of ſalt mines here; but none have yet been diſcovered; and probably they lie at too great a depth to be of ſervice if they are ever known. There are other wells of a very pure water, ſupplied probably by ſprings or ſubterraneous currents, which do not paſs through any ſtrata of this foſſil. That ſalt is plentifully intermixed with the ſoil here in ſome places is evident from the licks to which cattle and ſheep greedily reſort. I have ſeen ſeveral of them in the neighbourhood of the town. Theſe animals are known to be extremely fond of ſalt; and inſtinct directs them where to find it. They experience its good effects in correcting the deleterious quality of the crude graſs, produced here, from ſudden heavy rains ſucceeding a drowth. On theſe occaſions, they are ſubject to violent diarrhœas, which are frequently mortal. The penn-keepers uſe no other remedy than maſhed, pickled herrings, given them by way of a drench, which, if the diſorder has not continued too long, performs a certain cure. There is no doubt but the ſalt, and not the ſubſtance of the fiſh, is the remedy to which their cure is to be aſcribed; and this is further confirmed by the common obſervation, that ſheep, paſtured on the ſalinas, or lands contiguous to the ſea, are not afflicted with the rot; and that the cattle, watered from a brackiſh well, are much leſs apt to be ſcoured with the crude graſs than others.

The air of the flat country comprehended within this pariſh is eſteemed in general very healthy, except after the fall of the autumnal rains; when the water, ſtagnating for ſome time on the low grounds,

grounds, is thought with good reaſon to be productive of aguiſh complaints, intermittent and remittent fevers; from all which, the adjacent hills offer a certain aſylum to ſuch of the inhabitants whoſe circumſtances admit of their removal.

The following comparative table may give ſome idea of the modern ſtate of this pariſh:

			Quantity of Sugar in one Year. Hogſheads.		
	Negroes.	Cattle.	Sugar-plantations.		Other Settlements.
1734,	5502	8002			
1740,	6203	8581			
1745,	6599	8043			
1761,	7016		5	350	95
1768,	7308	10402			

SECT. III.

St. DOROTHY, in the Precinct of St. CATHARINE.

THIS pariſh is bounded on the Eaſt by St. Catharine; Weſt, by Clarendon; North, by St. John; and South, by Old Harbour and the ſea.

The town of Old Harbour contains about thirty houſes, inhabited chiefly by wharfingers and factors; this being the principal barquadier for this pariſh, St. John, a part of St. Thomas in the Vale, and a part of Clarendon. It had formerly a ſmall fort, or rather battery, which has not been thought of conſequence enough to ſupport in repair; for the harbour, or bay, lying only about ſeven leagues Weſt from Port Royal, and about ten miles from Spaniſh Town, notice might be diſpatched to either of thoſe places in a very ſhort time upon any alarm; and as the ſame breeze, which would ſerve to carry a ſhip of war from Port Royal to their aſſiſtance, would prevent an enemy's veſſel from getting out of the bay, no privateer will dare to venture ſo far in as to give the town any annoyance: beſides, the entrance into the bay is fortified with ſo many cayes and ſhoals, as to make the navigation very hazardous to ſtrangers; and even thoſe beſt-acquainted with it require

day-light

day-light and a favourable land-wind to carry them out. The inner or East harbour is an inlet, or *cul de sac*, turning near six miles within land, and so sheltered on all sides, that ships have rode here with perfect safety in the most furious hurricanes. On this account, the Spaniards moored their galleons here during the stormy season; but the channel leading to it is now so choaked with mud, that loaded ships cannot get in or out; for which reason, the merchant-vessels, which come to take in cargoes at this port, lie further out in the bay, where vessels of almost any burthen may have sufficient depth of water and a fine anchoring-ground.

In the offing of the bay is a very good fishery, chiefly for snappers, which form a principal part of subsistence for the inhabitants at Old Harbour. At certain times of the year there is also great plenty of turtle caught upon the coast. A company of soldiers is quartered here in barracks, built at the expence of the parish. As this place contains nothing further of note, I shall pass on to the market, which is distant about two miles inland, and is so called from the Negroe market, held here regularly every Sunday forenoon, for poultry, corn, eggs, and other small articles of provision. It is an insignificant hamlet of about twelve houses, consisting of taverns and shops, and distant about one mile from the parochial church, a small building, close by which is the rector's house, situated on a rocky eminence, which commands an agreeable prospect of the sea and adjacent country. From the piazza of this house the eye takes in a view of great part of St. Catharine and Liguarea, and the sea from St. Thomas in the East to Portland Point in the West. But the flat part of St. Catharine, St. Dorothy, and Clarendon, appears to be in a manner a continued wood, from the multitude of opopinax trees which are suffered to grow in the hedge-rows and middle of the pastures; and this detracts greatly from the beauty of the landschape. The stipend annexed to this rectory is 200*l.* *per annum*; and, the parish not being very populous, the whole income of the living is probably under 400*l.*

The only river in this parish is the Black or Bridge river, which takes its rise in a small morass about seven miles from the harbour. The excellence of its water has already been mentioned. It crosses the great Western road which leads from Spanish Town to the

leeward

leeward parts of the iſland, over a ſunken bridge of large timber-work and ſtones. It is here but a ſmall ſtream; but it widens on approaching the harbour, and becomes deep enough to admit the ſhips long-boats which come here for water. Near the mouth of it are caught exceeding fine jew-fiſh and calipever, for the Spaniſh Town market. The ſoil adjacent to it is extremely rich; and large tracts are capable of being watered by channels drawn from the river, and cultivated with the ſugar-cane; but hitherto no ſuch advantage has been made of either. The ſoil of this pariſh in general reſembles that of St. Catharine, and lies under the like misfortune of uncertain ſeaſons; for which reaſon, it has never made any conſiderable figure as a ſugar-pariſh.

The hilly parts of it towards the North abound in pimento-trees; which ſhews their ſoil well-adapted to this production, though it is not extenſively attended to here, for want of inhabitants. The air of the coaſt is but indifferent: the interior parts are eſteemed more healthy; and particularly the hills, where it is perfectly clear and temperate.

In the mountains near St. John's is an exceedingly fine chalybeate-ſpring, which has performed many ſurpriſing cures in dropſical habits; and in caſes where, by lingering and ill-managed intermittents, the patient was too relaxed and emaciated, the blood impoveriſhed, and the tone of the ſtomach much impaired. Some have been known to recover from a dropſy by the uſe of it, after being ſeveral times tapped. The eſtate in which it riſes having been, a few years ago, ſold by Mr. Harris, the former proprietor, the purchaſer, either through ignorance, or for ſome other reaſon, cauſed a bank to be dug down, at the foot of which it had uſed to be taken up. It now lies covered by a load of ſoil and rubbiſh ſeveral feet in depth; ſo that the public are at preſent unhappily deprived of this providential remedy. It is much to be lamented, that the many excellent mineral and medicinal waters in this iſland, diſtributed here by the benevolent Father of mankind, on purpoſe as it were to adminiſter an eaſy relief under ſome of the moſt excruciating ailments, ſhould have fallen ſo little under the public care, that, excepting the bath in St. Thomas, I do not know of one that has been thought worthy of the legiſlative attention.

The

The aſtroites, or ſtar-ſtones and brontiæ, hedge-hog and echini ſtones, are found in great abundance on the coaſt. The firſt-mentioned, as well as the coral rocks, which extend from Salt-pond hill to Old Harbour, near the ſhore, when calcined, make an excellent lime for building.

It ſeems now to be the eſtabliſhed opinion, founded upon anatomical obſervations, that the black complexion of Negroes proceeds entirely from a *reticulum mucoſum*, or dark-coloured net-work, ſpread immediately beneath the cuticle of their bodies. It is likewiſe preſumed, upon reaſonable grounds, that the different caſts of complexion, obſervable among the different ſpecies of men, derive their various tints principally, if not entirely, from the colour of their *reticula*. The offspring of two Negroe-parents, if born with a white or light-coloured *reticulum*, is called an Albinoe. A male child of this ſpecies was born, a few years ſince, at a polinck, in the hills between St. Catharine and this pariſh, and is probably ſtill living. The complexion of it was a dead, dull white, reſembling that of a corpſe; its hair, or rather wool, a light-flaxen colour, ſtrong, coarſe, and curling, like that of a Negroe; the features were truly of the Negroe caſt; the noſtrils wide, and lips thick and prominent; the eyes were a light-grey, large and full, and, when brought into a ſtrong light, were in a continual, rolling motion, which gave the child the fooliſh look of an idiot. If he ſhould attain to manhood, and beget children, the attention of the curious will be excited to remark the colour of his progeny. A nation of theſe Albinoes are ſaid to inhabit ſomewhere in the central parts of Africa; who are weak and of low ſtature, and do not mix with the Blacks. They are called Dondos, or Mokiſſes, by the natives; and are ſaid to have ſcarcely any ſight, except by moon or owl-light, and to be at continual war with the Blacks, who attack them in the day-time, when their ſight is at the worſt; and they take their revenge in the night, when it is beſt. They are likewiſe ſaid to be educated in the ſcience of prieſtcraft, or witchcraft, and to fill the chief offices at Loango in all religious affairs and ſuperſtitious ceremonies. Some of the Negroes in Guiney are of opinion, that, although they have their males and females, like the reſt of mankind, they are incapable of procreating, if not of

coition. But this wants proof. Several of the ſame ſpecies are affirmed to have been ſeen in other parts of Africa, in Borneo, in India, and New Guiney.

I ſhall conclude the account of this pariſh with a table, as before:

	Negroes.	Cattle.	Sugar-plantations.	Annual Produce of Sugar. Hogſheads.	Other Settlements.
1734,	2298	5341			
1740,	2515	5468			
1745,	2423	4540			
1758,	3229	4232			
1761,	3210				
1763,	3075	3899			
1766,	3713	4236			
1768,	3665	4661	12	700	56

Taking the liſts of 1768 and 1740 into compariſon, the decreaſe of cattle appears to be 807, although no new ſugar-plantations were formed within that time. And this falling-off, I am afraid, muſt be referred chiefly to the introduction of foreign cattle, for ſupplying the markets and ſquadron: this proved a diſcouragement to many penn-keepers in the pariſh, and occaſioned their deſerting it; ſo that ſeveral penns, which formerly were capital breeding-penns, are at preſent in waſte.

SECT. IV.

St. JOHN.

This pariſh has for its boundaries, on the North, St. Anne; on the South, St. Dorothy; on the Eaſt, St. Thomas in the Vale; and on the Weſt, Clarendon. The whole of this pariſh is occupied with hills, mountains, and vallies. It is watered with four rivers, of which the Rio Montando, or Mountain river, is the principal; and with the ſeveral ſprings and ramifications which contribute to form them. The ſoil in general is fertile, even on the higheſt ridges. It abounds with fine timber; and the vales

vales are particularly prolific; of theſe the Vale of Luidas, diſtant about twenty-one miles N. W. from Spaniſh Town, is the beſt-ſettled. Before ſugar-works were formed here, it contained only breeding-penns, whoſe paſtures were ſo rich, that the cattle were remarkably fat, and their fleſh of an exquiſite flavour. Theſe penn-keepers uſed to ſupply the market of Spaniſh Town with veal, which Sir Hans Sloane, I think, extols very highly. The climate of this pariſh is cool and temperate. Exceeding good butter has been made here by one or two families; and I have ſeen moſt kinds of European garden ſtuff, produced in the Vale of Luidas, in as great perfection as any that is brought to Covent-garden-market. The cherry, apple, quince, and peach tree, thrive and bear fruit in this vale; a ſure indication of the cool temperature of the climate, and that the ſurrounding mountains would be found on experiment to produce them in ſtill higher perfection. The air of this pariſh is conſequently very healthful, and has proved entirely agreeable to European conſtitutions. But it is far from being well-inhabited, the roads leading from it requiring a great deal of improvement. After croſſing the Red Hills, we enter a tolerably cultivated vale at Lloyd's eſtate, interſperſed with a few well-built houſes, which, for want of the reſidence of their proprietors, are haſtening very faſt to decay. From this vale we aſcend Cudjve Hill; from part of which there is a South-eaſt proſpect over the Red Hills to Kingſton, and Weſtward to Old Harbour and Goat Iſland, with a near view of ſuch plantations as lie immediately below. Some miles further inland is Bolt's Hill, which riſes ſtill higher; the ſides of it are finely cloathed with ſugar-canes; and from the ſummit the Southern hills appear depreſſed, and the eye takes in a boundleſs proſpect over the ſea, beyond Port-Royal. About the diſtance of two miles further North are the barracks, which are built of ſtone, and command a narrow paſs of communication between the North and South ſides of the iſland. This poſt is capable of being made exceedingly ſtrong; and even now a garriſon of fifty men might hold it againſt five hundred: but hitherto (as I am informed) no detachment has been cantoned in it. The barracks are no ſooner paſſed, than we diſcover, at the diſtance of four or five miles along a viſto between two continued chains of hills,

at the foot of which runs a broken gully, called Juan de Bolas (or John of the Vale), the delightful valley of Luidas, before-ſpoken-of, encircled with the lofty mounds of four pariſhes, St. John, Clarendon, St. Anne, and St. Thomas in the Vale. Some of theſe highlands near Juan de Bolas are ſaid to have rich veins of the precious ores; but no expence is ſufficient to explore the profound regions in which they lie concealed. The late Sir S——n Cl——ke (who was deſcended from an ancient family in Warwickſhire, and bore ſome of the higheſt offices in this iſland), amongſt other branches of ſcience, attained to conſiderable knowledge in metallurgy; and, had his ſucceſs been at all proportioned to his ſkill, might have beſtowed his application to a very profitable end; but, unhappily, after an immenſe expence and trouble in ſearching for the hidden treaſure, he found (too late) that his favourite purſuit had only contributed to the reduction of his fortune. The church, if not lately repaired, is in a ruinous, dilapidated ſtate. The rector, however, has a good houſe and ſome glebe land. His ſtipend is 200*l.* and the annual value of the living ſuppoſed not to exceed 320*l. per annum*.

State of the Pariſh:

	Negroes.	Cattle.	Sugar-plantations.	Annual Produce. Hogſheads.	Other Settlements.
1734,	5242	2561			
1740,	5875	2837			
1745,	5728	2250			
1761,	5888				
1768,	5455	2726	21	2200	50

The decreaſe of Negroes ſhews that this pariſh is not getting forwards. Let me here remark (once for all) on the great utility of comparing the preſent and paſt ſtate of the pariſhes together. It is the true teſt by which the legiſlature may judge of the ſtate of the whole iſland, and where the ſymptoms of a decline are manifeſt; as in the example of this pariſh, which is bleſt with every natural advantage of a good air, a fruitful ſoil, and regular ſeaſons. It may juſtly be ſuſpected, that a retrogradation under theſe very favourable circumſtances can happen no otherwiſe than from ſome defect in the policy of internal government; perhaps nothing ſo much

much as a want of good roads, and the impoverished condition of those who have failed in their settlements, principally from this cause. But, whatever the cause may have been, it is the duty of a patriotic legislature, when convinced of the fact, to search for the source of evil by the most probable rules of enquiry; and, when they have discovered it, to apply the best remedies in their power.

SECT. V.

St. THOMAS in the VALE.

THIS parish is bounded towards the North by St. Anne, and St. Mary; towards the South, by St. Catharine; on the East, by St. Andrew; and on the West, by St. John. It is watered by the Cobre; the D'Oro; the Rio Magno, formed by the conflux of the Tilboa and Indian rivers; and by several small rivulets which fall into them. The greater part of this parish is comprized within the vale called Sixteen-mile-walk. This vale is about eleven miles in length by eight in width, and contains between fifty and sixty thousand square acres. It is situated Southerly, beneath the main ridge or chain of high mountains which traverse the island from East to West. It is also inclosed on all other sides with a circumvallation of high hills and mountains. It is neither flat nor swampy, but diversified throughout with gentle risings and slopes. The soil is fertile, for the most part a red coarse earth mixed with clay, or a dark mould upon a whitish marle. It is full of springs and rivulets, which unite with the larger streams; and these, meeting together near the chasm or opening betwixt the mountains on the South side of the vale, augment that noble river the Cobre, which continues its course irregularly between rocky mountains and precipices, alternately a cascade or smooth water, as it happens to be more or less impeded, exhibiting for some miles a very romantic scene till it reaches the plain below. At that part of the vale where it first shapes its course towards Spanish Town, it enters between two yawning rocky hills, which appear

pear as if they had been rifted on purpoſe to give it a paſſage. The vale is almoſt daily throughout the year overcaſt with a thick fog, which begins to riſe ſlowly on the approach of evening, grows denſer as the night advances, becomes gradual'y diffuſed into all the contiguous vales or inlets among the ſurrounding mountains, is heavieſt about the dawn of day, and remains ſettled until the ſun has warmed and agitated the air; then it riſes higher, expanding in the atmoſphere; and between the hours of eight and nine in the forenoon it begins to flow away in two principal ſtreams, the one Weſtward among the mountains on that ſide, the other Southward, following the courſe of the river. Early in the morning it is extremely thick; and, if viewed at this time from the ſummit of the mountains, it affords the moſt lively repreſentation poſſible of a large lake, or little ſea: the ſeveral vales and collateral inlets appear to be arms, harbours, bays, and creeks; the elevated ſpots, diſperſed through it, and covered with trees, buildings, or cane-pieces, reſemble ſmall iſlands, which here and there uplift their diminutive heads above water, combining into view the moſt picturesque and delightful variety. This fog has been remarked as a ſingular phænomenon almoſt from the firſt ſettlement of the iſland. I ſhall not pretend definitively to explain the phyſical cauſes of it; the ſubject has puzzled much abler heads: but as every one has a right to offer his conjectures; ſo I may be allowed to ſubmit mine, without affecting to controul the opinions of others.

The great abundance of rain that falls on the encircling mountains, their prodigious ſurface and ſudden ſteep riſe from the vale on all ſides, may probably occaſion a vaſt quantity of water to deſcend inceſſantly, through ſubterraneous chaſms, into ſo low a ſituation, as it were into a huge ſink. The ſoil of the vale, which in general (as has been obſerved) is a clay, may poſſibly obſtruct the free emergency of this water to the ſurface, except in particular places, where, the ſtratum being thinner, the reſiſtance is leſs; or where gravel, ſand, or mould of a looſe texture, predominate. Accordingly, we obſerve it copiouſly watered with ſeveral ſprings and rivulets, which have their ſource among the adjacent high lands. But although theſe currents do not burſt forth in all parts, yet the ſmaller globules of water may gradually be rarefied and evaporate,

aſſiſted

aſſiſted by the native warmth of the marle below, and the action of the ſolar heat above; which enable thoſe globules to penetrate the ſurface in form of vapour. In a vale encompaſſed with ſuch prodigious mounds, the ſolar rays muſt ſtrike with conſiderable impreſſion, and ſupply the earth to a certain depth with a large ſtock of heat, which doth not wholly leave it for many hours after ſun-ſet. The ingenious Dr. Hales remarks, that ſo great a heat as the ſun occaſions, at two feet depth under the earth's ſurface, muſt needs have ſtrong influence in raiſing the moiſture at that and greater depths; whereby a continual reek muſt always be aſcending, during a hot ſeaſon, by night as well as by day; for the heat at two feet depth is nearly the ſame night and day. The impulſe of the ſun-beams giving the moiſture in the earth a briſk undulating motion, theſe aqueous particles, when ſeparated and rarefied by heat, aſcend into the atmoſphere. In the day-time, the rarefaction of theſe particles is ſo great, that they paſs from the earth imperceptibly: after ſun-ſet, the cool air, ruſhing downwards from the mountains, condenſes, and renders them viſible. In this ſtate the fog reſts brooding over the vale, for want of heat to raiſe it higher, or of wind to diſpel it; for the land-wind does not uſually blow here with an impetuoſity ſufficient to drive it over theſe lofty barriers that hem in the vale: but it is obſerved, that ſtrong Norths in the winter-months force it vehemently through the opening of the Southern chain, through which the Cobre flows, and diſperſe it for ſeveral miles, even to Spaniſh Town, and ſometimes beyond it; but, whenever this happens, no fog is to be ſeen in that quarter of the vale bordering on the Northern range of mountains from which the wind then ſets. Another ſingularity is, that, on the approach of a rainy day, this fog does not appear the antecedent evening; the reaſon of which may be, that ſuch evenings being always cloſe and ſultry, it is probable the rarefaction continues as well by night as by day. and, the uſual condenſation not taking place, the particles are not rendered obvious to the ſight, although perhaps the reek at ſuch times is rather more copious than at others. So in the low lands, on the evening preceding rain, the atmoſphere feels unuſually cloſe and moiſt, the thermometer does not ſink after ſun-ſet, no perceptible vapours are noticed,

noticed, and no dew appears on the graſs. The unaltered ſtation of the thermometer is alone an evident proof, that the heat of the atmoſphere is not diminiſhed, and conſequently, that the vapours remain uncondenſed.

Fogs are generally ſuppoſed detrimental to health; but the fog of Sixteen-mile-walk by no means deſerves this imputation. The inhabitants do not ſcruple to expoſe themſelves to it freely; nor is it known to produce any effects injurious to them. The principal cauſe of its inoffenſive quality may be, that it is not mixed with any ſulphureous or noxious exhalations; at leaſt, it is without any ſenſible ſmell; which would moſt certainly not be the caſe, if it was much impregnated with any ſuch effluvia. Its good effects conſiſt in the copious dew which it ſheds upon the trees and herbage, and which ſupports them in the drieſt weather in a flouriſhing ſtate. Thoſe long drowths therefore, which ſometimes happen in this iſland, ſo fatal to the eſtates in general, affect the plantations in this vale but very little; the fog ſupplying, in a great meaſure, the want of rains, or at leaſt ſo far as to ſave the canes from periſhing in the manner they do in other parts of the iſland.

The North-weſt part of this vale is called The Maggoti, a tract of ſavannah lying near the foot of *Monte Diablo*. The name of this ſavannah gave riſe to a ſtory, that, whenever it rains here, the drops which fall upon any perſon's cloaths become maggots in half an hour. This wonderful metamorphoſis, reported probably at firſt by way of joke to ſome credulous inquirer, has with all its abſurdity been ſwallowed, and retailed by ſeveral authors, copying one from the other, and gravely recorded by them among the *notabilia* of this iſland. Theſe maggots, however, never exiſted, except in the brains of the inventor. The name, perhaps, was of Spaniſh extraction, compounded of Maga (an enchantreſs), and Oteo (watching on a high place); alluding probably to the pinnacle of *Monte Diablo*, over which the thunder-clouds ſo frequently break, as, together with its horrid aſpect, to make it ſeem a proper reſidence for a witch, under patronage of the Devil, to whom the mountain was dedicated. The road leading from Sixteen-mile-walk to St. Anne croſſes this mountain, traverſing the face of it, which is ſo ſteep, that few travelers venture to deſcend

ſcend on horſe-back. Some tradition, perhaps, remained concerning the origin of the Magotti, when a ſmall houſe of refreſhment was kept on the higheſt part of the road, many years ago, known by the ſign of Mother Red-cap; which name that part ſtill retains.

The cavern at River-head in the North-Weſt part of the vale extends near a quarter of a mile under a mountain, or perhaps more, it being impoſſible to explore the whole length, on account of the river Cobre, which occupies the inmoſt part of it, and, running for a conſiderable way, ſuddenly ſhoots through a hole in the rock on one ſide, and continues its current under ground for a conſiderable diſtance from the cave. That this river draws its origin from ſome large ſtream in the mountains, far beyond the cave, ſeems evident, by its riſing or falling in exact proportion as the rains are heavy or otherwiſe in the mountains. After very heavy rains, the river is ſo ſwelled, that, unable to vent itſelf at the hole, the ſuperfluous water diſembogues through the mouth of the cavern. An ingenious man attempted, a few years ſince, by fixing a flood-gate acroſs the hole, to force the current of the river into a regular channel by the mouth of the cavern, and conduct it from thence to turn water-mills on the neighbouring eſtates. The undertaking had all the appearance of being practicable, but was laid aſide after the death of the projector. Near the foot of the Northern ridge, at no great diſtance from the road which leads over *Monte Diablo*, is a cocoa-nut tree of very ſingular growth. About thirty feet or more above the baſe, it divides into two diſtinct ſtems, which, continuing their aſcent for ſeveral feet, at an angle thus V, and at pretty equal elevation above the main ſtem or body of the tree, are crowned with tops of beautiful foliage, and nearly of the ſame magnitude; but whether both are productive of fruit or not I could not learn. As no other of the like figure has been obſerved in the iſland, it may be regarded as a *luſus naturæ*, of a very unuſual kind. The paſs which admits a communication between Spaniſh Town and this vale ought not here to be unmentioned. After traveling about three miles from the town on a pretty level road, we come to a ſugar-plantation, formerly called by the Spaniards Los Angelos, and now The Angels. Juſt beyond this begins the entrance of the paſs. From hence to

the opening into Sixteen-mile-walk, for the ſpace of four miles and a half, is a continuation of precipice on both ſides, divided only by the river, except a ſmall elbow at the end of four miles, where a few acres of level ground at the foot of theſe ridges has admitted of a little ſugar-work. The road cut into the ſide of the mountain falls by an eaſy deſcent to the bridge, and croſſing the river is conducted along the remainder of the way not many feet above the ſurface of the water: it is therefore ſubject to be broken away in many places by the violence of floods; but this inconvenience is ſubmitted to from the impracticability there appeared of carrying it higher through ſuch immenſe maſſes of rock as form impediments the whole way. For a conſiderable length, the road is walled up; and, as it is ſo liable to damage, not only from inundations of the river, but the falling of large trees, rocks, and earth, from the impending crags and precipices under which it runs, the expence of repairing it is very great, and requires a ſtanding body of workmen, who are employed the whole year to keep it in order. The height of the mountains on each ſide overſhadowing it morning and afternoon, the paſſage is extremely cool and agreeable; every turn of the road preſenting the eye with new appearances of the river, the rocks, and woods; whilſt the water, ſometimes roaring and foaming in its current, where it is confined to a narrow and rugged channel; at other times gliding ſmoothly and ſilently along, delights the traveler with an alternate variety. At the end of four miles, the mountain called Gibraltar opens to view a vaſt ſolid wall of rock of prodigious height, whoſe ſurface, apparently perpendicular, is nevertheleſs cloathed with trees and ſhrubs from the baſe to the ſummit; the tops of one row terminating where the roots of the next row begin, ſo as almoſt to ſeem growing one upon the other. After heavy rains a cataract ſpouts from the pinnacle of this ſtupendous maſs, rendering it ſtill more awful and romantic. The defile continues not far beyond this majeſtic object, though not widening till we enter at once the extenſive and beautiful vale of Sixteen-mile-walk. The air of this vale was ſuſpected formerly of producing the Weſt-India colic or belly-ach; but, as that diſorder does not ſeem at preſent to be particularly attached to the ſpot, ſome other cauſe muſt have made

it

it endemial: perhaps the inhabitants at this time are leſs addicted to drinking new rum, and therefore leſs afflicted with it. The air of this pariſh is in general reputed healthy; and the habitations throughout the vale being for the moſt part built on riſing ground, they are not ſubject to damps. This tract was among the firſt ſettled with ſugar-plantations, and what it produces now of this commodity is of an excellent quality; but the land is thought to be much worn. The truth is, that ſome of the plantations here were formed upon a gritty, red, and naturally ſterile ſoil, which, for want of regular manure, and having loſt by degrees its ſuperficial coat of vegetable mould, became leſs and leſs productive, till the proprietors threw them up as unfit for the ſugar-cane. But others, who have purſued a better huſbandry, ſtill reap advantage from it in reaſonably good crops. The air of the mountains is perfectly fine and healthful. Upon one of them, near the confines of St. Catharine's, is the governor's polinck or proviſion ground, which has a ſmall but neat villa upon it, and was purchaſed by the aſſembly, as an occaſional retreat, during the hot months, for the commander in chief. The ſoil of theſe mountains is fertile; and they are chiefly appropriated to ſupply the eſtates in the vale with the different kinds of vegetable proviſion, and lime and timber for repairing their works. This pariſh contained,

	Negroes.	Cattle.	Sugar-works.	Annual produce. Hogſheads.	Other Settlements.
In 1734,	7568	4441			
1740,	8475	4813			
1745,	8239	4797			
1761,	9057				
1768,	8382	5782	41	3500	37

It appears from hence to have made little or no progreſs ſince the year 1740; and the increaſed number of cattle, amounting to 969, are probably the ſtock brought upon thoſe runs, which, after being in canes, have been converted into paſture.

SECT. VI.

CLARENDON

IS one of the largeſt, healthieſt, and beſt-ſettled pariſhes in the whole iſland. It is bounded on the Eaſt by the pariſhes of St. Dorothy and St. John; on the Weſt, by St. Elizabeth; on the North, by St. Anne; and on the South, by Vere, and a part of Old Harbour Bay. It is watered with no leſs than fifteen rivers, beſides innumerable rivulets and ſprings. The names of theſe rivers are,

Green River, Ballard's, Rock, and
Thomas, Pindar's, Craal;
Tick, Juan de Bolas,

whoſe ſeveral ſtreams fall into the Minho. There are likewiſe,

The Cave, Milk,
Pedro, Baldwin's, and
Croft's, Bower's.

The capital of theſe is the Minho, which takes its ſource about twenty-ſix miles, in a direct line, from the ſea on the South ſide, but with its various meanders makes a courſe of fifty and upwards. I do not know if the ſhort river ſhould be added to the liſt. It lies exactly on the boundary which divides this pariſh from St. Anne. It is a large body of water, which appears in a hollow, or dell; and, after running with great violence a little way, ſuddenly diſappears, probably to give birth to another river below; but its ſubterraneous direction has not as yet been diſcovered. The Cave, Pedro, and Croft's rivers, are alſo remarkable for hiding themſelves under ground, after a courſe of ſome miles above. The river Minho was probably ſo called after one of the ſame name in Portugal; for it is to be obſerved, that the firſt ſettlers from Europe were a mixture of Spaniſh and Portugueſe. It is from this reaſon that we find in the iſland mountains and rivers named in both theſe languages. But the name was applied with great propriety to this river, as there are many circumſtances to induce a belief, that the Spaniards opened and worked a gold mine ſomewhere near its banks.

banks. Of this I ſhall hereafter ſpeak more particularly under the head of mines, as I am willing to bring the whole on that head into one view, and ſhall therefore add nothing further upon it for the preſent. It may be imagined, that a diſtrict, watered ſo plentifully as this is, muſt be well calculated for ſettlements: but it was not much cultivated in the time of the Spaniards; they poſſeſſed a few cacao-walks near the Minho, but chiefly reſorted hither to hunt the wild hogs, which were always very numerous in it, and are not yet extirpated. The water in general of all the rivers and ſprings is tolerably pure and wholeſome, except when diſturbed by land-floods. The lower part of the pariſh towards the bay conſiſts chiefly of ſavannah land for about ſix miles in length, here and there interſperſed with rocky hills of no great height. The hills riſe gradually in height the further we advance into the heart of the pariſh; yet here are few or none ſo ſteep or barren, as not to be fit for culture of ſome ſort or other. The vales between the hills and mountains are in general ſpacious, watered by ſome river, and enriched with fine cane-land. The conveniency of having water-mills, and the firmneſs of the roads in general, has encouraged the inhabitants to carry their ſugar-plantations much farther inland than in any other diſtrict of the iſland; and there are ſome at no leſs diſtance than twenty-two miles from the barkadier. Theſe eſtates form their carriage into two ſtages, fixing the termination of the firſt at about midway, where they have convenient paſtures and ſtore-houſes, for refreſhment of their cattle, and lodgement of their goods. The ſoil within the mountains is inferior to none, either for the production of canes or proviſions; and the woods are full of excellent timber. The rivers abound with the mullet, ſo much admired for its delicious flavour. In ſhort, the inhabitants have all the means of plenty in their hands from theſe ſources, and the regularity of their ſeaſons; and of courſe they are, at leaſt the greater part, opulent and flouriſhing. The back-parts of the pariſh, bordering on St. Anne and St. Elizabeth, are the worſt-peopled: yet here is a great field of encouragement to invite ſettlers; for the remoteſt eſtates hitherto formed are known to produce ſugars of the beſt quality. The ſoil of the high lands is in general either rocky, intermixed with a black ſhell-mould, or

a fine vegetable dark mould on a clay. The lower grounds are chiefly clay, intermixed here and there with rich veins of vegetable mould, or the brick mould; the latter moſtly abounds near the banks of the rivers, conſiſting of the ſediment they have depoſited, or of the finer particles waſhed down from the hills. The plantation called Carvers is one of the moſt celebrated for its fertility: it is a ſmall dale, ſurrounded with rocky hills, and ſo rich, that it produces almoſt invariably three hundred hogſheads of ſugar *per annum*, with ſo little labour to the Negroes employed upon it, that they multiply ſufficiently to keep up their ſtock, without having recourſe to African recruits. Near Juan de Bolas river, about ſixteen miles from the coaſt, the road continues towards St. Ann's, paſſing by eaſy traverſes up the ſide of a ſteep mountain, on the ſummit of which we enter a ſavannah, or plain, of about four miles in length, called Old Woman's Savannah, from an elderly Spaniſh lady, who took up her abode here after the iſland was ſurrendered to the Engliſh, and reſided here many years in a hut. This ſavannah is watered with ſeveral fine ſprings; and the ſoil, though apparently not fertile, produces very good ſugar. The air is ſo pure and delightful, that many ſmall ſettlements have been formed here; and the inhabitants attain, for the moſt part, to a good old age. The late Mr. James Dawkins made choice of this ſpot for founding an academy for the inſtruction of boys, natives of the iſland; and, had he lived, the project would no doubt have been brought to maturity: but of this plan I ſhall hereafter give a further detail. The hamlet, or village of the Croſs, is ſituated about ſix miles from Old Harbour Bay, on the great roads leading, one to leeward, the other to Old Woman's Savannah. It conſiſts of about ten houſes, near the pariſh-church, which is an handſome brick-building, of four ailes. Hard-by, likewiſe, ſtands the ſkeleton of the parſonage-houſe, which at preſent is converted into a cooper's ſhop; a metamorphoſis that is not at all wonderful; for the inhabitants of this hamlet, being moſtly Jews and Mulattoes, afford no very agreeable neighbourhood to a Proteſtant divine. The lowlands of this pariſh were the firſt ſettled; but the inhabitants in proceſs of time having found the climate of the mountains more cool, the ſeaſons more regular, and the ſoil more fertile,

fertile, removed to them, and have carried their improvements to very great perfection. The rector's ſtipend is 250*l.*; but this being an extenſive and populous pariſh, the living is reputed worth 600*l. per annum* at leaſt, and includes about twelve Negroe ſlaves, who are appropriated to the uſe of the rector for the time being. The chapel is diſtant about twelve miles further inland, a ſmall but neat building, and furniſhed with a good organ. Divine ſervice, for the convenience of the pariſhioners, is alternately performed here, and at the Croſs Church: the quarter-ſeſſion is generally held at the Chapel; and the election of repreſentatives at the Croſs. The hamlet of the Chapel conſiſts of only ſeven or eight ſcattered houſes. Here are the pariſh-barracks; in which a company of regulars is quartered, and a ſmall market is held occaſionally by the Negroes of the neighbourhood.

About three miles from the Croſs, the Weſtern road paſſes the channel of Rio Minho, which hereabouts changes its name to Dry River, becauſe it is ſometimes quite dry, and at other times very broad and rapid. Weſtward from this paſſage, the road continues nearly the ſame diſtance, till it approaches Lime Savannah, where a branch diverges from it Northwards to the Chapel; but the main road continues on to St. Jago Savannah. In the middle of this open ſpace is a gentle riſing, which commands a diſtant view of the whole; and here is very properly ſituated a ſtarting-chair, for ſeeing the races, which are ſometimes held, for the Vere ſubſcription-purſe. Upon this ſavannah, which is well-ſtocked with cattle of all kinds, are ſeveral large ponds, beſides many ſmall ſprings and rivulets, which never loſe their water, except in times of moſt unuſual and long-continued drowth. The road which branches off to the Chapel, after leaving the flat country, aſcends among rocky hills, till it reaches Tick Savannah. A great part of this road is truly romantic; and the whole, from top to bottom, for the extent of two miles, is hung on either ſide with the deep gloom of lofty trees, ever verdant, and riſing in wild gradation out of ſtupendous rocks and chaſms. The ſavannah receives its name from the river Tick, which runs through part of the vale juſt below it. On the top of the ſavannah is a large piece of water, of conſiderable depth, the reſort of various wild-fowl. Not far from hence is the ſeat of

Mr. F——n,

Mr. F——n, formerly chief-juſtice of the iſland; a native, and one whoſe talents are ſo extraordinary, that it is almoſt impoſſible for the moſt impartial pen to do juſtice to them. In this iſland alone, he has attained, by obſervation, reading, converſation, and the natural *acumen* of his genius, a more comprehenſive and accurate knowledge of places, perſons, and things, in Great-Britain, Europe, and even throughout the known world, than moſt other gentlemen, who have had opportunities of being perſonally acquainted with them, or of obtaining the moſt intelligent accounts of them. Though he never trod any other earth but this little ſpot Jamaica, yet he is intelligent in the manners, arts, ſciences, and people (ſo far as have been hitherto diſcovered), of the whole terreſtrial globe. Nature, it is true, endued him with a retentive memory, and faculties uncommonly ſagacious; but ſtill it is ſignally to his merit, that he has improved every advantage which ſhe gave him; no one has ſtudied more, nor better underſtands what he has ſtudied, than this gentleman, whom with the ſtricteſt propriety, and without the leaſt particle of adulation, I may aver to be worthy of being eſteemed among the firſt ornaments of this country.

His houſe is delightfully placed upon a ſmall riſing, in the centre of a little vale: at no great diſtance from it are two craggy rocks, which peep over the ſummits of two hills, and reſemble the ruins of antique caſtles. Immediately below it lies a little garden, filled with orange, cacao, and other trees, for uſe and pleaſure. Beyond this are ſeveral hills, clumps of tufted wood, and natural avenues into the adjacent country.

At about one hundred paces diſtance from this manſion is another of more modern and elegant conſtruction. It conſiſts of one very large and ſpacious room, upwards of fifty feet in length, about twenty wide, and twelve high. This is entered by a door-way at the North end, under a portico of about twelve or fifteen feet ſquare, ſupported by columns of the Tuſcan order; and at the South end is a gallery, out of which the eye, over-looking a ſmall garden, is carried along an avenue between two gently-riſing woods, that have a ſolemn, ſilent grandeur. Adjoining to the principal room are ſmaller apartments, one of which is a library furniſhed with a collection of the beſt authors. The old habitation, though

though leſs elevated, nevertheleſs commands a richer and more extenſive proſpect, comprehending the fineſt part of Clarendon, and of the neighbouring pariſhes. The beauties of nature that are diſplayed here are innumerable. In one place is ſeen a long, wavy ſurface, adorned with the lively verdure of canes, interſperſed with wind-mills and other buildings. In another are beheld ſeveral charming lawns of paſture-land, dotted with cattle and ſheep, and watered with rivulets. In a third are Negroe villages, where (far from poverty and diſcontent) peace and plenty hold their reign; a creſted ridge of fertile hills, which ſeparates this pariſh from thoſe contiguous on the North and Eaſt, diſtantly terminates the landſchape.

The produce of this pariſh is ſhipped for the moſt part at Old Harbour Bay; on which there are two principal barquadiers, the one at Old Harbour Town, the other at Bower's River.

In a rocky hill, on the Northern ſide of Old Woman's Savannah, is a cavern which runs a great depth under the earth. Upon examination, a few years ſince, it was found to contain a great many human bones, which were probably either Indians, or the relicks of ſome of the wild or rebellious Negroes, who formerly infeſted this part of the country, and made it their place of concealment. Near this ſavannah is likewiſe a chalybeate-ſpring, which has performed ſome cures, but is not much attended to. The hills adjacent to it furniſh evident proofs of their abounding with copper ore, which one day or other may poſſibly excite a ſtricter inveſtigation. The hard, ſhining pyrites are frequently found in theſe mountains; and magnetic ſtones have been picked up on this ſavannah, which ſeem to indicate the preſence of iron ore. Many of the ſprings in this, as well as in St. Anne's and ſome other pariſhes, are remarkable for their incruſting and petrefactive qualities; forming in ſome places a layer or thin cruſt; in others, penetrating into wood, and other ſubſtances, without altering their ſhape. I have ſeen pieces of hard wood metamorphoſed, by their proceſs, into ſtone, ſo as to anſwer the purpoſe of hones for ſharpening knives. In moſt of the gullies bordering upon the coaſt, are large quantities of agate, chiefly of the fleſh-coloured, blood-coloured, and yellow kinds. But there are

others more variegated. Theſe natural productions are ſo little enquired after here, that, I believe, they are even unknown to many: yet the pains of collecting thoſe moſt in eſteem might be rewarded by the profit of vending them to Great-Britain. The moſt valuable ſpecies are the white-veined, the fleſh-coloured, the red, the pale-yellow, the dark-brown with black veins, and the greeniſh-brown variegated. A few, which an ingenious gentleman of this iſland brought with him to London, were greatly admired. Ship-loads might be procured here at no other charge than that of gathering them; and by breaking a few, the beſt ſort might be eaſily diſcovered. The temperature of the air in this extenſive pariſh is various. In the lowlands it is for the moſt part warm and dry; and, among the mountains, cool, healthy, and invigorating. Some of the low grounds adjoining the rich banks of the Minho are unwholeſome, and were ſo reputed by the Spaniards; for, in times of drowth, this river, about ten miles diſtance from the coaſt, begins firſt to bury its waters, leaving the channel dry for a conſiderable length; then riſes again; and ſo continues ſinking and emerging alternately until it diſembogues. The mud and weeds, thus left to ferment and turn putrid with the heat of the ſun, are ſuppoſed with good reaſon to breed very noxious exhalations; and the known unhealthineſs of one or two eſtates, which border upon this part of it, cannot otherwiſe be accounted for. The white inhabitants, or rather the proprietors of theſe eſtates, might probably be relieved from this annoyance, by removing the dwelling houſes to ſome convenient eminence; for it can never be conſiſtent with health to ſleep in a putrid atmoſphere. The flouriſhing ſtate of this pariſh may be conceived from the following table:

				Annual Produce.	
	Negroes.	Cattle.	Sugar-works.	Hogſheads.	Other Settlements.
1734,	10769	11027			
1740,	11575	12299			
1745,	12775	11969			
1761,	13772				
1768,	15517	14276	70	8000	180

By which it appears that, in the number of Negroes and cattle, it is much improved; and, by the great quantity of produce, that it is in

in a flouriſhing ſtate. The large extent of it hitherto unpeopled will alſo ſuggeſt this obvious remark, that it requires many more ſettlers, to bring it to a more ample ſtate of culture, and render it ſtill more beneficial. Its advantages in point of water are obſerveable from the number of its water-mills, there being no fewer than fifty. Beſides ſugar, ginger, and cacao, the article of coffee is largely cultivated here; and the annual crops of corn are ſo great, that none of the pariſhes are better ſtocked with hogs and poultry. Its low lands alſo abound with horſes, cattle, and ſheep.

SECT. VII.

VERE, in the Precinct of CLARENDON.

THIS pariſh, with Clarendon, forms one precinct. It is bounded Eaſt and North by Clarendon; Weſt, by St. Elizabeth; and South, by the ſea. The town of Carliſle, ſo called in honour of the earl of that name, formerly governor of the iſland, was intended near the mouth of Rio Minho; but it is at preſent only an inconſiderable hamlet, of ten or twelve houſes. This place is remarkable for having been the ſcene of action between the French and Engliſh in the year 1694, when Monſieur Ducaſſe, the governor of Hiſpaniola, with a ſquadron of three men of war, and twenty-three tranſports, having on board 1500 men, invaded the iſland; and, after ſome ineffectual attempts at Port Morant, Cow Bay, and Bluefields, where he met with a repulſe, anchored in Carliſle Bay on the 18th of June. The governor, Sir William Beeſton, who had carefully watched their motions, and conjectured their intention of making a deſcent on this part of the coaſt, immediately ordered thither two troops of horſe, the St. Catharine regiment, and part of the Clarendon and St. Elizabeth regiments of foot-militia. On the 19th in the morning, the French landed between fourteen and fifteen hundred men, who proceeded to the attack of a breaſt-work, which had been haſtily thrown up, near the ſhore. This was gallantly defended for a conſiderable time by two hundred of the militia; who, finding at length that they could not maintain

the poſt, repaſſed the river Minho, after killing ſeveral of the enemy, and the loſs of ſome of their own officers. In the mean time the militia, diſpatched by the governor, having arrived, advanced againſt the French; and, notwithſtanding the fatigue of their long march from Spaniſh Town, they charged the enemy with ſuch fury, as obliged them to retreat. The two following days a few ſlight ſkirmiſhes happened; and on the 22d, the French attacked a brick houſe, then occupied by a Mr. Hubbard, which was bravely defended by twenty-five men, who killed and wounded ſeveral of the French, among whom were ſome officers of diſtinction. The French retired for a while, threatening to renew the aſſault; and, in the mean time, a detachment from the Engliſh troops, of fifty picked men, was thrown into the houſe, and an ambuſcade prepared with the reſt. But the enemy, intimidated with their loſs of men and officers, ſeeing no probability of being able to effect any further advance into the country, ſuddenly retreated to the ſhore, re-embarked with the utmoſt expedition on board their ſhips, and on the 24th, their whole fleet got under ſail for Hiſpaniola. The whole loſs ſuſtained by the French in this ſhort time, by their different engagements and ſickneſs, amounted to near ſeven hundred men. On the part of the Engliſh, one hundred were killed and wounded. Captain Elliot, who had been a priſoner at Petit-Guava, and made his eſcape from thence in a ſmall canoe, brought the firſt intelligence to Sir William Beeſton of the intended invaſion; for which he was afterwards recompenſed by king William III. with a gold chain and medal, of one hundred pounds value, and five hundred pounds in money.

The government of Jamaica immediately ſet about framing ſeveral acts for better guarding the coaſts; and, among others, one for enabling the inhabitants of Vere to erect a fortification for their defence; in conſequence of which, Carliſle Fort was built the following year. This fortreſs, for want of repair, has been undermined by the ſea, and for many years in a ruinous condition, the guns being all diſmounted, and ſome of them buried in the ſand: nor will it probably be reſtored to a proper ſtate for defence till after ſome future invaſion; the general rule of œconomy, purſued in this iſland, having been to let the preparations for defence always follow,

follow, inſtead of preceding, the attack. The pariſh-church ſtands at the diſtance of about two miles and a half from the fort. It is extremely well-finiſhed on the inſide, has an organ, and a tower. Its ſtructure is low, and, being ſurrounded with large cotton-trees, it cannot well be ſeen till on a cloſe approach. There is a decent rectory near it, with about ſeven acres of glebe, beſides twelve acres more, in another part of the pariſh, of very fine land. The ſtipend granted by law is 200*l.* and the whole value of the living about 350*l. per annum.* About half a mile from the church, on the oppoſite ſide of the river Minho, is the free-ſchool, founded about the year 1741, with ſundry private benefactions, and calculated for inſtructing the poor children of the pariſh in reading, writing, arithmetic, Latin, Greek, and the mathematics, under the management of truſtees appointed by an act of aſſembly. This pariſh is watered with five rivers, the Minho, Milk River, Baldwin's, Hilliard's, and Salt River; two of which, the Milk and Salt Rivers, are navigable by boats for a conſiderable way up. Baldwin's and Hilliard's are only ſmall-branches which fall into the Milk River, which, as well as the Minho, diſcharge themſelves into the ſea. Long Bay, and the mouth of Milk River, are only anchoring-places for ſloops: the principal ſhipping-places are at Carliſle Bay, and near the mouth of Salt River; which latter has its ſource about a mile from an inlet on the Weſt ſide of Old Harbour Bay, under the foot of a rocky hill; the ſaltneſs of its water, from whence it takes its name, ſeems to indicate, that it paſſes through a large bed of that foſſil. The entrance into the bay of Old Harbour from Cape Boncato, or Cabarito, on the Eaſt, to the Pitch of Portland, Weſt, is about twelve miles and a half in the width, and the bay about twelve in depth. It is defended by ſix ſmall cayes, or little ſandy iſlands, which are low, and covered with ſhrubs. The baſe of theſe iſlands ſeems to be compoſed of coral rock; over which the ſea has accumulated heaps of ſand and broken ſhells. The reefs, extending from them very far into the bay, render the channels very dangerous to ſtrangers. But the anchoring-grounds are very good in the interior parts, and capacious enough for five hundred ſail of ſhips. The largeſt of theſe cayes is called Pigeon Iſland, from the flocks of pigeons, chiefly the bald-pate, which uſed to frequent

frequent it formerly. On the Weſt part of the bay are, Weſt Harbour, Peake Bay, and Salt River; which are all of them commodious for ſhipping, and well-covered, either by the Ridge of Portland, or ſmall cayes; ſo that the water, where the ſhips lye to receive their loading, is generally ſmooth, and unaffected either by the wind or ſea.

The Promontory of Portland is about ten miles in length, and about two in breadth. The whole of it is extremely rocky, and contains only one ſmall ſpring. Nature has, in ſome degree, compenſated for this deficiency, by ſupplying in the ſhadier parts a great number of little baſons, or reſervoirs, formed in the cavities of rocks, and repleniſhed with rain-water; which prove of great ſervice to run-away Negroes harbouring in the woods. It has only four or five ſmall ſettlements upon it; and theſe are chiefly ſupported by the ſale of braſiletto, and ſome other valuable trees, that are found here in abundance. During the laſt war, a French privateer made a deſcent at Carliſle Bay, ſurprized two gentlemen of the pariſh, and carried them off to ſea. After having detained them for ſome time, the crew at length put them aſhore at Portland Point, with no other ſuſtenance than two or three biſcuits and a bottle of brandy. From this Point there is no road acroſs to the main land; ſo that they were obliged to keep along ſhore, for fear of loſing themſelves in the woods: but the fatigue of clambering over rocks, added to the heat and thirſt, was ſo extreme, that only one of them ſurvived this toilſome march, and returned to his family and friends; the other dropped by the way, and periſhed before any aſſiſtance could be given him. Such are too often the barbarous exploits of theſe licenſed rovers; which ſerve to aggravate the miſeries of war, by committing acts of inhumanity, from which no advantage can reſult, either to themſelves, or the ſtate that employs them! The range of hill which forms this promontory is divided, by a ſmall moraſs near the head of Salt River, from another range, called the Braſiletto Mountain, which extends Northerly into Clarendon. Theſe ridges, confining the pariſh on the South-eaſt, intercept the regular current of the ſea-breeze, and contribute to render the ſettlements Weſtward of them very hot.

The

The land on both ſides the Minho in this pariſh was once famous for the number of indigo works ſettled upon it; all of which are now extinct. It is chiefly cultivated in canes: the almoſt-level tract, which continues from the ſea to the mountains of Clarendon, about ſixteen miles in length, by about fourteen in width in the broadeſt part (excluſive of the ſugar-works), is chiefly employed in cattle and ſheep paſtures. The Weſtern quarter of the pariſh includes a range of high land called Carpenter's Mountains; on the Eaſtern ſide of which are ſome few ſettlements, but the greater part remains uninhabited: acroſs one of the higheſt pitches, named May-day Hill, runs the Leeward road, by which, after paſſing ſeveral miles of wood, we come to a good tavern, built here for the accommodation of travelers; this being the principal communication on the South ſide between the windward and leeward pariſhes. The air of theſe mountains is exceedingly cool and healthy; and their ſoil in general very fertile; which may be judged from the ſtately trees that grace each ſide of the road. In ſome part of theſe mountains (I do not vouch for the truth of the ſtory) is ſaid to be a perpendicular chaſm, the diameter of whoſe mouth is only a few feet, and the depth of it unfathomable. The following ſingular phænomenon is reported of it: that, alternately in the ſpace of every twenty-four hours, it emits and inhales a ſtrong body of air or vapour; and that if, at the time of the indraught, a ſmall bird, or other light body, ſhould be thrown within the vortex, it would be irreſiſtibly drawn in, and never more make its appearance above ground. On the South of theſe mountains, the old road to Leeward paſſes near the coaſt from this pariſh to Black River in St. Elizabeth; but it has been ſeldom uſed ſince the track was formed acroſs May-day Hill, which is a much ſafer and better way.

The low lands of Vere are, for the moſt part, hot and parched; but the air is reckoned not unwholeſome, except near the moraſſes, which border on Peake Bay and Weſt Harbour. Vere has long been famous for producing the fineſt mutton, turkeys and other poultry, in the iſland; and with theſe it trafficks largely in the towns. It produces vaſt annual crops of Guiney corn, and pulſe of various kinds, which form the chief part of ſubſiſtence for the Negroes,

Negroes, and ſmall ſtock belonging to it. Near the Milk River is a hot ſalt-ſpring, the waters of which, ſome writers have not ſcrupled to affirm, will coagulate the white of an egg: but this is extremely fabulous. The ſpring, upon examination, was found very pellucid, but felt only milk-warm, and contained ſeveral little ſtriped fiſh of a ſpecies ſimilar to what are obſerved in Salt River; which is an inconteſtable proof, that the water is never in a ſtate of ebullition. The principles of this water have not as yet been aſcertained by any analyſis; but it is pretty evident, that the predominant ſalt is marine. It has proved very efficacious in cleanſing and healing foul ulcers, and removing cachectic ſwellings of the legs and feet, externally applied.

This iſland contains the three different kinds of heights, diſtinguiſhed in Ireland by the words, *Knock*, ſignifying an inſulated hill, or one unconnected with any range; *Slieve*, a craggy mountain, gradually aſcending, and continued in ſeveral ridges; and *Beinn*, a pinnacle, or mountain of the firſt magnitude, riſing in the midſt of a chain of high lands, and ending in a ſharp, abrupt precipice. Of the firſt ſpecies, which ſome authors have compared to eggs ſet in ſalt, is the Round Hill in this pariſh, formerly called by the Spaniards *Pan de Botillo*, about nine miles W'eſt from Carliſle, and two North from the ſea. One of the like kind, reſembling a ſugar-loaf in its ſhape, ſtands near the ſhore in St. David's. There are likewiſe ſeveral in Clarendon, and other pariſhes.

Off the coaſt there is a good fiſhery; and ſome marine animals, extremely curious and remarkable, have been hauled aſhore here by the Negroes in their ſeines. Among the reſt, a few years ago, a *Sierra Marina*, or ſea-unicorn, was caught entangled in a net at the mouth of Swift River, and required ſix ſtout Negroes to drag it out of the water. It meaſured, from the point of the ſword to the tip of the tail, upwards of fourteen feet, and weighed near fourteen hundred pounds. Seventeen eggs, about the ſize of a man's fiſt, were taken out of the belly; and, ſoon after it was brought upon the land, it diſgorged ſix young ones, of two feet length each, one of which, being put into the ſea, ſwam immediately away. From the liver were extracted about twelve gallons of

of oil; and much more might have been obtained. The fleſh was cut up into large pieces, and afforded a delicious repaſt to the Negroes that were employed in the capture.

The lower diſtrict of this pariſh, called Withywood, took its name from its having been formerly overſpread with wood and withes when the Engliſh firſt ſettled upon it, and which grew ſo thick, that it was impoſſible to walk among them without a cutlaſs to clear the way. This is the part, which, on account of its rich ſoil, was afterwards filled with indigo and ſugar-works, the opulence of whoſe owners is ſpoken of by ſeveral writers; and though it has been called in queſtion by ſome, yet it is very certain, that more carriages of pleaſure were at one time kept here, than in all the reſt of the iſland, Spaniſh Town only excepted. It is, indeed, almoſt incredible to think what vaſt fortunes were made here by cultivation of this ſingle commodity. When the act of parliament was paſſed with an intent to recover this branch of trade, the very art of making it was loſt; few or no perſons were then living in this part who were able to give inſtructions, and ſtill fewer left to receive and follow them if any could have been given. The modern ſettlers had converted their lands into paſture, or the raiſing of cotton and corn; and could not be perſuaded to give up a little certainty for a much greater probable advantage, where the inſtability of ſtate-maxims threatened ſuch a riſque to the experimentors. The new law, which was merely temporary, inſtead of impoſing a heavy tax, as the former law had done, allowed a ſmall debenture in favour of every pound weight of indigo, the growth and manufacture of the Britiſh iſlands imported into England; yet it availed here but very little. None in this pariſh attempted to revive the culture of it. Three or four took it up in other parts of the iſland; and probably, if the law had been renewed after its expiration, with ſome additional bounty, it might have encouraged many more to try the effects of it.

For cattle and ſtock of all ſorts, particularly horſes and ſheep, no pariſh in the iſland excels this, either in number or quality. The ſoil, except Main Savannah, which is a gravelly tract, and rather ſterile in dry years, is of a fine brick-mould, and, were it not for the want of regular ſhowers, it would be one of the moſt

productive ſpots in the Weſt-Indies. From the ſummits and ſides of the hills, which almoſt ſurround and overlook it, the appearance of it is inexpreſſibly delightful, and reſembling much ſome of the richeſt plains of England. The Round Hill before-noticed adds greatly to the elegance of the proſpect; and it is enlivened every where with herds, flocks, ſugar-mills, and other pleaſing objects.

State of this Pariſh:

	Negroes.	Cattle.	Sugar-works.	Annual Produce of Sugar. Hogſheads.	Other Settlements.
1734,	3582	7194			
1740,	5370	8580			
1745,	5423	8870			
1761,	5663				
1768,	5940	7462	19	2100	131

This pariſh appears to be on the decline in the article of cattle, of which it contains fourteen hundred leſs than in the year 1745; which has been owing to the laying waſte ſome capital breeding penns, and the converſion of others into ſugar-plantations.

SECT. VIII.

St. MARY.

THIS pariſh is bounded on the Eaſt by St. George; Weſt, by St. Anne; South, by St. Thomas in the Vale, and part of St. Andrew; and North, by that frith of the ſea which ſeparates Cuba from this iſland. It is watered with twenty-four rivers, beſides ſmaller ſtreams; the principal of which are the Sambre, the Nuevo, Bagnal's Waters, and Port Maria, Eaſternmoſt and Weſternmoſt. Nearly the whole of this pariſh is compoſed of hill, mountain, dale, and valley. The coaſt differs greatly from that of the South ſide, being for the moſt part iron-bound, or protected againſt the fury of the North winds and ſurges of the ſea with a wall of rocks. The ſoil too is different, being in general a ſtiff clay on the higher grounds, and a conſiderable depth of rich, black, vegetable mould in the lower. The ſoil is univerſally fertile; the hills and moun-

tains cloathed with noble woods, full of the fineſt and largeſt timber-trees; and every ſpot adapted to cultivation of almoſt every kind, except that the ſummits of ſome are thought too bleak and chilly for the ſugar-cane: this is therefore chiefly confined to the vallies, and warmer ſlopes of the hills. The water is equal to any in the world for purity and wholeſomeneſs; and the air is in general extremely healthful, and agreeable to European conſtitutions. About Orange River, and ſome other parts of this pariſh, the quarry-ſtones lie in layers, and are dug out in regular ſquares, of pretty even thickneſs, ſo as to anſwer the maſon's purpoſe with very little trouble. They are of a light-brown, and yield to the acid. The chief ports are Anotto Bay, Port Maria, Auracabeſſa, Saltgut, and Rio Nuevo; which are good anchoring-places, though no ſecurity to ſhips in time of a hurricane, as they are all expoſed to the North.

Port Maria is famous for having given, as it is ſuppoſed, an aſylum to Columbus, when his ſhip was near foundering with a leak; and ſomewhere hereabouts authors have placed the town of Melilla, the firſt which the Spaniards founded. Rio Nuevo is likewiſe remarkable for the deciſive victory gained there by general D'Oyley over the Spaniards; which confirmed the Engliſh in poſſeſſion of this iſland. The weather in this pariſh is extremely wet during great part of the year, and ſo cold, that few if any of the houſes are unfurniſhed with a chimney. Its chief productions are ſugar and rum, a little indigo, coffee, tobacco, and corn. The land in general from its richneſs bears too luxuriant a cane: I have ſeen ſome here of enormous ſize and length; but ſuch are unfit for making ſugar, and are only ground for the ſtill-houſe. The great plenty of water and proviſions are extremely favourable to the breeding of hogs, of which there is great abundance; but ſheep and poultry do not thrive here ſo well, owing to the rankneſs of the paſturage, and moiſture of the atmoſphere. This pariſh, having been frequently diſturbed with inſurrections of the Negroe ſlaves belonging to it, has four barracks, at two of which there is uſually a ſmall cantonment of ſoldiers.

Fort Haldane, at Port Maria, ſtands on an eminence commanding the entrance of the harbour, and is capable of making a good

defence. The barracks are large enough to receive ſixty men. The quarters here have not proved healthy to the troops; but the reaſon, as I have been informed, is, that the men were fed too conſtantly on ſalt proviſions, which ſometimes were of bad quality.

Auracabeſſa has a battery, and barracks likewiſe for ſixty men. The other barracks are, one on the Weſt ſide of Anotto Bay, at a place called Jack's Bay; and one at Bagnals, near the Decoy.

The hamlets at Rio Nuevo, Port-Maria, and Saltgut, have from eight to twelve houſes each, inhabited principally by wharfingers, ſtore and ſhop-keepers. One of the greateſt curioſities in this pariſh is the Decoy, the ſeat of Sir Charles Price, bart. It is ſituated on part of the range of mountains which border on St. Thomas in the Vale. The houſe is of wood, but well finiſhed, and has in front a very fine piece of water, which in winter is commonly ſtocked with wild-duck and teal. Behind it is a very elegant garden diſpoſed in walks, which are ſhaded with the cocoa-nut, cabbage, and ſand-box trees. The flower and kitchen-garden are filled with the moſt beautiful and uſeful variety which Europe, or this climate, produces. It is decorated, beſides, with ſome pretty buildings; of which the principal is an octagonal ſaloon, richly ornamented on the inſide with luſtres, and mirrors empanneled. At the termination of another walk is a grand triumphal arch, from which the proſpect extends over the fine cultivated vale of Bagnals quite to the Northſide Sea. Clumps of graceful cabbage-trees are diſperſed in different parts, to enliven the ſcene; and thouſands of plantane and other fruit-trees occupy a vaſt tract, that environs this agreeable retreat, not many years ago a gloomy wilderneſs.

The late Sir Charles [n] was extremely attached to this place, and ſpent much of his time here, making it the abode of chearfulneſs

[n] This gentleman was a native of Jamaica, and endued with uncommon natural talents, which were improved by education, and poliſhed by travel in the early part of his life. On his return to this iſland, his opulent fortune only ſerved to make his abilities more conſpicuous, and more uſeful to the community. Theſe eventually gave him the lead in public affairs. With an honeſt loyalty to his ſovereign, which none could ſurpaſs, he poſſeſſed a truly patriotic attachment for his country; and, though ever ready to aſſiſt and facilitate adminiſtration, while conducted on the great principle of public good, he was always the ſteady, perſevering, and intrepid opponent to illegal and pernicious meaſures of governors. If it were at all neceſſary to produce teſtimonials in

fulneſs and hoſpitality: to theſe, the delightful air breathed here, and the amiable qualities of the owner of this paradiſe, mutually contributed. This, which I may juſtly call the temple of ſocial enjoyments, was conſtantly open to the reception of worthy men, whether of the iſland, or ſtrangers: and few gentlemen of rank, whether of the army or navy, on ſervice here, quitted the iſland without having paſſed ſome of their time at the Decoy. Among theſe was the unfortunate Mr. B—ſc—n, a young officer in the ſquadron, of the moſt promiſing abilities, and liberal accompliſhments; who, being on a viſit in the year 1769, went early one morning to bathe in the canal, and periſhed before aſſiſtance could be given him. This ſad accident was inexpreſſibly afflicting to Sir Charles, and left ſo ſtrong an impreſſion upon his mind, that, before his own deceaſe, he gave particular directions to inter his body cloſe by his friend Mr. B—ſc—n. The mountain on which the Decoy is ſituated is a great height above the level of the ſea, by ſome ſuppoſed at leaſt half a mile perpendicular. Upon digging into a marle pit here, was diſcovered a vaſt quantity of petrifactions, reſembling the large conchites or cockles, or rather perhaps the eſcallop kind, the edges being denticulated, but the outſide without any viſible remains of furrows, if they ever had any. I examined ſeveral, but could not perceive the ſmalleſt veſtige of a teſtaceous covering. They were perfectly ſolid maſſes, hard as ſtone, and compoſed of very minute particles cemented together. It would be difficult to prove, that mere inert matter ſhould ſpontaneouſly aſſume theſe regular forms, and apt imitations of marine

in juſtification of this character, I might refer to the very honourable marks of approbation which were ſo deſervedly conferred upon him, both by the crown, and the different aſſemblies in which he preſided, for ſo many years, as ſpeaker, with an integrity, candour, and dignity, that were almoſt unexampled. In private life, his complacency of manners, accompliſhed knowledge of books and men, and delicacy of humour, rendered him the polite, inſtructive, and entertaining companion: here he ſhone the inflexible lover of truth, the firm friend, and the generous patron. His mind was amply ſtored with the treaſures of liberal erudition. But theology ſeemed his favourite ſcience; and the Great Author of nature, the chief object of his ſtudy. Though qualified in all reſpects to have made a reſpectable figure on a more extenſive theatre, he preferred a reſidence in this iſland; which as he enriched and embelliſhed by the diffuſion of his income, and taſte for improvements, ſo he benefited by an inceſſant attention to its welfare. Jamaica loſt one of its beſt friends, when he breathed his laſt, which happened in June, 1772, after he had attained to a good old age. I ſhall only add, that few men in any country have attracted more general veneration while living, or more general regret when dead.

ſhells. But it is almoſt as difficult to diſcover, by what means they were brought into a ſituation at that height above the ſea, and at ſuch a diſtance from it. Nature is ſaid to have done nothing in vain; but an original creation of ſuch whimſical reſemblances could anſwer no wiſe purpoſe. This globe carries every preſumptive evidence of having undergone very extraordinary changes, and particularly by earthquakes; and, as we cannot tell by what imperceptible paſſages the water of the ocean may permeate even below the baſe of iſlands; ſo we cannot poſitively deny, but it may force its way to a very conſiderable elevation, in conſequence of violent eruptions, which attend theſe commotions of the earth; carrying with it ſhells and ſand, and perhaps leaving maſſes of ſalt depoſited as it recedes, which may afterwards impregnate rivers, as we find in ſome parts of the South ſide of Jamaica. Doctor Brookes ſpeaks rationally on this ſubject: "We cannot," ſays he, "determine "whether there has ever been an univerſal earthquake or not, "which has changed the primitive form of our world. However, "this is certain, that a great many ſubſtances, which ſeem to have "been proper only to the ſea, are now found in the bowels of the "earth; and which have perhaps been petrified by degrees, by the "inſinuation of water, ſalts, and exceeding ſmall cryſtalline or "ſtony particles, proper to fill up their pores, without alteration "of their ſhape. To this all the productions which ſome have "looked upon as *luſus naturæ*, or ſports of nature, are evidently "owing. Beſides the bones of crocodiles, the ſkeletons of ſea-"horſes, the entire bodies of petrified fiſh, there are almoſt every "where found ſea-ſhells of all kinds, and all ſorts of the parts of "ſea-animals, converted into ſtone; ſome very wonderful, with "regard to their ſituation; and others, with regard to the oddneſs "of their ſhapes." The petrifactions found at the Decoy ſeem to come neareſt in ſimilitude to Sir Hans Sloane's *Pecten Jamacienſis ſtriis levibus*, Vol. II. fol. 256. N° I. which is frequent on the ſhores of the iſland.

As the ſettlement of this pariſh was not entered upon heartily until about the year 1736, it may ſtill be deemed in its infancy, and will no doubt invite new planters by degrees, as its wood-land comes to be cleared; for at preſent not one-fourth of it is brought

into

into cultivation. In the South-eaſt angle of it is a Negroe town, called Scot's Hall, inhabited by a party of the Maroons, who came in upon terms.

On the road paſſing from Guy's Hill to the Decoy is a quarry of black marble, with white veins. The rock appears conſiderably above the level of the road in large maſſes. It has never yet been worked, as it would probably anſwer little other purpoſe in this country, except for making lime, or ſlabs for dining-apartments. The diſtance from the ſea renders the carriage difficult and too expenſive at preſent; but in time perhaps, when the roads are more improved, and this part of the iſland more populous, it may anſwer for exportation, either to Europe or North-America.

The State of St. Mary:

	Negroes.	Cattle.	Sugar-works,	Annual Produce. Hogſheads.	Other Settlements.
1734,	2938	2182			
1740,	4484	2972			
1745,	5631	3304			
1761,	9318				
1768,	12159	7996	49	5500	56

This pariſh is evidently improving faſt. And we may venture to foretell, that the North ſide, though labouring under the misfortune of being the laſt-ſettled, will in time become the moſt populous, as it is naturally the healthieſt diviſion of the iſland. The ſoil, by reaſon of its exceeding richneſs, does not make immediate good returns in ſugar; but the proportion of rum is far greater than on the South ſide; and the excellence of the land aſſures a permanent, and perhaps inexhauſtible, fertility.

SECT. IX.

St. ANNE.

THE pariſh of St. Anne is bounded on the Eaſt by St. Mary; on the Weſt, by St. James; South, by Clarendon and St. Thomas in the Vale; and North, by the ſea. It is watered with twelve rivers,

rivers, the principal of which are Río Rueno, St. Anne's Great-River, Roaring and White Rivers. Its ports are St. Anne's Bay, Dry Harbour [o], Rio Bueno, Ocho Rios, and Runaway Bay. At the former of theſe was the town of Sevilla Nueva. The bay of St. Anne is defended by a reef of rocks, which ſtretches almoſt acroſs its entrance, leaving only one ſmall channel for the ſhips to go in or out. This barrier ſo effectually breaks the ſurge of the ſea, that the baſon in which the ſhips lie at anchor is at all times perfectly ſmooth: it is likewiſe ſheltered by two points of land, projecting on each ſide the bay like the horns of a creſcent. The drift of the waves being towards the Weſtward, they form a current over the breakers which are loweſt on that ſide of the bay. This current ſweeps through the harbour with a direction towards the ſhip-channel, which is on the Eaſtern ſide; whence it happens, that, when the ſea-breeze blows, which gives the water this direction, the veſſels at anchor here ride with their ſterns to the wind.

The harbour is deep, inſomuch that the largeſt ſhips that load here with ſugars, lay their broad-ſide cloſe to the wharf, which is not many feet in length. It is defended by a battery of twelve embrazures; and at a ſmall diſtance are the barracks, elegantly built, in which a company of regulars are ſtationed. The town of St. Anne conſiſts of about thirty or forty houſes, ſtraggling along the beach, and chiefly inhabited by ſhop-keepers. On the Weſt ſide of the bay is the pariſh-church, a very handſome building. The harbour has ſomewhat the appearance of the letter E capital, placed horizontally thus ⊂, the coaſt projecting into the centre of it, and making a ſemi-circular ſweep on each ſide. Sevilla Nueva was built upon an eaſy eminence, riſing from this centre. The ſituation is extremely delightful. By the projection of the land, it commands a very fine and extenſive view of the country for many miles to the Eaſt and Weſt, bounded by diſtant moun-

[o] This place has lately commenced a trading port, and ſome houſes are erected at it as the *exordia* of a future town. This will probably ſucceed, in conſequence of a road now forming from it to Cave River, in Clarendon, the diſtance twenty miles, about fourteen of which extend over a woody, uncultivated diſtrict. The road, when compleated, will doubtleſs contribute to the ſpeedy ſettlement of this tract of country, and has the peculiar merit of opening a communication through theſe almoſt unoccupied parts, without croſſing one river.

tains,

tains, and having the bay, buildings, ſhipping, and ſea in front. From hence, as well as other elevated ſpots on the North ſide, ſome of the high lands in Cuba, called the Copper Mountains, are frequently diſcerned at one hundred miles diſtance in the months of October and November, and during ſome of the ſucceeding months. They appear of an azure caſt to the eye, like the Blue Mountains; and the ſight of them is eſteemed a certain prognoſtic of approaching North winds, which uſually ſet in about that time of the year. Several rivulets fall into this bay; and cloſe adjoining to the ſpot where Seville once ſtood is a fine quarry of white free-ſtone, which is ſoft when firſt dug up, but hardens after expoſure to the air. A place could not have been more happily ſelected than this by the Spaniards for building a town. Here was plenty of excellent materials for architecture, abundance of good water, a fertile ſoil in the neighbourhood, the woods filled with the greateſt variety of large and valuable timber-trees, the ſea and rivers ſtored with innumerable fiſh, a ſafe and ſpacious port, and the diſtance not remote from their iſland of Cuba. With all theſe advantages of ſituation and a fine air they abandoned it, becauſe the Southſide ports were more convenient for the galleons and other tranſient veſſels paſſing between St. Domingo and Carthagena; and their traffic was chiefly confined to the ſupplying theſe viſitors with proviſions, and a few other neceſſaries.

It is not to be doubted, but that under the genius of Peter Martir, who was abbot of the collegiate church founded here, the public buildings would have riſen with an elegance unuſual in the new world. Several fragments of carved work in ſtone, ſuch as mouldings, feſtoons, cherubs, &c. are ſtill to be ſeen here, that would be thought no mean ornaments in an European church. The ruins of two edifices, one ſaid to have been a caſtle, the other dedicated to religious uſe (probably the collegiate church), are ſtill remaining; the walls of which are ſeveral feet in thickneſs, and compacted with an exceedingly hard cement. It is the property of the lime made from the ſhell-marble, ſo common in this iſland, to contract with age all the cloſeneſs and ſolidity of ſtone; and I have ſeen ſome plaiſter taken from an old Spaniſh tank, or ciſtern, which could ſcarcely be broken with an hammer. The battery which de-

fends the port is conſtructed with materials taken from theſe venerable fabrics, and ſtands in the place of an eccleſiaſtical ſanctuary. The poſſeſſion of this city fell to the ſhare of captain Heming, an officer in the Oliverian army ſent hither; and his poſterity ſtill enjoy it.

The caſtle and church, being almoſt half a mile aſunder, may give us ſome idea of the intended extent and grandeur of this place; but, the old walls before-mentioned being every day diminiſhed, for the ſake of the materials which are uſed in repairing the buildings on the eſtate, it is probable that in a few years more there will be ſcarcely any veſtige left of this celebrated city. But the ground about the church being ſuppoſed conſecrated, is ſtill preſerved as a burial place. As for the ruins of the caſtle, they are not only leveled to, but conſiderably ſunk below, the preſent ſurface of the earth. In the year 1764 were dug up two pilaſters of about ſeven feet length, of no particular order, but ſomewhat reſembling the Ionic. They appeared to have belonged to the portal, or veſtibule, of ſome large building, as there were alſo ſeveral concave ſtones proper for an arched roof. Upon theſe pilaſters were ſome rude carvings in *alto relievo*. Four or five coarſe images were likewiſe found; one of which reſembled a ſphynx; another, an alligator; and the reſt were creatures of the maſon's fancy. The manſion-houſe on this eſtate ſtands on the ſummit of a riſing lawn, nearly equidiſtant from the ſea and the mountains; a ſituation which makes it both healthy and agreeable. Before the front of it is a battery of eighteen ſmall guns *en barbette*; which is intended as a protection to the eſtate, and to the harbour itſelf in war-time againſt privateers. The garden on the Eaſt ſide of the houſe is prettily laid out; and decorated with a ſtone-temple, elegantly deſigned in the modern taſte.

The Spaniſh habitations have long ago been demoliſhed, and the ground whereon they ſtood converted into cane-fields; but, in turning up the ſoil for planting, the old rubbiſh continually makes its appearance, and contributes to render it leſs fertile. The ruins were more perfect in Sir Hans Sloan's time, who viſited them in 1688, and has left us the following account:

"The

" The church was not finiſhed. It was twenty paces broad, and thirty long. There were two rows of pillars within; and over the place where the altar was intended were ſome carvings under the ends of the arches. The houſes and foundations ſtand for ſeveral miles along (theſe were probably the houſes of detached ſettlements, not of the ſtreets). Captain Heming ſaid, he ſometimes found pavements under his canes three feet covered with earth, ſeveral wells, and burial-ſtones finely cut. There are the beginnings of a great houſe called a monaſtery; but I ſuppoſe the houſe was deſigned for the governor. There were two coats of arms lay by, not ſet up; a ducal one; and that of a count; belonging I ſuppoſe to the family of Columbus, proprietors of the iſland. There had been raiſed a tower, part brick, part hewn ſtone, as alſo ſeveral battlements on it; and other lower buildings unfiniſhed. At the church lie ſeveral arched ſtones, to compleat it; which had never been put up, but are lodged among the canes. The rows of pillars within were for the moſt part unornamented. It was thought, that in the time of the Spaniards the Europeans had been cut off by the Indians; and ſo the church left uncompleated. When the Engliſh took the iſland, the ruins of this city were ſo overgrown with wood, that they were all turned black. Nay, I ſaw a mammee, or baſtard mammee-tree, growing within the walls of the tower, ſo high as that it muſt have been a very large gun to kill a bird on the top of it; and the trunks of many of the trees, when felled from this place, to make room for the ſugar-canes, were ſixty feet or more in length. A great many wells are on this ground. The Weſt gate of the church was of very fine work, and ſtands entire. It is ſeven feet wide, and as high to the ſpring of the arch. Over the door, in the centre, is our Saviour's head, with a crown of thorns, between two angels; on the right ſide, a ſmall round figure of ſome ſaint, with a knife ſtruck into his head; and on the left, a madona, her arm tied in three places after the Spaniſh faſhion. Over the gate, and beneath a coat of arms, was this inſcription:

PETRVS. MARTIR. AB. ANGLERIA. ITALVS. CIVIS. MEDIOLANEN. PROTHON. APOS. HVJVS. INSVLE. ABBAS. SENATVS. INDICI. CONSILIARIVS. LIGNEAM. PRIUS. ÆDEM. HANC. BIS. IGNE. CONSVMPTAM. LATERICIO. ET. QVADRATO. LAPIDE. PRIMVS. A. FVNDAMENTIS. EXTRVXIT [*p*].

These words are entire, except *Mediolanensis*, which I have supplied (says Sir Hans), because this Peter Martir, a famous man, wrote himself "of Milan." He was author of the Decads, Epistles, and some other books; which gave him great reputation in the world."

There is at this time in St. Domingo, as I am credibly informed, a Spanish lady, of an old family, who takes her title from this place, by the stile of Countess de Sevilla Nueva, in Jamaica.

The hamlets at Laughlands and Runaway Bay are too insignificant to merit description. At the former a chapel of ease was erected some years ago; but it is at present in a ruinous condition, and is only used for holding elections for the parish-representatives. Between this and the Bay is Richmond, belonging to Mr. P——k. This estate is graced with a very elegant mansion, consisting of two stories. It is surrounded with a spacious piazza, supported by columns of the Ionic order; at the four angles are pavilions, with Venetian windows corresponding to each other. The only fault belonging to this house is in point of situation; for it stands upon a dead flat; but, being considerably raised from the foundation, it is dry and healthy. Adjoining is a pleasant lawn, or paddock, fenced with Chinese railing, skirted with a gravel-walk, and ornamented with rows of cocoa-trees. The great road to St. James runs parallel to the North front, at the distance of about two hundred yards: the passage from hence to the house leads through a pair of handsome gates along a spacious gravel-walk. Immediately across the road, and opposite to the same front, is a large pleasure-garden, neatly laid out in walks, and stocked with a variety of flowers and flowering-shrubs; of which the chief are, the English, Spanish, and Arabian jasmines; balsams, Indian arrow, capsicums, sunflowers, French marigolds, jalap or four o'clock, coffee-bushes,

[*p*] In English: "Peter Martir, of Anghiera, an Italian, citizen of Milan, chief missionary, "and abbot of this island, member of the council of the Indies, first raised from its foundation, "with brick and squared stone, this edifice, which formerly was built of wood, and twice destroyed "by fire."

South-

South-ſea roſe, Barbadoes pride, Jeruſalem thorn, pomegranate, paſſion flower, phyſic nut, and many others. In the centre is a fountain; and in another part a large labyrinth, incloſed principally with the wild olive, and furniſhed with commodious ſeats. The town of St. Anne carries on ſome trade, chiefly for mules and cattle, with the Cuba Spaniards, who run over in one night's time in very ſmall veſſels, and not ſeldom in open boats. This pedling intercourſe has been productive of a very ſignal miſchief, which has chiefly affected this pariſh. The Negroes here, either perceiving the facility of this paſſage, or (which is moſt probable) inveigled by the flattering aſſurances of theſe ſtrolling Spaniſh traders, who for the greater part are a thieviſh race, have taken every opportunity to deſert in canoes, and withdraw to Cuba, in hopes of obtaining their freedom: ſo that ſeveral hundreds have, within a few years paſt, decamped from this and other parts of the North ſide, to the great loſs of the planters. Theſe Spaniards, upon many occaſions, have lain under ſuſpicion of not merely inveigling the Blacks with fair ſpeeches, but even taking them away by force. This, indeed, has been a very old practice of theirs, and, for want of an authoritative check, is now become ſo habitual, that they uſe as little ceremony in ſupplying themſelves from Jamaica by theſe means, as the Portugueze and Hollanders formerly uſed towards the natives of Guiney. In the year 1719, the then governor of Jamaica ſent the captain of a frigate to the alcaldes, or chief officers of Trinidado, a town in Cuba, demanding reſtitution of ſeveral Negroes, piratically taken from the iſland. But the officers returned for anſwer, "that, as to thoſe and other fugitives, "they were there as the other ſubjects of their lord the king, and, "being brought voluntarily to their holy church, had received "the water of baptiſm." The concluſion follows of courſe; that, being thus adopted into the Roman Catholic faith, in virtue of the mere ceremonial of their baptiſm, though without the leaſt knowledge of their new religion, or the grounds or nature of their faith, they could not return, to mingle again with heretics, without peril to their immortal ſouls. Such is the pretext by which theſe rogues, under the cobweb veil of their religion, detain the property of Britiſh ſubjects. It will not be diſputed, but that the induſtry

induſtry and labour of ſo many uſeful hands, transferred by this fraudulent mode of conveyance to a foreign ſtate, are more than a loſs to their owners; they are a loſs to the whole Britiſh community. The governors of Jamaica have not been wanting to lend every aſſiſtance in their power towards recovery of theſe fugitives, or rather ſtolen goods, by ſending requiſitorial letters to the Spaniſh commanders; but with ſo little effect, that ſome Britiſh frigates, which ſince the late peace were ſent with theſe diſpatches to the Havannah and other Spaniſh ports, were ſhot at from their forts, and ordered to depart without coming to an anchor. Our flag was inſulted, but no redreſs given. Expoſtulations on this head have been made, as I have heard, to as little purpoſe in Europe. The alcaldes here, like thoſe of America, are equally bigots when the cant of religious ſophiſtry is required to ſanctify baſe actions.

A Negroe, flying from our colony to Cuba, or kidnapped thither, becomes the property of the Spaniſh crown, that is, of a Spaniſh alcalde. The ſtupid, illiterate wretch is preſently admitted into the boſom of holy mother-church, and ſtraight becomes a *bueno catholico*, and a Spaniſh ſubject. He continues, however, in a ſtate of ſervitude, and earns a weekly ſum for his maſter, who muſt pay a certain proportion of it into the royal coffers, or give him up to labour on the fortifications, until the confederate gang of Negroes there can make up a purſe for him. He then goes before another of theſe officers, and intimates that he has wherewithal to purchaſe his freedom. The owner is ſummoned; and, the ſum being fixed at a certain moderate rate, his maſter is obliged to take the money, and grant a manumiſſion. By this eaſy method, theſe deſerters ſoon acquire their freedom, and with very little pains are able, by cultivating tobacco, breeding poultry and hogs, making chip-hats, ſegars, and other trifling articles, to earn a comfortable livelihood among ſuch a ſet of haughty and indolent beings, who ſcorn to ſully their noble hands with vulgar occupations. Such being the encouragements held out to our Negroes, and the paſſage ſo eaſily made, it is only aſtoniſhing that the defection is not greater. It may be urged, that our Negroes, having once taſted the ſweets of ſo eaſy a life, and fraught with the moſt pernicious ſuperſtitions [q], would be uſeleſs, if not dangerous, if they

[q] For example, "that it is meritorious to kill heretics."

were

were reſtored again to the iſland. This I ſeriouſly believe, but it is no argument to juſtify the detainers of them; for, ſurely, if they had principle enough to do what the laws of nations, of juſtice, and common honeſty, require, they would either re-deliver the perſons of theſe Negroes, or a pecuniary indemnification; they themſelves not beſtowing a *gratis* freedom to theſe poor people, but ſelling it to them for a valuable conſideration, exacted in money, a part of which booty their illuſtrious ſovereign (or I am miſinformed) diſdains not to participate. What are we to think of a ſociety of men, who are capable of committing ſuch pious frauds under the maſk of pretended righteouſneſs! The very ſame pretence might be brought by a highwayman, or pick-pocket, to juſtify their malefactions. It is flagrant robbery, a breach of good faith between the two nations, and ought to be anſwered with repriſals to make good the damages ſuſtained by the plundered parties. The ſovereign of Great-Britain holds an intereſt in all the Negroes poſſeſſed by his colony-ſubjects; for his revenue is very greatly benefited and ſupported by the produce of their perſonal labour. The nation at large holds an intereſt in them by the number of manufacturers ſet to work; by the ſhipping and mariners; by the articles neceſſary to cloathe, feed, and employ theſe labourers; and by their general conſumption of Britiſh merchandizes. Hence, in every reſpect, this grievance ſeems to riſe into a national concern, and to deſerve a powerful national interpoſition, that ſuch acts of perfidy and injuſtice may ceaſe for the future. That ſome judgement may be formed of the height of inſolence to which the Spaniards have carried their pretenſions, I muſt not omit to mention that, ſo recently as the year 1768, the aſſembly of the iſland addreſſed his majeſty; ſetting forth, that numbers of their ſlaves were actually detained and employed in the ſervice of the Catholic king, or his ſubjects; and that, application having been made to the governor of St. Jago in Cuba for the delivery of ſome of thoſe ſlaves, he declared, "that although he knew many Negroes were at that "place, who had made their elopement from Jamaica, yet he "would not deliver them up; having received orders from the "court of Spain, injoining, that all Negroes coming thither from "the Britiſh iſlands, in what manner ſoever, ſhould be employed

"in

" in his Catholic majeſty's ſervice, until further inſtructions ſhould " be given concerning them."

There needs no ſtronger proof to ſhew, that this thieviſh practice, ſo repugnant to the good faith that ought to ſubſiſt between two nations in amity, ſo deſtructive of the Britiſh commerce, ſo inconſiſtent with the rules of honeſty, that, if it occurred between two private individuals, the offender would juſtly be deemed a felon; there needs, I ſay, no fuller evidence, that this diſhonourable policy is countenanced, avowed, and defended, by the Spaniſh government. It is plain, that his Catholic majeſty's inſtructions are directly leveled againſt all the Britiſh colonies: no mention is made of any other; and probably none other are included in them. We may likewiſe obſerve the latitude of the words: " coming in what " manner ſoever;" under the implication of which are certainly meant, not only thoſe who voluntarily deſert or run away, but all others who are either trepanned, or violently brought away, by his own Spaniſh ſubjects: and theſe Negroes are to be employed immediately in the king's ſervice. Whence it is plain, that every Spaniard muſt eſteem this as an encouragement to him; nay, he muſt think he performs his duty to his ſovereign, as a zealous ſubject ought to do, in taking all opportunities, that happen within his power, to inveigle and ſteal away Negroes from the Britiſh planters, for the benefit of his monarch's ſervice. Unhappily, Jamaica lies more convenient in its ſituation, than any other, for favouring theſe depredations. One would think, that ſo peremptory an avowal of what is apparently unjuſtifiable in itſelf would be ſufficient to alarm a Britiſh miniſtry, and lead them at leaſt to reflect, that the emigration of all the Negroes from Jamaica to Cuba is at leaſt *poſſible*; more eſpecially, as the Spaniards boldly aſſert their intentions to get poſſeſſion of them by all poſſible ways and means; and that, after they have ſeduced, or ſtolen away, theſe Negroes, or only the major part of them, they will have much leſs difficulty in gaining poſſeſſion of the iſland itſelf; which is an object that, we have juſt apprehenſion for believing, they have all along held in view. If, indeed, they ſhould be ſucceſsful enough in diſpeopling it of the Negroes, we need not heſitate to let them take the land into the bargain. I have heard the number of them purloined from

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the iſland, or that have eloped and been detained in a few years paſt, computed at eight hundred; the value of which, that is, the actual loſs to their owners, at the loweſt calculation, cannot be rated at leſs than 40,000 *l.* Jamaica money. Had they taken a loaded ſhip from us of half that value, the whole body of merchants would have rung the alarm, and the clamours of the nation would have ſpeedily reached the cabinet at Madrid. Why the injury done to our planters has been leſs held in eſtimation, why no redreſs has been obtained for them, for their paſt loſſes, nor ſecurity againſt the future, notwithſtanding this affair has been ſtrenuouſly repreſented, I am unable to diſcover. Our Britiſh courts of juſtice, adopting the principle of Gronovius, inform us, that a Negroe, coming from one of our own colonies into Great-Britain, in what manner ſoever, becomes inſtantly diſcharged from the ſervice of his owner. Perhaps a Spaniſh Gronovius has been found, to aſſert the propriety of this kidnapping by the like rule of, "*Servus peregrinus, ſimul atque terram Hiſpanicam tetigerit, eodem momento liber fiat;*" under this reſerve, however, that he is free only *quoad* his Britiſh owner, but not ſo *quoad* the king of Jeruſalem [r].

But, to have done with a ſubject on which perhaps I may be thought to have ſaid too much, I return to the pariſh of St. Anne. From White River to Rio Bueno, its Eaſtern and Weſtern boundaries, there is a continued pretty level ground, for about twenty-four miles in length, along the coaſt, extending in breadth in few places more than one mile to the foot of the hills, which riſe gra-

[r] It is probable, that the eccleſiaſtics derive ſome pecuniary benefit from this practice, as it conforms to ſome of the Romiſh doctrines; agreeably to the true ſpirit of which, that canon was injoined by the pope to the biſhop of Worceſter, in the year 1497, viz. "that a man ſhould be "permitted to retain the property of another perſon, by what method ſoever he had ſeized or ac-"quired it, provided he gave a certain portion thereof to the pope's commiſſaries, or ſubſtitutes." Irenæus was the firſt who broached this infatnous tenet, in his argument to juſtify the Iſraelites for having robbed the Egyptians of their plate and jewels. The ſtale pretext of the Spaniards, founded on their zeal in the cauſe of holy mother-church, and the tenor of the royal cedula, ſeem to correſpond exactly with the ſame abominable principle, and encourage the Negroes of our iſlands to rob their maſters, and deſert to them; who maintain, that, if a ſhare of the plunder be but given to their church, the converſion from paganiſm to their faith is ſufficient of itſelf to extenuate all preceding crimes. Such poſitions are ſuitable only to a community of thieves, or to the deluded votaries of ſuch a religion. They may apply to themſelves and their diſciples, with great propriety, the words of a French gentleman, mentioned by Lord Orrery: *Pour vous dire la verité, nous ſommes tous des bon catholiques; mais pour la religion, nous n'en avons point.* "To ſay the truth, "we are all good catholics; but, as for religion, we have none."

dually to very high mountains. This tract between the hills and the coaſt is, for the moſt part, a ſhallow *ſtratum* of mould upon a white, hot marle. Here are the ſugar-plantations, which with good management bear moderate crops; but the canes in general are ſhort-jointed, and, this part of the pariſh being ſubject to drowths (the high lands behind drawing off the rain), are often ſtunted in their growth; for the ſoil in which they are planted is naturally ſo dry and warm, as to require plentiful and frequent irrigations. Moſt of the rivers here take their ſource ſo high, that their water might eaſily be diſperſed in channels through the cane-pieces. Some of the proprietors, I am informed, have lately had this in contemplation; and it would doubtleſs anſwer perfectly well. The hills contain but very few ſugar-works. The mould here is extremely ſuperficial; and underneath lies a deep vein of a white marle, or hard chalk. The pimento loves this kind of ſoil; and vaſt woods of it overſpread the hills to a great diſtance from the coaſt. Behind this range of hills and mountains the land is diverſified with open, level ſavannahs, environed by rocky eminences, or with little cock-pits. The ſoil of the latter is cultivated ſucceſsfully with Guiney graſs. The ſavannahs are covered with fern, and applied to no uſe. There are three principal mountain-roads which enter this pariſh from the South ſide. The road by *Monte Diablo*, in Sixteen-mile-walk, leads into it on the South-Eaſt part, and is a mere avenue cut through the woods, there not being more than four or five ſettlements on the whole road. About five miles from *Monte Diablo* is the Rio Hoja, which, running about a mile and half from its firſt ſpring, diſcharges itſelf into a large lake of immenſe depth. Some have aſſigned this as the ſource of the Cobre; which is not improbable, as the river-head and this body of water lie in exact meridian, North and South. The next road penetrates the centre of the pariſh, by way of Old Woman's Savannah, in Clarendon, through the ſettlements of Pedro, of which I have before given an account; and their number ſcattered on each ſide renders this by far the pleaſanteſt way. After leaving theſe ſettlements about two miles, we come to a ſtupendous hill of ſolid rock, perfectly bare, and unadorned with either plants or herbage. From this ſtupendous maſs, to the neareſt ſet-

tlement on the North ſide of the pariſh, is about two miles further. The third road enters the Weſt quarter of the pariſh, by way of Clarendon. After running about five miles before it reaches any ſettlement, it branches into two forks; one of which paſſes on to Runaway Bay; the other, to Dry Harbour. From the entrance, by Clarendon, to the range of hills near the coaſt of St. Anne, is about twelve miles; the road is enlivened with a very few human habitations, and thoſe ſcattered. This tract, from its being ſo little inhabited, was called Siberia: yet it is not in other reſpects deſerving that appellation; for it is full of excellent timber, and furniſhes a vaſt quantity of mahogany every year, the viſitors of this part being chiefly cutters. The diſtrict of the pariſh, interſected by theſe three avenues, comprehends near one hundred and eighty thouſand acres, as yet unſettled. In ſo vaſt a ſpace there muſt needs be a very great variety of ſoil, and numberleſs ſpots of very fine cultivable land. But, excluſive of a few fern ſavannahs, the whole of it is in its primitive foreſt, full of large cedar, mahogany, and other valuable timber-trees. The ſoil, over which the roads paſs, is in general a reddiſh fat clay, intermixed with mould, or a black-ſhell mould; and, ſo far as ſettlements are formed, it is experienced to be exceedingly fertile, being refreſhed with conſtant dews and frequent ſhowers. The rain does not deſcend here in ſuch violent ſtreams as in the low country, but for the moſt part in a fine ſpray or drizzle; and the air is, during the whole year, cool, temperate, and perfectly healthful. Here then appears a deſireable field for introducing new colonies of induſtrious people; as a leading meaſure to which, ſome new roads are required, to penetrate through this deſart tract, and open a communication with the parts already ſettled. The air of the coaſt is hot, and in general tolerably healthful.

Near Ocho Rios, or, as it is now more commonly called, Chereiras Bay, in this pariſh, the road from St. Mary paſſes through Walter's plantation to the Weſtward, up a ſteep hill. This road, having been gullied very much about eleven years ago, by a heavy fall of rain in October, the ſkeleton of an Indian was laid bare to view, about five feet below the ſurface. The ſoil here is a white coarſe marle, which certainly did not poſſeſs the corroſive qualities

of lime in its compoſition; for the bones were perfectly ſound and firm. The ſkull appeared preternaturally compreſſed at top, which made the *ſinciput* very low. There was ſome appearance of a cut on the occipital bone, as if made with a ſharp weapon. By the ſize of the bones, they were conjectured to have belonged to a man of large ſtature. At the head and feet lay two unglazed earthen pots, ſhaped ſomewhat like a canoe, and well wrought; one of them was broken in taking it out; but the other was preſerved intire, and found to contain a ſmall quantity of black earth, reſembling ſoot. The body had probably been interred more than two hundred years.

This pariſh contains two remarkable cataracts. The leſſer is formed by a branch of Rio Alto, which is ſuppoſed to re-emerge (after a ſubterraneous current of ſeveral miles) between Roaring River Plantation and Melado's Bog. The hills in this part are many of them compoſed of a ſtalactite matter; by whoſe eaſy ſolution, the waters, oozing through the rocks, are copiouſly charged with it, ſo that they incruſtate all bodies depoſited in them. This river riſes at a conſiderable elevation above the ſea's level, and at a great diſtance from the coaſt, and continues its courſe between the hills ſucceſſively broad or contracted, as they on each ſide approach nearer, or recede further from, one another. In one of the more extended ſpaces, it expands its water in a gentle deſcent among a very curious group of anchovy pear-trees, whoſe ſpreading roots intercept the ſhallow ſtream in a multitude of different directions. The water, thus retarded, depoſits its groſſer contents, which in length of time have formed various incruſtations, around as many ciſterns, ſpread in beautiful ranks, gradually riſing one above another, and bearing no ill reſemblance to a magnificent flight of ſteps in ruſtic work, leading up to the enchanted palace of ſome puiſſant giant of romance. A ſheet of water, tranſparent as cryſtal, conforming to the bend of the ſteps, overſpreads their ſurface; and, as the rays of light, or ſun-ſhine, play between the waving branches of the trees, it deſcends glittering with a thouſand variegated tints. The incruſtation in many parts is ſolid enough to bear the weight of a man; in others it is ſo thin, that ſome perſons, whoſe curioſity led them to venture too far, have ſuddenly found themſelves plunged up to the middle in a cold reſervoir.

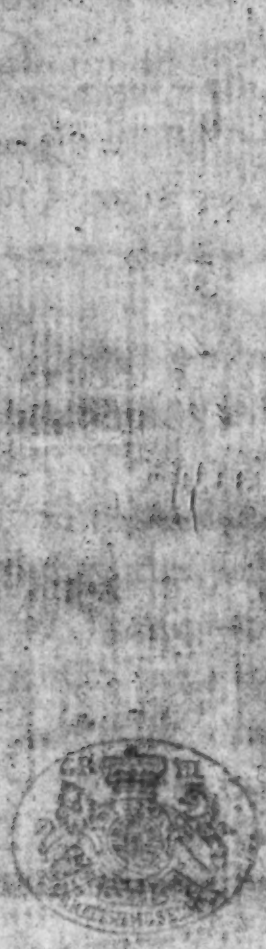
N.8.

J. Milton Pinx.t

P. Mazell Sculp.

VIEW OF THE ROARING RIVER CASCADE.

Pub: as the Act directs July 1.st 1774.



voir. These accidents give it ſtill more the appearance of a Fairy region. The ciſterns, or reſervoirs, have their ſides formed by broken boughs and limbs, incruſted over, and ſuſtained by the trunks of trees, promiſcuouſly growing between them. The ciſterns themſelves are always brim-full of water, which trickles from one to the other; and, although ſeveral of them are ſix or ſeven feet deep, one may clearly diſcern whatever lies at the bottom. The *lamina* which envelope them are in general near half an inch in thickneſs. To a ſuperficial obſerver their ſides have the appearance of ſtone; but, upon breaking any of them, there appears either a bough between the two incruſting coats, or a vacant ſpace, which a bough has once filled, and by the mouldering of which in length of time a cavity has been left.

On opening ſeveral of theſe incruſtations, not only boughs were found, but entire leaves of a muddy-green hue. Whence it may be conjectured, that a ſhell, ſomewhat thicker than that of an egg, may be concreted by this water in leſs than a twelvemonth.

The incruſting matter is ſoluble in the vinous acid, and when diſſolved acquires a deep-black colour, much ſimilar to what the vegetable aſtringents ſtrike with a chalybeate.

As the remarkable quality, reſident in this water, ſeems not confined in its effects to any particular ſubſtance, it might be no unpleaſant experiment to immerſe the ſtuffed ſkin of any animal for a ſufficient time in it; ſince it is probable, that the workmanſhip of nature would ſurpaſs the happieſt productions of the chiſſel, and furniſh the moſt animated and durable repreſentations by this eaſy and unexpenſive method.

After dancing over theſe innumerable ciſterns, the pellucid element forms itſelf into one or two ſtreams; which afterwards, collecting other neighbouring rivulets, compoſe ſeveral leſſer, moſt beautiful, falls. But deſcription fails in attempting to convey any competent idea of its ſeveral beauties.

The other, or great caſcade, more properly a cataract, is formed by the White River, which is of conſiderable magnitude, and, after a courſe of about twelve miles among the mountains, precipitates in a fall of about three hundred feet or more, obliquely meaſured, with ſuch a hoarſe and thundering noiſe, as to be heard

at

at a great diſtance. Viewed from below, the Ajutage [s] appears to be a body of water, of ſmall bulk, iſſuing between a tuft of wood; but, as it continues its deſcent, the breadth gradually increaſes, until it reaches the bottom, where it forms a beautiful circular baſon, and then flows away in a ſerpentine courſe towards the ſea. Through the whole deſcent it is broken and interrupted by a regular climax of ſteps, of a ſtalactic matter, incruſted over a kind of ſoft chalky ſtone, which yields eaſily to the chiſſel. So vaſt a diſcharge of water, thus wildly agitated by the ſteepneſs of the fall, daſhing and foaming from ſtep to ſtep, with all the impetuoſity and rage peculiar to this element, exhibits an aweful, pleaſing ſcene. But the grandeur of it is aſtoniſhingly heightened by the freſh ſupplies which it receives after the rainy-ſeaſons. At ſuch times, the roaring of the flood, reverberated from the adjacent rocks, trees, and hills; the tumultuous violence of the torrent, tumbling headlong with reſiſtleſs fury; and the gloom of the over-hanging wood, contraſted with the ſoft ſerenity of the ſky, the ſilvery glitter of the ſpray, the flight of birds ſkimming over the lofty ſummit of the mountain, and the placid ſurface of the baſon below; form, all together, an aſſemblage of ſubjects, the moſt happily mingled, and beyond the power of painting to expreſs.

" Wide o'er the brim, with many a torrent ſwell'd,
" And the mix'd ruin of its banks o'er-ſpread;
" At laſt the rous'd-up river pours along,
" Reſiſtleſs! roaring! dreadful!—Down it comes
" From the rude mountain, and the moſſy wild,
" Tumbling through rocks abrupt, and ſounding far;—
" Then o'er the ſanded valley floating ſpreads,
" Calm; ſluggiſh; ſilent;—till again, conſtrain'd
" Between two meeting crags, it burſts away,
" Where rocks and woods o'er-hang the turbid ſtream.
" There gathering triple force, rapid and deep,
" It boils! and wheels! and foams! and thunders through!"

THOMPSON.

A beautiful intermixture of tall and ſtately trees riſes gracefully from the margin on either ſide; whoſe bark and foliage are diverſi-

[s] See Plate V.

fied

Isaac Taylor sculp.

A View of the White River Cascade.

Published as the Act directs June 1, 1774.

fied with a variety of the loveliest tints. And, to complete the picture, the bason is ornamented with two elegant trees of the palm kind, which spring like strait columns out of the water, placed by the hand of nature at such even distance from the banks on each side, that art could not have done the work with more attention to propriety and exactness. The whole, indeed, has been executed by nature in a taste that surpasses either description or imitation. The late Sir Charles P——e, within whose territory it lay, would not suffer the least alterations to be made to it, although some of the steps might easily be cut so as to be rectilineal. He preferred its natural beauties; and, in order to enjoy them, formed a club of gentlemen, and built a range of apartments on a pretty lawn just fronting the cascade. Here they had an annual meeting, which continued some weeks; during which, they took the diversion of shooting the ring-tail pidgeons, which in this part of the country are very numerous, and in great perfection at the proper season. If the lesser cascade is delicate and curious, this is grand and sublime. The former is contemplated with delight, and this with a pleasing and reverential wonder. The fall is said to exceed in grandeur that of Tivoli, or any other in Europe, though much inferior to that of Niagara.

The grotto in this parish, near Dry Harbour, and about fourteen miles West from St. Anne's Bay, is situated at the foot of a rocky hill, under which it runs for a considerable way, and then branches into several adits, some of which penetrate so far, that no person has yet ventured to discover their ending. The front is extremely Gothic in its appearance. It is the perpendicular face of a rock, having two arched entrances about twenty feet asunder, which look as if they had anciently been door-ways, but sunk by time or accident to within two or three feet of their lintels. In the centre of the rock, between these portals, is a natural niche, about four feet in height, and as many from the ground, which might well be supposed intended for the reception of a madona, especially as at the foot of it is a small excavation, or bason, projected a little beyond the face of the rock; which seems a very proper reservoir for holy water. Excited by the accounts I had heard of this celebrated curiosity, I made one among a party to visit it.

After

After providing ourſelves with ſeveral bundles of candlewood, ſplit in ſmall pieces, we crept on our hands and knees under the larger of the two apertures in the front of the rock, and immediately found ourſelves in a circular veſtibule, of about eighteen feet diameter, and fourteen in height. The cieling (an irregular concave), as well as the ſides, was covered with ſtalactic and ſparry matter, interſperſed with innumerable gliſtening particles, which, reflecting the light of our torches from their poliſhed ſurface, exhibited the moſt rich and ſplendid appearance imaginable.

This roof ſeemed to be ſupported by ſeveral columns of the ſame matter, concreted by length of time; whoſe chaptrels, and the angular arches above, appeared in the true Gothic taſte. The pillars ſurrounded the veſtibule; the open ſpaces betwixt them led into avenues which diverged away into different parts of this ſubterraneous labyrinth. On one ſide we obſerved a rock, which, by the continual dripping of water upon it from the cieling, was covered with an incruſtation, and bore a very ſtriking reſemblance of ſome venerable old hermit, ſitting in profound meditation, wrapped in a flowing robe, his arms folded, and a beard deſcending to his waiſt. The head appeared bald, and the forehead wrinkled with age. Nothing was wanted to complete the figure, except the addition of features, which we immediately ſupplied, in the theatric manner, with a piece of charcoal. The graceful, eaſy folds and plaits of the drapery, and the wavy flow of the beard, were remarkably well expreſſed. Roubilliac, the rival of nature, could not have executed them in a more finiſhed and maſterly ſtyle. After we had ſufficiently contemplated this reverend perſonage, we purſued our route through one of the largeſt adits. We found the paſſage every where of good height, in general from twelve to fifteen feet; but ſo totally excluded from day-light, that the gloom, together with the hollow ſound of our trampling, and diſmal echo of our voices, recalled to our minds the well-imagined deſcription of Æneas's deſcent into the infernal regions. And this idea ſo ſtrongly poſſeſſed us, that, in the enthuſiaſm of poetic deluſion, we expected no leſs, at every turn, than to pop upon Cerberus, or ſome other horrid inhabitant of Pluto's dominions.

Spelunca

Spelunca alta fuit, vaſtoque immanis hiatu,
Scrupea, tuta lacu nigro, nemorumque tenebris.
_____
Ibant obſcuri ſolâ ſub nocte per umbram,
Perque domos ditis vacuas, et inania regna.
Quale per incertam lunam ſub luce maligna
Eſt iter in ſylvis; ubi cœlum condidit umbrâ
Jupiter, et rebus nox abſtulit atra colorem.

"Deep, deep, the cavern lies, devoid of light,
"All rough with rocks, and horrible to ſight.
"Its dreadful mouth is fenc'd with ſable floods,
"And the brown horrors of ſurrounding woods.
"Now through the diſmal gloom they paſs, and tread
"Grim Pluto's courts, the regions of the dead;
"As puzzled travelers bewilder'd move
"(The moon ſcarce glimm'ring through the duſky grove),
"When Jove from mortal eyes has ſnatch'd the light,
"And wrapp'd the world in undiſtinguiſh'd night." PITT.

That the compariſon might have appeared more juſt, I ought to have premiſed, that the grotto is ſurrounded with a thick wood, and that at a ſmall diſtance before the entrance is a large lagoon of ſtagnant water. The critic perhaps may object, that we were not ſo entirely in the dark as Æneas is repreſented. But, if he pleaſes, he may allow the dim dight of our torch to bear ſome ſimilitude to the glimmering of the moon above-mentioned; and then it will ſeem more aptly applied. The ſoil beneath our feet we perceived was deep, ſoft, and yielding, and had a faint, cadaverous ſmell. Upon examination, we imagined it to be a *congeries* of bat's dung, accumulating perhaps for ages paſt; and were further confirmed in this opinion by the multitude of theſe creatures, which, upon the diſturbances of our torch-light, and the unuſual noiſe of ſo many viſitors, flitted in numerous ſwarms over our heads. It is probable this ſoil is ſtrongly impregnated with nitre; but we had not time to ſearch for it. After walking a conſiderable way, we obſerved many new adits branching from the ſides. Our guide informed us they led ſeveral miles under ground; and that

one half of them had never been explored by any human being. Soon after, we came all on a ſudden to a little precipice, of about four or five feet; and ſome of the party would have hurt themſelves very ſeverely, if it had not been for the ſoft *ſtratum* of bat's dung which lay below ready to receive them. Our guide, and two or three of the foremoſt, diſappeared in an inſtant, having tumbled one over the other; but ſoon recovered from their ſurprize, when they found themſelves unhurt. The reſt, who followed at ſome little diſtance, being put on their guard, deſcended with ſomewhat leſs rapidity. We continued our walk without further interruption, till we hailed the day-light again, in an open area environed on all ſides with ſteep rocks covered with trees. This area, as nearly as we could conjecture, lies about a quarter of a mile from the entrance of the grotto. We remarked ſeveral adits leading from different parts of this little court; but our guide was acquainted with one of them only, into which we walked, and came into a magnificent apartment, or rotunda, of about twenty-five feet diameter, and about eighteen to the dome, or vaulted cieling; from the centre of which deſcended a ſtrait tap-root of ſome tree above, about the ſize of a cable, and pretty uniform in ſhape from top to bottom. This had made its way through a cleft in the rock, and penetrated downward quite into the floor of the apartment. On one ſide was a ſmall chaſm, opening like the door-way of a cloſet into a narrow paſſage; which our guide endeavoured to diſſuade us from entering, on account of a deep well, which he informed us lay a few paces within. However, we ventured in a little way with great caution, and found his account very true. The paſſage grew more and more contracted, till we met with a thin, upright ledge of rock, riſing like a parapet-wall, almoſt breaſt-high, which ſeemed to decline gradually lower as we advanced. We therefore thought it prudent to halt, and ſoon diſcovered the ledge of rock ſeparated us from a vaſt cavernous hollow, or well. Having no line, we could not ſound the depth of the water, nor how far it lay beneath us; but, by the fall of ſome ſtones we threw in, we judged the diſtance to the water about thirty or forty feet. The ſtones in their fall produced a moſt horrid, hoarſe noiſe, as loud as hell's porter uttered from his triple jaws,

primis in forcibus orci. Our guide informed us it was unfathomable, and communicated with the ſea. The latter is probable, as the entrance of the grotto is very near the coaſt. We returned acroſs the area by the way that we came, only peeping into a few of the other avenues as we proceeded, which we found very little different. They had the like rude cielings incruſted with ſtalactites, here and there interſperſed with the radical fibres of trees and plants, and their walks ſtrewed with various ſeeds and fruits, particularly the bread-nut in great abundance; and even ſome reptiles, all curiouſly covered over with incruſtations, but ſtill preſerving their original ſhapes. The ſtructure and furniture of theſe various cloyſters and apartments, at the ſame time that they excite the utmoſt curioſity, baffle all deſcription. In ſome we ſaw, or fancied we ſaw, ſparkling icicles, and beautifully-variegated foliage, gemmy canopies, feſtoons, thrones, roſtrums, buſts, ſkulls, pillars, pilaſters, baſons, and a thouſand other ſemblances of ſuch objects as ſtruck our different imaginations. Moſt of the arches and columns ſeemed to be compoſed internally of a greyiſh, ſonorous marble, and were extravagantly wild and curious. Some are perfect, and ſuſtain the maſſy ſuperſtructure; others half formed; and ſome in their very infant ſtate. Several of the apartments are cellular; others, ſpacious and airy, having here and there an eye-let-hole to the world above. Theſe aërial communications are of ſignal ſervice; for, although not in general large enough to admit much light, yet they introduce ſufficient freſh air to expel noxious vapours, and afford a convenient reſpiration, except in thoſe parts which are moſt recluſe. The exterior ſummit of the cave is a greyiſh rock, honey-combed all over, full of crannies, and thick-ſet with various ſpecies of trees, whoſe roots having penetrated whereſoever they could find an opening, they flouriſh without any viſible ſoil, an appearance which is extremely common in this iſland. We were anxious to inveſtigate further: but, upon examining our ſtock of torch-wood, we found ſcarcely ſufficient left for conducting us back to the entrance, and we were obliged to uſe diſpatch in regaining it, for fear of rambling into ſome one of the numerous paſſages opening to the right and left, where, puzzled with mazes and perplexed with errors, we might have rambled

on without the probability of ever finding our way out again: and in ſuch a diſtreſsful event we could not reaſonably have expected any human aſſiſtance. The famous Cretan labyrinth did not, I am perſuaded, contain half the turns and windings which branch through every part of this infernal wilderneſs; and which even Theſeus, with the help of his clue, would have found difficult to unravel. Whoever may have the curioſity to examine theſe meanders with more attention, and to diſcover their extent and termination, ought to furniſh himſelf with the implements neceſſary for ſtriking fire, a portable mariner's compaſs, a proper quantity of wax tapers, and ſome proviſion for the ſtomach. Thus equipped, he may pervade them without fear of being loſt, if he walks with due circumſpection: the impreſſion of his feet on the ſoft mould, which is thick-ſtrewed in theſe paſſages, might enable him to re-trace his own tract almoſt without the aſſiſtance of a compaſs; though to avoid the poſſibility of being bewildered, it will be adviſeable to carry one.

Theſe are the moſt remarkable curioſities as yet diſcovered in this pariſh; but it may probably contain others, the grotto not having been found out, or at leaſt generally known, till within theſe few years. We are uncertain whether it was known to the Spaniards; but it is ſuppoſed that run-away Negroes were not unacquainted with ſo convenient a hiding-place.

Moſt of the houſes in this pariſh are made defenſible with loop-holes; it having been the practice formerly, in war-time, for the enemy's privateers to land here, in order to plunder the inhabitants of their Negroes. Thus, in guarding againſt the inſults of foreign enemies, they are fortified alſo againſt internal ones; the like precaution ought to have been uſed, in the other parts of the country, which are remote from the coaſt; but, either through negligence, or an imprudent contempt of danger, very few houſes upon the inland ſettlements have been conſtructed in this manner.

The road which paſſes along the coaſt to St. James, is one of the beſt in the iſland, and kept in good repair.

State

State of the Pariſh.

	Negroes.	Cattle.	Sugar-plantations.	Annual Produce of Sugar. Hogſheads.	Other Settlements.
1734,	4441	2026			
1740,	5242	2342			
1745,	5231	2533			
1761,	7729				
1768,	8320	6207	22	1700	158

This pariſh has increaſed, as appears from the table, upwards of three thouſand in Negroes, and in cattle near four thouſand, from 1745 to 1768, or in twenty-three years. This is to be aſcribed almoſt entirely to the ſettlements formed in Pedro's Cockpits: and a better proof cannot be required, to ſhew the vaſt benefits ariſing to the iſland from a more extenſive colonization of its interior waſtes; nor a ſtronger reaſon given for an immediate and vigorous encouragement of ſuch a plan.

To recapitulate ſome of the preceding matters, and bring them into one view, I ſhall cloſe my detail of this county with the following particulars:

County-town of MIDDLESEX.

St. JAGO de la VEGA,

where is held the ſupreme court of common law on the laſt Tueſday in February, May, Auguſt, and November.

	Negroes.	Cattle.	Sugar-plantations.	Annual Produce of Sugar. Hogſheads.	Other Settlements.
State of it in 1768,	66746	59512	239	24050	763

Rectories, and their Stipends.

	£	s.	d.
St. Catharine,	300	0	0
St. Dorothy,	200	0	0
St. John,	200	0	0
St. Thomas in the Vale,	200	0	0
Clarendon,	250	0	0
Vere,	200	0	0
St. Mary,	200	0	0
St. Anne,	200	0	0
	1750	0	0

The

The parish of St. Mary alone has no church as yet built; and consequently divine service is very seldom performed here; but, when it is performed, some private house is usually lent for the occasion. In the county are seven churches, two chapels of ease, and one synagogue. The civil government of each parish, or precinct, is under the direction of a *custos rotulorum*, and his associates, justices of the peace, who hold a quarter session: and subordinate to them are the several constables, clerk of the peace, surveyors and wardens of highways, coroner, collectors of the parochial taxes, &c.

CHAP. VIII.

SECT. I.

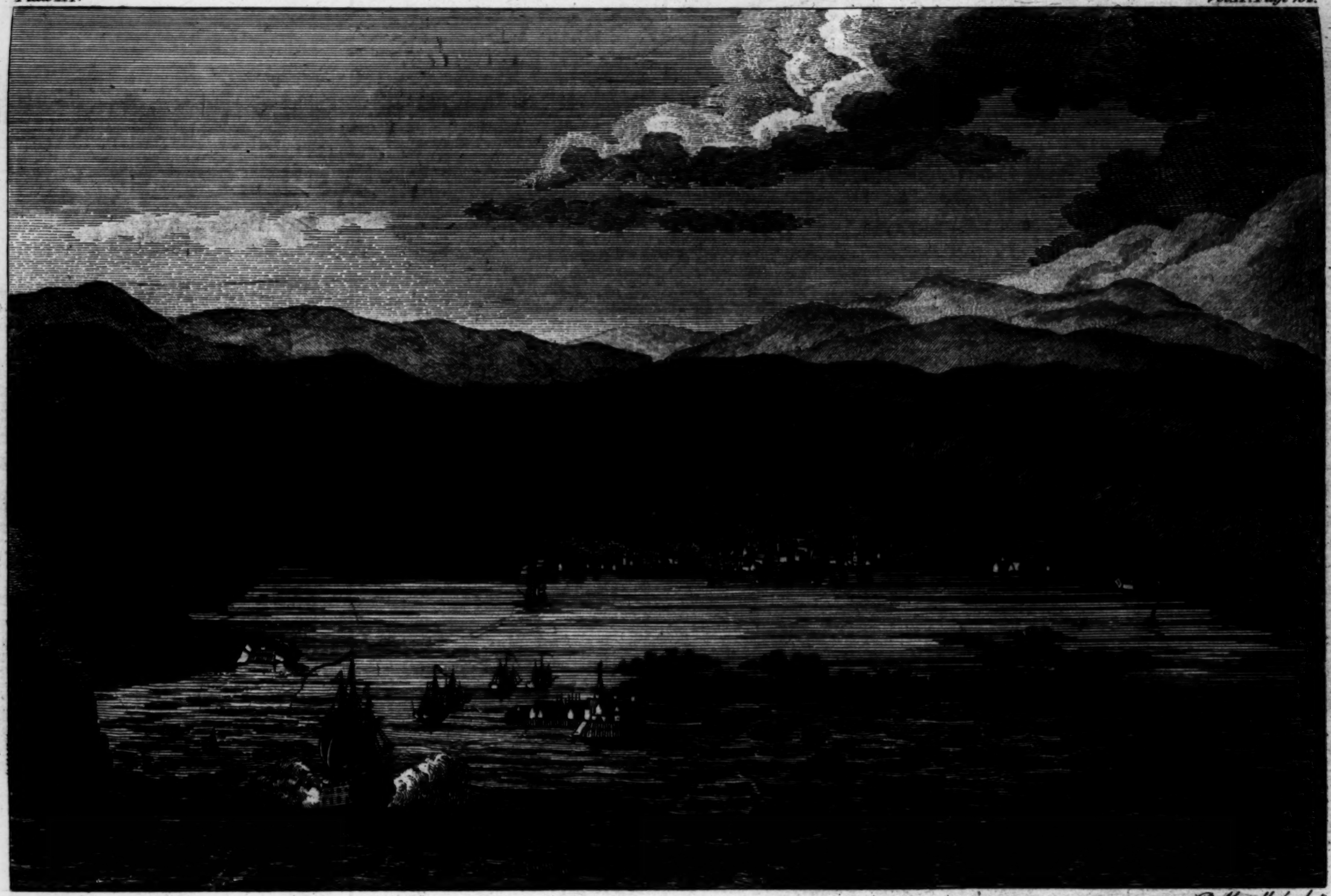
SURRY

Contains about 672616 acres, and has seven parishes, and ten towns and hamlets, viz.

Parishes.	Towns.	Hamlets.
Kingston,	—— Kingston, the county-town,	
Port Royal,	—— Port Royal,	
St. Andrew,	——	Half-way Tree.
St. David,	——	Yallahs.
St. Thomas in the East,	Bath, —— ——	Morant.
Portland,	—— Titchfield and Moore, Negroe-town, ——	Manchineel.
St. George,	—— Crawford, now Charles-town, Negroe-town.	

The parish of Kingston is bounded East by the parish of Port Royal; West and North, by St. Andrew; and South, by the harbour. The town of Kingston is situated in latitude 17° 59½′ North; longitude, 76° 34′ West. According to some geographers, the distance and bearing from London are 4080 miles; and the difference of time from the same, five hours, six minutes, West. After the repeated desolations by earthquake and fire, which drove the inhabitants

View of Port Royal & Kingston Harbours.



R. Mazell Sculpt.

VIEW OF PORT ROYAL AND KINGSTON HARBOURS.

inhabitants from Port Royal, this town was founded in the year 1693, on the North ſide of the harbour, which, next to Port Royal, appeared the moſt convenient part for trade. The plan of it was drawn by colonel Lilly, an experienced engineer; and in propriety of deſign it is, perhaps, not excelled by any town in the world. The plan is a parallelogram, one mile in length by half a mile in breadth, regularly traverſed by ſtreets and lanes, alternately croſſing each other at right angles, except in the upper part of the town, where a large ſquare is left. But the buildings have increaſed ſo rapidly, that it now extends beyond the outlines of the plan. It contains ſixteen hundred and ſixty-five houſes, beſides Negroe houſes, and warehouſes; ſo that the whole number of its buildings, including every ſort, may be computed at between two and three thouſand: the number of its white inhabitants, about five thouſand; of free Negroes and Mulattoes, about twelve hundred; and of ſlaves, about five thouſand; making, in the whole, about eleven thouſand and upwards: thirty-five ſpacious ſtreets; and ſixteen lanes. The harbour is formed by an inlet of the ſea, which, after paſſing Port Royal, divides into two branches; the Weſtern, flowing to Paſſage Fort and the mouth of Rio Cobre, forms a ſmall bay of ſhallow water; the Eaſtern branch runs beyond Kingſton to Rock Fort, making a courſe this way of nine miles in length, and is two miles in width in the broadeſt part; facing which the town is ſituated. For a conſiderable way above and below the town, the channel is deep enough to admit ſhips of the greateſt burthen; upwards of a thouſand ſail may anchor here in perfect ſafety, except from a hurricane; and the water is ſo deep at the wharfs, that veſſels of two hundred ton lye along-ſide of them, to deliver their cargoes.

The buildings here are much ſuperior to thoſe of Spaniſh Town. The houſes are moſtly of brick, raiſed two to three ſtories, conveniently diſpoſed, and in general well-furniſhed; their roofs are all ſhingled; the fronts of moſt of them are ſhaded with a piazza below, and a covered gallery above. The ſoil upon which the town is built is in ſome parts gravelly; in others, a brick mould, intermixed with gravel; and the Weſt part, bordering on a ſalina, partakes of ſea-ſand and ooze. From the harbour to the foot of Liguanea mountains is an eaſy, gradual aſcent, of about four miles

and

and a half. The town, being thus ſituated on a dry ſoil, is not incommoded by the lodgement of water in the heavieſt rains; and it is thoroughly ventilated by the daily ſea-breeze. But, although the ſlope prevents any water from ſtagnating in the town, it is attended with one great inconvenience; for it admits an eaſy paſſage to vaſt torrents, which collect in the gullies at ſome diſtance towards the mountains after a heavy rain, and ſometimes ruſh with ſo much impetuoſity down the principal ſtreets, as to make them almoſt impaſſable by wheel-carriages, and cauſe a ſhoal-water at the wharfs, depoſiting accumulations of rubbiſh and mud: by which means, the navigation of the harbour may, in proceſs of time, be obſtructed; for even now the channel is greatly contracted, an entire ſtreet having been built on the ſoil thus gained upon the harbour ſince the town was firſt laid out. Some have propoſed to remedy this inconvenience by cutting a large trench Eaſt and Weſt above the town, to intercept theſe floods, and conduct them into ſmaller cuts, on each ſide of it, quite to the harbour; by which method, the water, having a greater length of current, and not flowing ſo rapidly, might depoſite its ſoil by the way, and thus neither annoy the ſtreets, nor fill up the harbour. But it may be objected to this project, that, if any ſtagnant water, or a quantity of mud, ſhould remain in theſe drains, the effluvia ariſing from them might affect the health of the inhabitants, and ſo become productive of a worſe injury than what it was calculated to prevent. The remarks before-made, reſpecting the modern method of covering roofs in Spaniſh Town, are equally applicable to Kingſton. The danger from fire is very manifeſt. It is true, that accidents of the ſort have rarely occurred in this town, the kitchens being detached buildings. But it is ſtill liable to ſuch a calamity from malice, as well as neglect or caſualty; and the fate of Port Royal, of Bridge Town in Barbadoes, and St. John's in Antigua, ſhould ſerve as horrible examples. To guard againſt ſuch ravages, in ſome degree, here are wells and pumps in every principal ſtreet, conveniently placed, and conſtantly kept in good order; and in the court-houſe are fire-engines and leathern buckets. The ready aſſiſtance of ſeamen from the ſhips, which lie very near the town, would doubtleſs contribute much towards preſerving it in ſuch events;

events; and the various openings formed by the ſtreets and lanes may be likewiſe conſidered as a further ſafeguard againſt a total conflagration. A project was once in agitation for bringing a part of Hope River into the town, and forming a reſervoir in ſome commodious place at the upper end, from which a certain number of conduits ſhould be laid to ſupply the principal ſtreets. This ſcheme was ſaid to be extremely practicable, and not expenſive. A want of unanimity prevented its being carried into execution. But there is no doubt it would prove of eminent benefit, in ſupplying the inhabitants with a wholeſome water for their common uſe; for the well-water here is in general bad; a few only are fed by ſubterraneous drains from the Hope, or ſome other of the mountainous ſtreams; the reſt are brackiſh, impregnated with a muriatic ſalt, if not with ſome mineral. They increaſe thirſt, inſtead of ſlaking it; cauſe a dry febrile heat, and ſometimes a dyſentery in habits not much accuſtomed to them. At the bottom of the town, near the water-ſide, is the market place, which is plentifully ſupplied with butchers meat, poultry, fiſh, fruits, and vegetables of all ſorts. Here are found not only a great variety of American, but alſo of European, vegetables; ſuch as peaſe, beans, cabbage, lettuce, cucumbers, French beans, artichokes, potatoes, carrots, turnips, radiſhes, celery, onions, &c. Theſe are brought from the Liguanea mountains, and are all excellent in their kind. Here are likewiſe ſtrawberries, not inferior to the production of our Engliſh gardens; grapes and melons in the utmoſt perfection; mulberries, figs, and apples, exceedingly good, but in general gathered before they are thoroughly ripe. In ſhort, the moſt luxurious epicure cannot fail of meeting here with ſufficient in quantity, variety, and excellence, for the gratification of his appetite the whole year round. The prices are but little different from thoſe of Spaniſh Town; but, where they diſagree, they are more reaſonable at Kingſton, the ſupplies being more regular, and the market better ſuperintended by the magiſtracy. The beef is chiefly from the paſtures of Pedro's, in St. Anne; the mutton, from the Salt-pan lands, in St. Catharine; what they draw from the penns in St Andrew's pariſh being very indifferent meat. The ſupplying of graſs for the horſes kept in this town is a very profitable article to thoſe ſettlements bordering

on the harbour and the mouth of Rio Cobre, which are fit for no other production than the Scotch grass: this is every day brought to the town by water, and sold in small bundles, a certain number for a ryal. Some of the grass-planters have made upwards of 1500*l.* *per annum* by this commodity. Wood is likewise another article of profit, though not so considerable. Near the market-place stands the original court-house, which is a mean, inconvenient building, and now disused as a seat of judicature, being fixed in the noisiest part of the town. A building erected for a free-school, situated in the upper district of the town, being found more airy and commodious, is now made use of for holding the quarterly assize-court for this county. The parade is a large, handsome square; on the North-West side of it are barracks of brick for the troops quartered here; a very well-designed and convenient logement for two hundred men and their officers. The front, which contains apartments for the officers, makes a good appearance. The soldiers barrack stands detached behind, in a square court walled round; in which are proper offices; and at one angle a powder-magazine belonging to the town. On the South side of the parade is the church; a large, elegant building, of four aisles, which has a fine organ, a tower and spire, with a large clock. The tower is well-constructed, and a very great ornament to the town. The rector's stipend, as fixed by law, is only 250*l.*; but the surplice-fees are so large, that his income is supposed at least one thousand pounds *per annum*, Jamaica currency. The county gaol, a hospital for transient sick and poor (who are supported by an annual grant of assembly of 300*l.*), and the free-school, have nothing remarkable in their structure. The land appropriated for the gaol was a plat of two hundred feet by one hundred and fifty; but only about sixty by fifty were inclosed a few years ago. It had only one apartment for lodging debtors, evidences, and criminals; and that of no larger extent than fifteen by fourteen feet. The walls, which enclosed it on the South-East and West, having neither windows nor gratings, so effectually excluded the air, that this place of confinement was rendered extremely unhealthy: and the distempers among the prisoners became a matter of serious concern. In 1761, upon a representation of the state of it, the assembly made provision

viſion for enlarging and rendering it more airy. The number of Whites uſually ſhut up here is about ten; and of Negroes about one hundred. This was formerly the habitation of that ingenious and learned mathematician, Mr. Macfarlane, who built and fitted it up as an obſervatory; little ſuſpecting perhaps at the time, that it would be converted into a receptacle for unfortunate perſons, who are here precluded from almoſt every other amuſement than that of ſtar-gazing.

The ſtreets are all wide and regular, the houſes many of them extremely elegant, and kept very clean, conſidering theſe circumſtances, and that the ſoil on which they ſtand is perfectly dry. It is natural to ſuppoſe, that the air is healthy; at leaſt there appears not hitherto any local cauſe aſſignable why it ſhould be otherwiſe; nevertheleſs, it is certain, that Kingſton has been accuſed of being an unwholeſome ſpot. Sir Hans Sloane, indeed, obſerves, that in his time, at ſome plantations bordering upon this bay of Liguanea, many white perſons died, as he believed, by the ill air; ſome of theſe ſettlements lying in bottoms, or low ſituations, contiguous to marſhes near the harbour; and, on the other hand, that plantations, ſeated high, were very healthy, and their inhabitants not ſickly. The land Weſtward from the town, and confining on the harbour, is, for four or five miles, very low and flat, interſperſed with lagoons, and in many places ſubject to be overflown by the ſalt-water. The hoſpital of Greenwich, ſituated little more than a mile from the town, upon part of this low land, is remarkable for a bad air, and the mortality which always prevailed there. The effects of its unhealthy ſituation were, that, when a patient was ſent thither with only a gentle or intermitting fever, this mild diſpoſition was apt to be changed into either a malignant fever, a bloody flux, or ſome other mortal diſtemper. It was obſerved, that the yellow Weſt-Indian fever often reigned there, attended with the moſt profuſe evacuations of blood, by vomiting, ſtools, and even by every pore of the body: when no ſuch ſymptoms diſtreſſed thoſe patients whoſe caſes had been ſimilar, and who were permitted to remain in their ſhips. The recovery of patients in that hoſpital was obſerved to be very tedious and uncertain: the leaſt indiſcretion or irregularity brought on a relapſe. After a flux had

been ſtopped for ſome days, the eating of any ſort of food which had a putrid tendency, ſuch as even a meſs of broth, would ſometimes in a few hours bring on a return of the diſeaſe, accompanied with all its violent ſymptoms. Neither did this proceed from any ſource of infection in the hoſpital, or from its being too much crowded with patients. Theſe things happened even when a ſmall number of patients were lodged in the beſt-aired, and in the cleaneſt, wards. The mortality in this houſe was ſo great, and the cauſe of it ſo obvious, that there was a neceſſity for deſerting it; no more ſick were permitted to be ſent thither. During the laſt war, it was made uſe of as a place of confinement for the French priſoners, and proved fatal to ſeveral hundreds of them. Even the ſoldiers, who were ſent in good health from the garriſon at Port Royal, to mount guard there, were in a few days taken ill, and many of them died; which obliged the commanding officer to relieve the guard almoſt daily; by which means he ſaved the lives of thoſe, who, by too long a continuance on this duty, would otherwiſe have fallen a ſacrifice. The cauſe of this *endemia* has been, with great appearance of reaſon, aſcribed to the ſalt-marſhes and ſwamps, the putrid fogs or exhalations, which infeſt this part of the country, and are naturally adapted in a hot climate to produce all theſe baleful effects.

The large tract of ſalina, lying to the Northward of the hoſpital, and extending from Hunt's Bay towards Water-houſe Savannah, is frequently overflown by ſalt-water, when there happens any conſiderable ſurge in the harbour. It is alſo liable to be deluged by the brackiſh water of the Lagoon, or Ferry River. Much of this water remains afterwards ſtagnant, and becomes highly putrid. It is impoſſible not to be ſenſible of it in traveling over this ſalina to Kingſton, eſpecially at an early hour in the morning, when the ſtench of the ooze is often remarkably fœtid; and a vapour may be obſerved hovering over theſe lagoons and ſwamps, of a moſt diſagreeable ſmell. It may well therefore be ſuſpected, that a Weſterly land-wind, which ſometimes blows between the mountains behind the Ferry, eſpecially after a violent rain there, may impel theſe effluvia into the town of Kingſton. I have been informed, by an experienced phyſician, who practiſed in this town,

that a Weſterly wind generally brought a bad fever among the inhabitants.

Eaſtward from the town, at the diſtance of from twelve to fifteen miles, in the pariſh of St. David's, are three large ſalt-ponds, and ſome lagoons. At certain times of the year, when the ſea-breeze, or trade, is veering either towards the Northern points, or returning from them to the South-eaſt, a wind blows, known here by the name of the rock-wind, and ſo called from its ſweeping cloſe along ſhore from Eaſt to Weſt. Some perſons have been of opinion, that this wind drives on the putrid effluvia collected from theſe ponds and lagoons, together with what may ariſe from the other ſmall creeks and ſtagnant waters lying near the coaſt, and brings them into the town: but this is merely conjectural; and, conſidering the diſtance, it is not very credible. The inhabitants, it is true, reſident at Yallahs, a little way leeward of theſe ſalt-ponds, are ſenſible of an ill ſmell proceeding from them, and are generally ſickly. But it is doubtful whether theſe exhalations can be tranſported by the wind ſo far as Kingſton, without being altered in their qualities by the many miles of atmoſphere through which they muſt needs paſs. To waft ſuch effluvia unchanged to any diſtance requires, one would ſuppoſe, an almoſt calm ſtate of the atmoſphere, and the gentleſt impulſe of wind. But the rock-winds are always ſtrong, and therefore muſt be deemed capable of diſperſing exhalations, and of rendering them inoffenſive at a ſmall diſtance from their ſource. The perſons who inhabit at Yallahs are within leſs than a mile of the two greater ponds, directly in the track of the ſea-breeze, which, blowing acroſs theſe ſtagnant waters, and through the lagoons that border on them, muſt of courſe bring a conſtant ſtream of vapours upon theſe people; for which reaſon, it is no wonder that they are ſickly, ſince they are always involved in a peſtilential atmoſphere. There ſeem therefore, I think, no probable grounds for believing, that the air of the town is ever annoyed from the effluvia of theſe ponds. Others have imagined, that the Liguanea mountains, which are known to contain mines of lead and copper, emit continual ſteams of a noxious mineral vapour, which, whenever the land and North winds blow, are precipitated down upon Kingſton, and contribute

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to poiſon its atmoſphere. But there ſeems to be as little foundation for this conjecture, as for that already mentioned. It does not appear, that the inhabitants in the neighbourhood of mines in England are leſs healthful than thoſe of other parts. The mines of Cornwall are known to emit mineral vapours very copiouſly; notwithſtanding which, Mr. Borlaſe affirms the air is extremely healthful; and that the miners in particular, who are moſt expoſed to theſe vapours, generally live to a great age. The town of Potoſi, in South-America, which is ſeated at the very foot of the mountain containing the famous mines, is remarkably populous and healthy [*t*]. With far more probability it may be alledged, that the intercourſe, which has been carried on between this town and the Spaniſh ports of Carthagena and Porto Bello, has been frequently attended with fatal conſequences, by introducing from that unhealthy coaſt the moſt malignant and deleterious diſorders. The inclemency of the climate of Porto Bello is known to all Europe [*u*]: not only ſtrangers who come thither are affected by it; but even the natives themſelves ſuffer in various manners. It deſtroys the vigour of nature, and often untimely cuts the thread of life. The heat of this place is exceſſive, being augmented by the ſituation of the town, which is ſurrounded with high mountains, without any interval for the winds, whereby it might be refreſhed. The trees on the mountains ſtand ſo thick, as to intercept the rays of the ſun, and conſequently hinder them from drying the earth under their branches: hence copious exhalations, which form large clouds, and fall in violent torrents of rain. This continual inclemency, added to the fatigues of the ſeamen in unloading the ſhips and carrying goods, and their immoderate drinking of ſpirituous liquors, muſt jointly deſtroy the beſt conſtitutions, and tend to pro-

[*t*] The inhabitants about Mendip-hills, in Somerſetſhire, which contain the famous lead-mines, enjoy good health, except ſuch only as are employed in ſmelting the ore. But, according to ſome authors, the American mines are not ſo inoffenſive in all parts of the continent: and many judicious perſons ſuſpect, that the unhealthineſs of Kingſton muſt be attributed to theſe mineral ſteams, whoſe *miaſmata* impregnate the dews, which are carried down by the land-wind, and deſcend upon the town at night; and, in confirmation of this opinion, they aſſert, that the inhabitants more often contract ſickneſs from expoſure to the night-air here, than from any other cauſe whatever.

[*u*] Ulloa's Voyage to South-America.

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duce or inflame thoſe terrible diſorders ſo common in this part of the country. The galleons and other European ſhips, which ſtay any time here, ſeldom leave it without burying half, or at leaſt one third, of their men: whence this place has been termed the grave of the Spaniards; but it may, with equal propriety, be applied to thoſe of other nations who viſit it. This remark is ſufficiently confirmed by the havock made among the Engliſh, when the fleet, under command of vice-admiral Hoſier, lay before this port in 1726 for ſix months. The inclemency of the air ſwept away ſuch numbers of his ſeamen, that he was obliged to bear away for Jamaica. This fleet was afterwards kept on ſervice, on the coaſt of Carthagena and the Baſtimentos chiefly, until June 1728, when it returned to Jamaica in conſequence of the peace with Spain; and it was then computed, that, from the time of admiral Hoſier's arrival in June 1726, it had loſt two admirals, ten captains, about fifty lieutenants, and near four thouſand ſubaltern-officers and ſeamen; who all fell by ſickneſs, and not by the hands of the enemy! But, notwithſtanding this general fatality of the climate of Porto Bello, and its neighbouring coaſt, to Europeans, a Spaniſh ſquadron, which lay here in 1730, enjoyed a good ſtate of health. This happy ſingularity was attributed to the ſtop of the ſhips at Carthagena, where the crews paſſed the time of the endemia; by which their conſtitutions were better adapted to the climate. So noxious is the air of this place, that even perſons born in it, if above the degree of a Mulatto, ſcorn to reſide here; and, for the ſame reaſon, the royal edict of Spain forbids the fair held annually to exceed forty days. The principal ſources of this unhealthineſs, excluſive of what has been already mentioned, are, the ſwampineſs of the ground on the Eaſt ſide of the harbour, and a black filthy mud, which at low-water is left bare, and ſends forth an abominable ſtench. Such a ſituation muſt, in any part of the Weſt-Indies, render the air malignant; and it will prove ſo, in a greater or leſs degree, in proportion as other cauſes more or leſs concur in preventing it from being either diſperſed or corrected. Upon admiral Vernon's return to Jamaica from Porto Bello and Carthagena, the crews of the men of war, and land-forces, brought with them a very contagious fever. The land-forces had been reduced

duced from twelve to three thouſand, more by ſickneſs than in their engagements with the Spaniards. To add to the misfortune of thoſe who returned, they were encamped at Greenwich; and the mortality was increaſed, as well by the unwholeſomeneſs of that ſpot, as by the rains which fell, and to which the men were inevitably expoſed. The malady was ſoon communicated to the town of Kingſton, where it committed vaſt havock. A merchant, who was here at the time, aſſured me, that, having dined with an intimate acquaintance one day, and left him in the evening in ſeeming perfect health, he was ſummoned the very next day to attend his friend's funeral. He accordingly went, with five others, as a bearer; and in a few days he was left the only ſurvivor of the whole company, the other five having caught infection from the corpſe, as they accompanied it to the burial-place. He imputed his eſcape to the precaution he took of chewing tobacco, and carrying ſome in his hand, which he frequently applied to his noſe. It would be a ſorrowful taſk to enumerate the many ſimilar cataſtrophes which have befallen this town by the importation of malignant fevers from Porto Bello, Carthagena, the coaſt of Guiney, and the Havannah; not omitting the gaol-fever from England: all of which in their turns have at various periods raged with a fury that threatened to depopulate it. It may be more to the purpoſe (ſince the town, all circumſtances conſidered, does not appear to be locally unhealthy) to ſuggeſt ſome means of guarding it againſt the invaſion of theſe exotic diſeaſes; ſo that, when they happen on board any of the ſhips that arrive here, the infection may be debarred from extending into the town.

It would probably be one means of preſerving the lives of our ſeamen, if the ſhips, intended for Porto Bello, were diſpatched at thoſe times of the year when the endemia leaſt prevails there. Theſe times are the months of December, January, February, and March. But, when they are unfortunately ſeized with theſe malignant fevers, there are no remedies which promiſe ſo ſpeedy and effectual relief as medicines of the antimonial claſs, and a removal as ſoon as poſſible into a better air. In the year 1769, his majeſty's ſhip Levant being at Porto Bello, the crew were attacked with a malignant, petechial fever; but, out of ſeventy men who were

were taken with this diſeaſe, two only died; the reſt were recovered by Dr. James's well-known powder, adminiſtered by the ſurgeon of that ſhip. From a multitude of experiments, this powder appears to be a ſpecific remedy for all the Weſt-India fevers of the putrid kind; and it is but doing juſtice to its merit, to ſay, that it ſeldom has failed of ſucceſs, if given early after the firſt ſymptom of the diſeaſe has made its appearance, and in doſes judiciouſly proportioned to the patient's ſtrength. When a veſſel arrives at Port Royal harbour with any contagious fever on board, ſhe might be ordered to perform quarantine at the Palliſadoes. Here a convenient lazaretto, open to the ſea-breeze, might be erected at an expence very trifling to the publick; for a boarded or plaiſtered houſe would be not only the cheapeſt, but wholeſomeſt, kind of building for this purpoſe. Here the patients would breathe a pure, dry, and perfectly ſalubrious atmoſphere; and might be conſtantly ſupplied with vegetables, and all other neceſſaries, from the town of Kingſton, by water-carriage. The ſhips in which the infection had raged might here be duly aired and purified for a reaſonable time before they were ſuffered to approach the town. A precaution of this nature, ſo much wanted, and ſo eaſily to be put in practice, ſeems to deſerve ſome attention from the legiſlature of the iſland. I think it will be allowed, that, had it been adopted ſome years ago, and continued under fit regulations ſtrictly obſerved, many thouſand uſeful lives might have been redeemed from an untimely fate. Beſides, theſe calamities are not confined to Kingſton alone; for, when they have raged to any conſiderable degree in this town, they have unavoidably circulated into other parts of the iſland by means of the conſtant reſort to it of people from the various diſtricts. The wiſdom and circumſpection of every trading port in Europe have pointed out the utility of ſuch lazarettos; and, although the diſtemper called the plague has never yet been known in the Weſt-Indies, yet the putrid fevers hatched in this climate have at times been nearly as peſtilential and mortal; chiefly ſo, when they have invaded a multitude of men pent up in the cloſe atmoſphere of a ſhip, or the warm rooms of towns on the coaſt. To this effect is the remark of a ſenſible man who reſided many years in Jamaica, cited by Dr. Lind. "He obſerved the poor

"seamen in the merchant service to recover from the yellow fever, "solely by having the benefit of a free and constant admission of "air into a ship anchored at a distance from the shore; where "they lay utterly destitute of every assistance in sickness, and even "of common necessaries; having nothing but cold water to drink, "and not so much as a bed to lie upon; while gentlemen newly "arrived from England, by being shut up in small, close, suffo-"cating chambers at Kingston and Port Royal, expired with the "whole mass of their blood dissolved, and flowing at every pore; "the stifling heat of their rooms having produced a state of uni-"versal putrefaction in the body even before death." Such strangers, upon their arrival, are generally obliged to take up with the common lodging-houses; the owners of which, in order to make the most advantage of their business, convert every little closet and hole into a bed-chamber. The healthiest person would find it difficult to respire freely for a whole night in one of these dungeons. How improper then must they be for those who are seized with a fever, and are thus excluded from that constant refreshment of air upon which their recovery so much depends, that, without it, all medicines are ineffectual! The houses of towns in this climate cannot be too airy; and on this account the jealousy-shutters, as they are called, which freely admit the air, are very excellent contrivances; and no bed-chamber should be unfurnished with them; for by their means the smallest apartment may be constantly ventilated.

There are some other remarkables in this town, which, so far as they appear inconsistent with the general health, deserve to be noticed.

The first is, the practice of cramming so many corpses into a small church-yard in the centre of the town; instead of providing a proper cemetery at a distance, and to leeward from all the houses.

The second is, a filthy custom of using tubs, and empty butter-firkins, instead of vaults; and exonerating them of their contents every day at the wharfs; by which incessant accumulation of putrid matter, the mud in those parts is rendered still more offensive, and

injurious to the health of thoſe who inhabit the loweſt, which is the hotteſt, quarter of the town.

The third is, a ſtrange method of repairing their ſtreets with the offals and naſtineſs raked from all the dunghills about the town; inſtead of gravel, or a freſh wholeſome ſoil, of which there is great plenty in the environs.

Theſe are ſo many artificial annoyances, which cannot, I think, improve the quality of the air they breathe. Natural evils, if they cannot be removed or remedied, muſt be acquieſced with; but for an intelligent people to take pains to poiſon themſelves in this manner can only be imputed to a liſtleſs indolence, or a great defect of good police among them. The Mahometans can give them ſome inſtructions not to be ſlighted. The burial-places of the Turks are handſome and agreeable; which is owing chiefly to the many fine plants that grow in them, and which they carefully place over their dead. They act much more conſiſtently than the Chriſtians, when they bury their dead without their towns, and plant over them ſuch vegetables as, by their aromatic and balſamic odours, can drive away or correct the fatal exhalations with which the atmoſphere of ſuch places is generally loaded. By this eaſy practice they eſcape many misfortunes which affect Chriſtians from their wandering and dwelling continually among the dead. Cypreſſes and roſemary are the plants moſt abundant in theſe grounds; and the Turks never, if they can avoid it, lay two bodies in the ſame grave. There can be no doubt but experience taught them the rectitude of this practice in a warm climate, ſubject ſo frequently to the viſitations of the plague. The contrary practice in the colder climates (Britain for example) is certainly in ſome degree pernicious, as the air even here, at certain times of the year, is in a ſtate to favour the aſcent of very unwholeſome vapours from ſuch grounds, particularly in towns, where the ſurrounding walls confine the moiſture that falls within, and prevents the greater part of it from eſcaping any other way than by exhalations. But our adoption of this, and ſome other Britiſh cuſtoms, in a hot climate, is unqueſtionably abſurd. Why ſhould it be thought irrational to follow rather the Turkiſh cuſtom, and bury the dead at a ſmall diſtance to the North-weſt of our towns in the Weſt-Indies, from

which quarter the wind rarely ſets, and plant the ground with the wild-ſage, roſemary, and other aromatic ſhrubs, which grow very abundant in the low lands? If there is really a wide difference between a pure and a vitiated air, in regard to the effects they reſpectively produce on the health of mankind (and that there is will be readily granted), humanity ſhould unite with good ſenſe to remove thoſe nuiſances and erroneous cuſtoms, which have too long prevailed againſt the public welfare.

The Jewiſh ſynagogue in this town is a handſome, ſpacious building; and here the principal rabbi officiates. It contains a gallery, like that in Spaniſh Town, for the reception of their women, who do not mingle with the other ſex in their public devotions. The Jews are numerous in this town, being poſſeſſed of the greateſt ſhare in the Spaniſh trade. They have a convenient burying-ground without the town. No public buildings having as yet been erected for the officers of the cuſtoms and the receiver-general of the iſland, their offices are kept in private houſes, ſituated in different quarters of the town; which is a very great inconvenience to the trade. Every veſſel that arrives is obliged to be entered at the poſt-office, the ſecretary's, the collector's, comptroller's, naval, and receiver-general's. Theſe being all detached, and at a diſtance from one another, the captains of ſhips are forced to make the tour of the whole town when they attend theſe offices either to enter or clear. The Eaſt ſide of the parade, or ſquare, in a line with the barracks, would be a very proper ſpot for erecting a range of building, to include all theſe offices; but ſuch an undertaking has been thought too expenſive for the town, or the county of Surry; and the other two counties are ſaid to have oppoſed ſuch a ſcheme, from an apprehenſion or jealouſy that it might one day be converted into a place of reſidence for the commander in chief. Moderate men, however, are of a different opinion: they wiſh to ſee a building erected here, ſo neceſſary for the accommodation and diſpatch of the traders; and that an exchange, or place convenient for daily meetings of the merchants, was likewiſe provided; eſpecially as no other town of ſuch extent and importance is without them. In proportion as the commercial ſpirit and importance are kept up among the inhabitants, they may be leſs inclined to leave

the walk of trade for party and political wranglings. The erecting of buildings, which are really appurtenant to trade, would encourage that ſpirit, and confer that importance. We may illuſtrate the argument, by ſuppoſing what would be the caſe, if no houſe of reſidence was provided for the governor, and no ſenate-houſe for the aſſembly. If the former dwelt in a private lodging, and the latter met to tranſact all their weighty affairs in a tavern, or under a large tree; ſuch degradation would be apt to bring contempt upon the governmental powers, and leſſen the reverence and eſtimation with which they ought to be regarded. But the ſtrongeſt argument is, that, by bringing the commercial offices together into one certain ſpot, and aſſigning a certain convenient place where traders and men of buſineſs can regularly meet, to carry on their negociations with each other, all the ſprings and movements of the commercial machine are kept in conſtant exact order, confuſion and delay are avoided, every thing goes on with diſpatch and facility. Trade muſt have a livelier current, where the clogs and impediments to its free circulation are removed; and a great annual ſaving made in point of time; an article upon which merchants neceſſarily ſet the higheſt value. In the lower part of the town is a very pretty theatre, exceedingly well contrived, and neatly finiſhed. Dramatical performances were exhibited here during the laſt war; at which time there was a conſiderable quantity of prize money in circulation; but in time of peace, the town is not able, or not diſpoſed, to ſupport ſo coſtly an amuſement. The taverns here are large and well ſupplied. In the two principal ones, called Ranelagh and Vauxhall, are long rooms for concerts, balls, and public entertainments. A new governor is generally feaſted for three days ſucceſſively in Spaniſh Town. Soon after which, he makes a kind of publick entry into Kingſton; where he is again regaled by the cuſtos, or chief magiſtrate of the town, and the reſt of the inhabitants, who uſually make a ſubſcription-purſe for the purpoſe. In theſe ſeaſons of feſtivity there ſeems an emulation between the two towns, as if they contended which ſhould treat him with the moſt ſplendid entertainments. The tavern called Ranelagh is a large, lofty building, commanding a fine view of the town, harbour, and ſhipping. Here the balls and concerts are uſually exhibited;

hibited; and the company are numerous and elegant in their appearance.

The principal place for taking the air is the road leading to Rock Fort, which ſtands about four miles Eaſtward from the town; and moſt of the inhabitants who keep carriages exerciſe here morning and evening every day. This fort is ſituated at the extremity of the long mountain, a rocky eminence, inacceſſible on this part, where it projects nearly into the harbour, leaving only a ſmall narrow paſs at the foot, where the fortreſs is built. It conſiſts of two baſtions, mounting twenty-one guns (twenty-four pounders), and furniſhed with a ſmall powder-magazine, and other habiliments of war neceſſary for its defence. Upon the face of the hill is a little battery of ſix guns, with traverſed lines that lead up to it. Outſide the walls is a wet ditch, ſunk lower than the ſurface of the water in the harbour; ſo that it may be occaſionally filled. The fort is provided alſo with a draw-bridge towards the Eaſtern road; caſemates, for lodging the men; and a houſe for the officers. It is too ſmall to admit a garriſon of more than ſeventy men: nevertheleſs, governor Kn—l—s was ſo confident of its ſtrength, that he maintained it was capable of ſtanding a ſiege againſt ten thouſand men. It defends the acceſs towards the town from the Eaſtward, and would undoubtedly prove a great ſecurity againſt an attack from that quarter; for the only way leading to it is narrow, and confined a conſiderable length in a ſtrait direction, expoſed to the whole fire of the fort, without a poſſibility of annoying it: nor could trenches be formed, to carry on a regular approach, as the road is all the way a ſhallow ſand cloſe by the water's edge. A guard of ſoldiers is always kept here; but the fort is ſaid to be very unhealthy to the men and their officers. The cauſe of this has by ſome been imputed to their drinking from a brackiſh ſtream which runs near it. Others aſcribe it to the extreme heat reverberated down upon them from the hill, which riſes like a wall above the fort. And ſome have thought it proceeded from a lagoon, which lies near the mouth of Mammee River, about three miles to the Eaſtward. To corroborate the latter opinion, is alledged the inſtance, mentioned by Lind, of Whydaw-caſtle, on the coaſt of Africa; which has been rendered more unhealthy than

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the Negroe-town in its neighbourhood by a ſlight circumſtance unattended to at firſt. It is built on a ſmall ſpot of ground, which the ſea-breezes cannot reach without paſſing over a little, inconſiderable brook of water, which produces ſome aquatic plants always covered with a putrid ſlime. It is certain, from conſtant experience, that places adjacent to a foul ſhore, or ſtagnant waters, near the coaſt in the Weſt-Indies, are invariably unhealthful. But, whatever be the cauſe, it deſerves a minute enquiry of gentlemen of the faculty, in order to its diſcovery; to the end that, if it ariſes from ſome local evil, that cannot be remedied, the men might be lodged at night in convenient huts, erected for them upon the hill-ſide; by which means all of them, except thoſe on immediate duty in the fort, might enjoy a purer air, eſpecially in thoſe hours when a depraved air is found to be moſt pernicious; for this is a poſt of ſo much importance to the town, that the men ſtationed here ought neither to be diſheartened by apprehenſions, nor diſabled by ſickneſs, from doing their regular duty. The aſſembly having lately granted 1500*l.* for erecting barracks at this fort to contain two hundred men; if the ſituation be properly attended to, the reſult will ſhew, whether the unhealthineſs of the garriſon has been owing to a peſtilent quality in the air, or ſome other cauſe.

To conclude with Kingſton. The militia of this town, both horſe and foot, are well trained, uniformly dreſſed, and well armed, at their own expence. The pains they take in learning the neceſſary manœuvres, and the charges to which they are put in their equipment, do great honour to their public ſpirit, eſpecially as moſt of them are independent in their circumſtances. It is thought, that, upon emergency, they could muſter upwards of two thouſand effective Whites; and between four and five hundred effective free Blacks and Mulattoes. The companies of the latter caſt are under the command of white officers, excellent in their diſcipline, and would probably do good ſervice againſt an enemy, whenever called upon to give proof of it.

The pariſh contains no ſugar plantations, the ſituation being too dry to admit of any other ſettlements than graſs-penns. The following may ſerve to give ſome idea of the ſtate of it:

Negroes.

	Negroes.	Cattle.	Settlements.
1734. ——	3811	483	
1740. ——	4534	607	
1745. ——	7749	828	
1761. ——	6186		
1768. ——	5779	923	8

In number of Negroes it appears to be conſiderably reduced; and, indeed, there ſeems at preſent but too much reaſon for the popular opinion, that this town has paſſed the zenith of its glory, having loſt two ſuch capital ſupports of its trade, as the Negroe-contracts with the Spaniards, and the coaſting-intercourſe with Spaniſh South-America; in which it uſed, a few years ago, to employ a great number of ſmall veſſels. It is likewiſe ſeldom viſited by the ſmall-craft, which uſed formerly to croud hither in ſhoals, laden with bullion and other valuable articles. So that it has at preſent very little buſineſs but what concerns the home-conſumption of the iſland; on which account, ſeveral of the merchants have, ſince the commencement of peace, betaken themſelves to planting, as a more gainful employ than trade carried on under the preſent diſtreſſed circumſtances. War, ſo fatal to ſome ſtates, has ever been the beſt friend of this town, by augmenting the conſumption and demand of merchandizes; by filling it with new acceſſions of people and wealth; and by laying open that profitable traffic in theſe ſeas which in time of peace is too ſtrictly watched. From the earlieſt ſettlement of this iſland, its trade was ever moſt flouriſhing while war ſubſiſted with the Spaniards; which has adminiſtered ſuch conſtant opportunities of ſharing in their gold and ſilver, as well by private commerce as by open hoſtility. For this reaſon, their proverbial ſaying of, "Peace with England, and war "with all the reſt of the world," was not ill-founded. Yet I venture to hope, that, by ſteadily cultivating a better correſpondence with the free Indians on the Southern continent, the trade of this town is very capable of receiving a vaſt enlargement; which may effectually preſerve it from decay, and make it leſs dependent on a ſtate of war for its ſupport.

In this town are two houſes for refining ſugar; but the quantity they annually conſume in this manufacture I am not informed of.

The

The number of veſſels which enter and clear at this port is computed at four hundred, or upwards, one year with another. Whence it will appear to be ſtill a place of very great import and export. For maintaining the harbour, ſeveral very excellent proviſions have been made. Penalties are laid on any perſon taking materials or ballaſt from the ſpit of land, called the Palliſadoe, which forms a barrier between it and the main ſea; as well as on thoſe who may throw rubbiſh or ballaſt into the harbour. The channel is properly marked; and the pilots under good regulation. And, in order to prevent diſorderly mooring of the ſhips, a tax is laid in the following manner.

On all veſſels arriving from the Northward of the tropic of Cancer;

	s.	d.
Three maſts,	15	0
Brig, ſnow, or bilander,	10	0
Sloop, and ſchooner,	7	6

And, on all veſſels coming from between the tropics, one half the above rates; except coaſting veſſels, which are taxed 2*s.* 6*d.* each, payable every three months. The money ariſing from this impoſt is applied to the eſtabliſhment of a water-bailiff; whoſe buſineſs it is, to ſee that all theſe veſſels fix their moorings properly and without confuſion. It ſeems, however, a little impolitic to throw this additional load upon the ſhipping that frequent this port, from which the other ports of the iſland are exempted; eſpecially as a very moderate addition to their annual pariſh-tax might have anſwered the purpoſe. The church-wardens of this town are incorporated, for the better management of every thing relative to the parochial taxes; the markets and ſtreets are under the regulation of the juſtices and veſtry; the market for butchers meat is moſt plentifully ſupplied; and the fiſh-market, which is kept every day from eight in the morning till two in the afternoon, is ſuperior to moſt in the world.

It is impoſſible to aſcertain, with preciſion, either the number of the inhabitants, or the ſtate of health, from the number of burials, becauſe many ſeamen and ſtrangers who die are confounded with the town's people.

The number of births and deaths for ſeven years to the year 1771 was as follows:

Born — 988.
Died — 2085.

Deaths exceed the births — 1097.

The thermometrical heat of this town is greater than that of Spaniſh Town, in general about three degrees upon the medium. The air is leſs elaſtic; and the water, as I have before remarked, is in general of bad quality. From what has been premiſed, it may be concluded, that it is not by any means ſo healthful. Some have gone ſo far as to compare it to a large hoſpital; and to aſſert, that more people die in it in one year than in all the reſt of the iſland in three. But this is an exaggeration; and the town is of late years become much healthier than it formerly was, when the mountainous tracts neareſt to it were covered with woods, which have ſince been pretty well cleared and laid open, and the lagoon-water more freely carried off, by cultivating the Scotch graſs, and cutting drains near Salt River. The removal of thoſe annoyances which meet a ſtranger's noſe upon entering the town in the morning, together with the enforcing of ſome other ſalutary regulations, might probably contribute to make the air ſtill more favourable to life; yet there are many here, whoſe conſtitutions by long habit are inured, and who attain to a good old age, notwithſtanding the inconveniences pointed out; but, in general, it muſt be allowed, that this town is not ſo propitious to the health of perſons newly arrived from Europe as might be wiſhed.

SECT. II.

St. ANDREW.

THIS pariſh is bounded on the Eaſt by the pariſh of Port Royal, and part of St. David; on the Weſt, by part of St. Thomas in the Vale, and St. Catharine; on the North, by part of St. Anne, and St. Mary; and on the South, by the harbour and pariſh of Kingſton. It is watered with fourteen rivers; the principal of which

which are, the Wagwater, which empties itſelf into the ſea on the North ſide, after a courſe of about thirty miles; the Hope, which croſſes the Eaſt ſide; the Pedro, which enters St. Thomas in the Vale on the Weſt; and the Salt, which falls into the harbour on the North-weſt part of Hunt's Bay. The North-weſt angle of the boundary-line terminates at a large cotton-tree, on the ſummit of a hill; from which there is a diſtant view, in clear weather, of the ſea on the North and South ſides of the iſland.

The Salt River riſes about three miles above Hunt's Bay, and is joined by the Lagoon River, which divides this pariſh from St. Catharine, and whoſe ſource is about two miles further inland. Both theſe rivers are croſſed with bridges in the way leading to Spaniſh Town. The Salt River Bridge has a toll-gate, granted to the proprietor; in conſideration of which, he is obliged to keep them, together with about one mile of the road, in good repair, and to maintain a ferry-boat at the croſſing of Rio Cobre, for the accommodation of paſſengers when that river is flooded. Theſe rivers are navigated by flat-bottomed barges and canoes, which are chiefly uſed for tranſporting graſs, wood, and lime, to the town of Kingſton. A large tract of lagoon lies between their ſtreams; great part of which, having been drained by cuts, which carry off the water into the rivers, is converted into good paſture-ground; and that which is more ſwampy bears the Scotch graſs very luxuriantly. The road, leading from the bridge towards Kingſton, is for about a mile extremely romantic: on one ſide is a range of ſteep, rocky mountain, which ſcarcely admits of room ſufficient for carriages to paſs at the foot of it; on the other ſide is a branch of the Salt River, fed here and there with ſmall rivulets oozing from the bottom of the mountain. This water is exceedingly brackiſh; but it affords good water-creſs, and plenty of fiſh. This prey invites the alligators; which are ſaid to abound here, though rarely ſeen by any except the Negroes who navigate upon it.

The village of Half-way Tree is ſituated a little more than two miles North from Kingſton, at the interſection of the three roads which lead to Spaniſh Town, to St. Mary, and St. George. This village enjoys, with a good air, the moſt agreeable views. Behind

are the majeſtic Blue Mountains, riſing above one another in gradation, till they ſeem to touch the clouds: on each ſide, lively fields of canes, intermixed with elegant villas and paſtures: in front, the harbours of Kingſton and Port Royal, crowded with ſhipping, ſome at anchor, others plying in various directions: beyond theſe, the Healthſhire hills in St. Catharine, gradually declining towards Old Harbour: and, laſtly, the horizon cloſing on the beautiful azure of the ocean. A number of little graſs-penns, with good houſes on them, are diſperſed about the neighbourhood, chiefly the property of merchants in Kingſton, who occaſionally retire to them from the hurry of buſineſs. But its chief ornament is a very magnificent houſe, erected here a few years ſince by Mr. Pinnock; which may vie, in the elegance of deſign, and excellence of workmanſhip, with many of the beſt country-ſeats in England. The ſtone uſed about this fabrick was brought from the Hope river-courſe: it is far more beautiful than the Portland, and of a cloſer and finer grain. The mahogany-work and ornaments within have been juſtly admired for their ſingular beauty, being, as I am informed, ſelected with great expence. Half-way Tree has a ſmall, but very neat church, with a tower and organ. The emoluments of the rectory, ariſing principally from ſix hundred acres of rich glebe-land, leaſed advantageouſly to ſome planters, are ſaid to be about 1400*l. per annum*. The ſtipend being only 200*l.* of this country money, it may eaſily be judged that the glebe is extremely valuable; and this is therefore conſidered as the beſt living in the governor's preſentation. Some years ago, there was a regular weekly aſſembly held here; but it has ſince been diſcontinued, till lately, when it was revived, and thought inferior to none in the iſland. The village contains about twelve or fourteen houſes. Paſſing on from hence to the Northward about two miles, along a road of eaſy aſcent, we come to the foot of the Liguanea Mountains: theſe are the firſt ſteps leading up to that vaſt pile of mountains which range through the iſland from Eaſt to Weſt. The foremoſt are of moderate height, ſerving as natural buttreſſes to ſuſtain the interior and more maſſive. As we proceed, they ſeem to increaſe in magnitude and elevation, till we arrive at the higheſt of all, called the Blue Mountain Ridges. The ſoil on their South

aſpect

aſpect is in general a red clay; but, in other parts, it is of a coarſer, friable texture, and intermixed with ſmall ſtones, or a ſort of grit. Where they have been cleared of wood, and cultivated, their infertility has been promoted by heavy rains waſhing down the finer mould. From Kingſton they appear of a reddiſh caſt, interſperſed with verdure here and there, and furrowed with innumerable gullies, ſome of which are very deep; and at this diſtance they reſemble very much the South aſpect of the Madeira iſland. The road aſcending into theſe lofty regions is in general ſteep and irregular, incapable of admitting wheel carriages. The journey is therefore performed on horſe-back. But it is not dangerous, except in one part, where the road paſſes along a precipice, and is formed on wooden ſtakes driven into the ſide of the mountain, and well covered with croſs timbers and earth, which make a kind of geometrical bridge. But this is of no great length; and, being kept in good repair, it ſeems to be accompanied with more of horror than of real peril. Aſcending higher, vaſt numbers of the larger ſwifts are ſeen ſkimming over the mountain-tops with great velocity; and ſometimes they whiz along ſo near the traveler's head, uttering their ſhrill cries, as to ſtartle him, if he is unprepared. The bull-finch's notes are more entertaining: they are very ſingular, and of a melancholy air. The beautiful forked-tail papilio flies are ſeen in ſwarms; they generally keep together, flitting in a direction with the wind; they ſeem ever on the wing, and ſometimes venture to ſoar above the higheſt pitch of theſe mountains. In this part of the country there is no appearance of lime-ſtone. The ſtone obſerved here is brittle and crumbling, diſpoſed in *lamina*, turns black in the fire, and will not ferment with *aqua fortis*. The lime made uſe of is manufactured from incruſtations, which are found in ſufficient abundance. The trees, for the moſt part, are ſlender and ſtunted; many of them are enveloped with moſs, and others entirely killed by it. This covering makes them appear at a ſmall diſtance as if they were froſted over; and the coldneſs of the air naturally cauſes this deception on firſt arriving from the glow of heat which broods over the lowlands about Kingſton. The thermometer here, in general, was at ſixty and ſixty-five degrees in the middle of the day in July; while it roſe to eighty-ſix and ninety

ninety in Kingſton. The ground on the elevated ſpots feels, and yields to the tread, like a new carpet; it is coated all over with a deep moſs. The parts I ſpeak of are adjacent to Mr. Adams's houſe; for the Blue Mountain Ridge appeared from this place as much higher as this ſeemed to be above the low lands. Every evening a vapour deſcends from theſe ſummits towards the vales below, and probably adds ſome ſtrength to the land-wind, which ſets from this quarter after ſun-ſet. In the morning the fog riſes, and ſeems to creep in a regular train to the higher grounds; ſo that, for a great part of the day, it continues ſo thick, as to give the air a chill, even at noon, equal to what is felt here before ſun-riſe. Where it is more broken and diſperſed, ſo as to admit the ſolar rays to paſs freely, warm ſteams immediately begin to be exhaled; and the moſſy ground feels to the hand like a hot bed. Upon arriving at the eminence, whereon Mr. Adams's houſe is built, a very beautiful ſcenery greets the view. Below are ſeen the richly-cultivated vale of Liguanea, the harbours of Kingſton and Port Royal, and great part of St. Catharine, and St. Dorothy. On a ſudden, the whole is excluded from ſight by a denſe cloud, interpoſing itſelf like a magnificent curtain. In a moment afterwards, the curtain breaks here and there in different parts, admitting only tranſient glances; but, when withdrawn entirely, a moſt luxuriant and extenſive landſchape opens, animated with the full ſplendor of ſun-ſhine. In front are cane-fields of the livelieſt verdure, paſtures, and little villas intermixed; the towns and ports of Kingſton and Port Royal; the ſhipping ſcattered in different groups; the forts, the hills of Healthſhire, the rocky breakers, and cayes whitening with the ſurge; and, beyond theſe, a plain of ocean extending to the Southern hemiſphere. To the Weſtward are ſeen the gliſtning meanders of the Cobre; the town of St Jago de la Vega; the bay of Old Harbour; and a vaſt champaign of fertile country, terminated by the lofty range of Carpenter's Mountains, at ſixty miles diſtance.

Theſe objects form all together a very pleaſing combination. The pleaſure which the mind receives from contemplating them is conſiderably heightened by the impenetrable gloom of thick vapours behind, which exhibits a noble contraſt to the brilliant picture in

front. Another ſcene, not leſs magnificent, though more awful, frequently preſents itſelf in the hot months. The clouds aſſembling about noon gradually thicken, grow black, and deſcend lower; till they appear a ſpacious ſea, cloſing over and covering the inferior objects entirely from our view. Soon afterwards, the vapoury particles begin to condenſe and fall in rain; the lightning flaſhes with great vivacity, as it traverſes along, in a variety of angular or ſerpentine directions. We hear the majeſtic thunder rolling at our feet, and reverberated by a thouſand echoes among the hills. This tumultuous interlude continues until the vapours, grown lighter by a plentiful diſcharge of their contents, begin to re-aſcend and diſperſe, climbing over the ſtately pinnacles of theſe mountains, like flocks of ſheep retiring haſtily to their fold.

Whenever the fog breaks or diſperſes about noon, the ſun-beams ſtrike here with more power than would have been imagined at ſo great an elevation. But the moſſy covering of the ground, which is adapted to imbibe the warmth impreſſed upon it by every ſtrong gleam, and the ſudden variations in the ſenſible ſtate of the atmoſphere, by the interpoſition or receſs of theſe vapours, doubtleſs affect a perſon here in like manner as the ſudden tranſition in England from a cold, raw air into a heated, cloſe apartment. The little pike, from whence the moſt agreeable view is taken, is about half a mile from Mr. Adams's houſe, and named Catharine Hill, in honour of governor Moore's lady, who had the curioſity to pay it a viſit in the year 1760. This hill is not much leſs than a mile perpendicular height above the level of the ſea. The walk to it from the houſe is not in the leaſt incommodious on account of heat, even in the middle of the day. Who peregrinates into theſe regions finds every freſh aſcent, however ſhort, affording not only a new air, but a new ſcene of nature, in regard to its proſpect, its plants, and animals. The birds, the fiſh, and inſects, are many of them totally different from thoſe we meet with in the lower ſituations: and the face of things carries ſo little ſimilitude in appearance to what commonly occurs in other parts of the iſland, that one ſeems to have been tranſported by ſome magic vehicle into a foreign country. This obſervation holds, it is true, in a certain degree, with reſpect likewiſe to ſome other diſtricts of Jamaica;

for

for the East and West ends, and the North, North-east, and North-west sides, are almost as dissimilar, in the aspect of the country, the weather, the plants, birds, and insects, as if they belonged to as many differently situated islands. There are, nevertheless, several to be met with in these mountains of the same species as in other parts. The ring-tailed pigeons frequent them in great numbers: they are seen constantly on the wing, and generally darting along the fogs, which it is imagined they involve themselves in, the better to conceal their flight. There are found, besides, a small martin, the whole upper parts of whose plumage are of a glossy, golden green, the inferior parts white; swifts, whose upper plumage is black, except a ring of white encircling the neck, and the parts below entirely white; blue-finches; dark-brown thrushes; wood-peckers of various kinds; black-birds of the merops species; blue-sparrows; long and short-tailed humming-birds; blue and red-throat bull-finches; black and orange-coloured bull-finches, and brown petrils: the latter are said to be very numerous on the higher parts of the Blue Mountains, where they breed in holes made in the earth. In the rivulets are found a squalid, yellow sucking-fish, and the large common and hog-nosed fresh-water mullets. Of the quadruped reptile class, are the common grey lizard, a small tree-frog, a small galli-wasp, and rats in abundance. Of the insect tribe, here are a species of crickets, which chirp like birds on the approach of the evening-dusk; a great variety of papilios and curculios, some of the latter green and gold, others grey; a large, black and yellow-striped humble-bee; a fly of the cantharides kind; red and stinging ants; wasps; a beautiful, long forked tail butterfly, of a copperish and green hue. Of plants are observed a prodigious variety of ferns, and a still greater of mosses; black and bill-berry bushes in abundance, large and flourishing; the wild-sorrel; wild garden-mint, or *mentha vulgaris*; and several aromatic herbs and shrubs. The juniper-cedar, *agnus Scythicus*, and a yellow timber-tree, called here Mulatto-wood, are likewise very common, except the first-mentioned; it had a much stronger scent, and the wood of it was of a deeper red than the kind generally met with. The wild-sorrel is as common as in England; and the garden-mint grows in wide-spreading tufts along the side of the road;

road; perhaps it has been propagated from ſome plant, either caſually dropped, or put in by deſign; but it is remarkable, that it grows, though in a very ſterile ſoil, as luxuriantly as we find it in any Engliſh garden. The bill-berries are chiefly ſeen on the higher eminences; but they are exceedingly numerous in ſuch ſpots; and the black-berries not at all different from thoſe of England, either in ſize, or the mawkiſh ſweetneſs of their taſte. Cock-roaches were not expected to be ſeen here: it is true, they are very ſcarce; and, I incline to believe, not aborigines of a region ſo unſuitable to their nature, from its coolneſs; but probably brought hither from Kingſton in ſome of the packages of bottled liquor, or proviſions, which it is uſual for the parties to take with them, who viſit this retreat for the ſake of health or curioſity. That the ſtate of the atmoſphere is generally very cool, I think there can be no doubt, ſince it has been found ſo in the month of July; and I have been informed, that, during the other hot months, the difference between the thermometer here and at Kingſton is commonly twenty to thirty degrees. The birds that were ſhot did not begin to ſmell till after the fourth day. A North wind almoſt conſtantly blows, and ſometimes with great violence, when the vapours far below are ſailing along with an Eaſterly breeze, and the ſhips ſtanding in for the harbour with that breeze right-aſtern. The tranſition from the heated air of the low lands cauſes the chill to be the more ſenſibly felt by thoſe who remove to this elevation; the ſenſation therefore is not at all wonderful. A fire is found neceſſary, even in July, in the evening; and ſome perſons have hardly been able to keep themſelves warm enough in bed with two blankets. The butter, which at Kingſton was in a liquified ſtate, became ſo firm in one night's time, that a knife, ſtuck into it, lifted the ſaucer in which ſome of it had been put. But the coldneſs of the air is chiefly diſtreſſing to the Negroes and horſes; they quickly grow ſluggiſh and miſerable; the latter in particular, although ſtimulated by extreme thirſt, have been known to refuſe taſting the ſpring-water for ſeveral days, which was perfectly pure and tranſparent, but too frigid for them. Exerciſe is attended with no fatigue; it ſerves only to keep the body in a comfortable glow. The ſteep aſcents are climbed on foot in the middle of the day, without inconve-

nience; the air braces the tone of the fibres, renders the ſpirits lively, and creates an immoderate appetite for food, which unfortunately is not here in ſuch abundance as to be proportionate to the demands for it. Hence it may be ſuppoſed, that froſts are frequent on the Blue Mountain ſummits during the winter months, as ſome have poſitively aſſerted [*w*]. Thoſe ſummits have been explored by very few perſons; the air at ſuch a height is almoſt too pure for human reſpiration. I have been informed that ſome Negroes died in paſſing over them, ſome years ago, before the pacification was made with the rebels in this iſland. Theſe ſummits are bare of trees and ſhrubs, but well covered with a thick moſs, which gives harbour to vaſt numbers of rats. In what manner they procure ſubſiſtence in ſo dreary a reſidence, I have not been able to learn.

I muſt not be ſilent on a phænomenon, which I do not find noticed by any writer of our natural hiſtory. I ſhould, however, premiſe, that, in regard to the fact, it was communicated to me by a gentleman of ſuch ſtrict veracity, as not to admit a ſhadow of doubt. He related it as a ſingularity which he could not readily account for, but had been obſerved by many perſons living near the Yallahs and Buff Bay rivers. During the months of November, December, January, and February, when little or no rain falls, ſeveral rivulets of water are obſerved to guſh from the North ſide of the Ridges, which increaſe and ſwell the tide of theſe rivers very conſiderably: but they are not remarked at other times of the year, even after the heavieſt rains. The prodigious mantle of thick moſs which cloathes theſe Ridges, extending over many hundreds, if not thouſands of acres, receives and imbibes the water that almoſt continually diſtils upon it from the vapours that brood over their ſummits. Theſe rivulets are not ſeen until after the periodical North winds are ſet in, which uſually happens in the be-

[*w*] According to a very accurate trigonometrical menſuration, lately taken by Dr. Alexander M'Kenzie, aſſiſted by Mr. George Gauld, ſurveyor to his majeſty, the reſults were as follow:

		Feet Height.	Mile.	
Catharine Hill,	above the	5050	= 1	wanting 230 feet.
Blue Mountain Summit,	ſea's level,	7553	= 1 1/5	ditto 367 ditto.

conſequently, the mercury in the barometer (agreeably to Dr. Halley's calculations) ought to ſtand on the Blue Mountain at about 22 18/100 inches.

ginning

ginning of November; and they continue blowing till March, and ſometimes later, but then grow more faint, and interrupted with the South-eaſters, or ſea-breezes. The coldneſs and violence of theſe Northerly winds muſt be far greater at ſuch an elevation than is ever felt below. The ſun being at the ſame time in its Southern declination, the Northern ſlopes of the Ridges are ſhaded moſt part, if not all the day; and very little moiſture can be exhaled from them. Is it not therefore probable, that the vehement preſſure of theſe winds, directly againſt the Northern aſpects, may ſqueeze the moſſy covering as it were a ſponge, ſo that the aqueous particles contained in it run into coheſion, and aſſemble in ſmall rills; which, as they trickle downwards, are joined and augmented by others, till they form thoſe larger rivulets, which have been obſerved to unite with the currents below, that lie in a convenient direction to receive them? May not the coldneſs of theſe Norths ſo harden the ſuperficial ſoil of the Ridges, as to render it impervious to the humid particles lodged in the moſs; though, in the warmer ſeaſon of the year, it is ſufficiently open to admit a free percolation to all that is not carried off by the ſun's exhaling power? The ſea-breeze has an oblique direction againſt the Ridges, and therefore, when moſt violent, blows upon them with much leſs preſſure. It is moreover to be conſidered, that the moſs is ranker and more luxuriant on the North aſpects; and the vapours which over-hang them are, in general, denſer and more conſtant than on the South ſides. Whether the cauſes I have aſſigned are rational, or probable, muſt be left to the deciſion of abler philoſophers. That judicious and benevolent writer, Dr. Lind, recommends ſtrongly to the inhabitants of the low lands, in this and other hot climates, to retire to a hilly or mountainous reſidence at thoſe times of the year when the heavieſt rains fall. By their violence and continuance during the ſpace of ſeveral ſucceſſive days, the low lands are ſaturated with water; the exhalations from the earth are more copious than at other times; and, if any ſeries of dry weather has preceded (which generally is the caſe), they are more noxious to health. Add to this, that the atmoſphere is ſultry and moiſt. Theſe cauſes diſpoſe the human body to be affected with agues and fevers (and, of the latter claſs, the putrid),

which chiefly aſſault perſons newly arrived from a cold Northern climate. There is no country in the torrid zone better furniſhed than Jamaica with retreats of this kind; the hills being ſcattered every where very liberally near the coaſt, and univerſally healthful. The inhabitants of Spaniſh Town have the neighbouring Red Hills; the people of Kingſton are near the Liguanea Mountains; and in every part of theſe tracts the air is pure, temperate, and ſalubrious, during the whole year. The inhabitants of theſe mountains not only enjoy good health, but a ſure indication of it in the freſhneſs of their complexions; and they are ſtrangers to thoſe deleterious diſtempers which ſometimes ravage the towns. The barrack at Stoney Hill in this pariſh affords a ſtriking proof of the goodneſs of this air. The company of ſoldiers quartered here were freſh from Europe, and luckily did not halt long enough at Kingſton to contract ſickneſs. The whole garriſon continued in perfect health (and only one died, which happened, as I was informed, by a caſualty) till long after their arrival, when they were removed to Kingſton; where probably, not more from the change of air, than the greater facility of procuring ſpirituous liquors, they grew ſickly, and reduced in their number. No climate can be more propitious to European conſtitutions than theſe elevated ſpots; but the perſons who for the moſt part emigrate to the iſland have not any choice of place for their future reſidence, and of courſe they take their chance. Yet I cannot but think, that ſuch as have weathered a ſeaſoning in Kingſton, and lived there ſo long as to have it in their power to chuſe an occaſional place of abode in a more eligible ſituation here, ſhould conſult their own future health, and that of others ſent over to their patronage and employment, and purchaſe or rent a ſmall ſettlement ſomewhere among theſe mountains, to ſerve for a retreat during the moſt ſickly times of the year. But men educated and engaged in the buſtle of commerce are too apt to deſpiſe theſe cautions, as ſpeculative and chimerical. Many are predeſtinarians in their way of thinking, and will not ſtep aſide one inch to avoid a falling rock; and others are unwilling to loſe a ſingle hour which may be employed in the purſuit of money, too inattentive to the purſuit of health, without which their labours are, in reſpect to their own enjoyments, but vain and illuſory. Hence

it

it happens, that we ſee ſo many poſting away from the iſland on their laſt legs, to periſh under the icy rigours of a Northern climate; who, by occaſionally withdrawing into the more temperate coolneſs of the mountains in this iſland, might have remained in the full poſſeſſion of good health; or, on their quitting it to re-viſit their native land, have carried with them a plenitude of bodily vigour, as well as opulence. The turf on the Ridges is ſhort, and intermixed with a variety of wild aromatic herbs; ſo that ſheep, but particularly goats, might be paſtured on it with great advantage to the delicacy of their fleſh; and, it is probable, their milk would become in ſome degree medicinal in ſeveral diſorders. No experiment has yet been made to adorn the naked pikes with ſome of the various ſpecies of firs which are ſo common in North-America; and from whence ſeeds, or young plants, might be had in great perfection, by reaſon of the ſhortneſs of the paſſage. They have great beauty as well as utility, and would doubtleſs thrive extremely well on theſe eminences. The few ſettlements ſcattered here have gardens, which produce almoſt every ſort of European culinary vegetables: theſe, indeed, are cultivated with great ſucceſs at the North-ſide of the iſland, and in all the interior parts. I have ſeen a piece of ground in one of the North ſide pariſhes ſowed with cabbage-ſeed, immediately after the wood had been cleared; and the plants it produced were beyond all compariſon much larger, firmer, and better flavoured, than any I have ever met with in England. I have ſeen quince-trees in a garden at Old Woman's Savannah, in Clarendon, which bore very fine, large fruit; but the apple-trees do not produce any where ſo well as in the Liguanea Mountains: in the lower parts of the iſland they ſhoot too much into wood, and their fruit degenerates; in theſe mountains, they appear to fructify beſt on the higheſt ſites. The American and European peach, nectarine, and apricot, with ſeveral ſpecies of plumbs, the raſberry, ſtrawberry, and mulberry, would hardly fail here, if planted in ſituations open to the ſun, and ſheltered from the violence of the North winds. I have taſted nectarines which were produced in the Vale of Luidas, in St. John's. They were ſmall, but retained all the delicious flavour peculiar to that fruit. They would certainly ſucceed better in ſome part of theſe mountains, where the general

general ſtate of air is found to approximate neareſt to that of the Southern provinces of Europe.

The account I have given of theſe mountains is, I confeſs, very imperfect; no perſon, I believe, has hitherto viſited them with the profeſſed deſign of examining all their natural productions, or obtaining a regular information of the temperature of their atmoſphere throughout the year, or of aſcertaining their height by accurate barometrical obſervations. Taſks of this ſort are reſerved for men who are at entire leiſure from the avocations of buſineſs and office; and who, to the incentives of a laudable curioſity, can join all the abilities, both of genius and fortune, that are neceſſary to purſue its full gratification. There is good reaſon to believe, that a gentleman who is duly qualified to explore them would meet with ample materials to recompenſe his toil; and it is greatly to be wiſhed, that they may undergo a further ſcrutiny. Sir Hans Sloane poſſeſſed all that diſcernment and knowledge requiſite for a cultivation of natural hiſtory. But he was fettered by the duties of the place he enjoyed under the duke of Albemarle; and, beſides, the iſland was, in his time, in ſo rude a ſtate, that it might have been impracticable for him to have examined much of its mountainous diſtricts, even if he could have found ſufficient leiſure. And hence the many inaccuracies in his work; for he was obliged to rely chiefly on the writings and informations of other men, for want of opportunity to ground his deſcriptions on the reſult of his own perſonal experience. Much uſeful information of theſe interior regions might perhaps be gained, if the aſſembly of the iſland were to grant an annual penſion of three or four hundred pounds ſterling to ſome perſon thoroughly qualified in the branches of natural ſtudy: I mean thoſe in particular which have relation to agriculture, huſbandry, food, medicine, minerals, and commerce. The advantages to be reaped from ſuch an appointment would depend on the ability and ſpirit of the perſon choſen. In the preſent age, it would not be difficult to engage one competently qualified; ſince there never was a period in which this ſtudy employed ſuch numbers of ingenious men in our mother-country. This patriotic ardour for promoting ſcience in general, and in particular natural hiſtory and huſbandry, has not been confined to ſocieties only: private

private gentlemen have exerted their ſingle efforts in ſupport of it, and laudably devoted part of their fortunes to this end, inſtead of waſting it in unprofitable diſſipations. The iſland of Jamaica has never wanted gentlemen of diſtinguiſhed taſte for the fine, as well as the more uſeful and œconomical, arts; and, ſince the iſland is ſo opulent, that the charge of ſuch an appointment would hardly be felt, what more favourable circumſtances can be hoped to concur, either towards enſuring ſucceſs in the undertaking, or giving the public that ſatisfactory knowledge of ſoils, climates, and productions, that, while it gratifies the *literati*, may alſo tend to improve and people this country? The want of a liberal education, or an attention of the whole ſoul to get money, as if it were the only rational object of purſuit in this world, has occaſioned men in general to treat the ſtudy of natural hiſtory, and its followers, with contempt and ridicule; all are indiſcriminately confounded with the deſpicable tribe of inſect-hunters, and collectors of gimcracks. We ſhould, however, be cautious to ſeparate from this droſs all thoſe, whoſe labours conduce to the moſt uſeful purpoſes of life; who not only diſcloſe to us the wonderful mechaniſm of the creation, and the wiſdom of the Deity; but exemplify his unbounded benevolence to man, while they inſtruct us in the means by which our health may be preſerved, our life prolonged, our agriculture improved, manufactures enlarged and multiplied, commerce and trade extended, and the public enriched. I muſt confeſs, that this uſeful purſuit has not been without its fautors in Jamaica. Sir Hans Sloane firſt laid open a new ſcene of American productions, not much known before to the learned in Europe. Yet, before his time, the ſcience was cultivated in this iſland by Dr. Barham, whom Sir Hans frequently quotes, and whoſe manuſcripts were never publiſhed. Some time afterwards, Dr. Patrick Brown undertook a ſimilar work, containing many undeſcribed plants and animals: this work he was enabled to publiſh chiefly by the ſubſcription of the gentlemen of the iſland. The late Dr. Anthony Robinſon likewiſe made a collection of ſeveral hundred figures and deſcriptions of Jamaica plants and animals; the greater part of which are non-deſcripts: but he unfortunately died before it could be digeſted into a regular ſeries for publication. This work,

work, if it ſhould ever be given to the public, will be found to correct many errors in Sloane and Brown; who, compared with him, were in various inſtances very ſuperficial obſervers, or ill-informed. He invented a vegetable ſoap, ſuperior in its properties to common ſoap; for which diſcovery, the aſſembly of this iſland granted him a reward of one hundred pounds ſterling. He likewiſe prepared a ſago from a ſpecies of the palm, ſo common in Jamaica, equal in its alimentary qualities to what comes from the Eaſt-Indies. Notwithſtanding theſe voluminous collections, it is certain, there ſtill remains a very great number of plants and minerals in this iſland to be deſcribed and claſſed. And, to compleat the whole, there is required a judicious analyſis of their properties and uſe. I have been informed, that her majeſty queen Anne, upon the repreſentations of Sir Hans Sloane, gave out of her privy-purſe 200*l.* ſterling *per annum*, to ſupport and encourage a botanical profeſſor in this iſland; but her death happened ſoon after, and the bounty was withdrawn.

The importance of cultivating this ſcience, in a part of the world ſo abounding in materials, will not be denied, when we conſider the immenſe ſums that have been acquired in trade by the Jeſuits bark, the canella, cochineal, indigo, logwood, and various other vegetable productions; whoſe value might ſtill have been loſt to the community, and their preparations unknown, had not ſome knowledge in natural hiſtory revealed them. And there is very probable ground to ſuppoſe, that there is in this iſland a vaſt variety of plants ſtill to be examined; whoſe fruit, gums, barks, or roots (to ſay nothing of the foſſile and mineral kingdoms), might be found very proper ſubjects for export, or for œconomical uſes among the inhabitants. In order to promote ſuch beneficial reſearches, it is to be wiſhed, that thoſe planters, who ſend their ſons to Great-Britain for education in phyſic and ſurgery, would direct, that botany ſhould alſo be attended to, and made a principal branch of their ſtudy. Botanical knowledge ſeems particularly requiſite to their practice in a country that teems with vegetable remedies for moſt of the diſtempers incident to the climate. A total ignorance of this uſeful ſcience is a moſt contemptible defect in the practitioners here; for what can be more reproachful than to have

it ſaid, and with truth, that many of the Negroes are well acquainted with the healing virtues of ſeveral herbs and plants, which a regular phyſician tramples under foot, with no other idea of them, than that they are no part of his *materia medica*, nor any better than uſeleſs weeds? It will be no ſmall aſſiſtance to any perſon who may hereafter botanize in Jamaica, that Sloane and Brown have already paved the way: but, indeed, a thorough diſcovery of the virtues and uſes of what have been already deſcribed, ſeems to be more wanted at preſent than a further ſcrutiny after non-deſcribed plants. Superadded to this will be the endeavours of gentlemen of the iſland to introduce exotic plants and trees from the Eaſt-Indian and American continents, of ſuch kinds as have been moſt celebrated for their medicinal, or ſome other valuable qualities. No part of the iſland ſeems better adapted for ſuch nurſeries than the Liguanea or Midland Mountains. They would require ſome care till their ſeeding time; after which, the different ſpecies might eaſily be propagated in other diſtricts.

I return from this digreſſion to cloſe my account of St. Andrew's. The lower, or more level part of the pariſh, comprehended under the name of Liguanea, is the quarter moſt appropriated to ſugar-plantations. The ſoil here has been chiefly formed by the fine mould waſhed down from the hills, and produces a good cane. In ſome parts, the ſoil is mixed with a coarſe rubble, ſwept by heavy torrents from the gullies. This ſoil requires plentiful rains (without which it is apt to burn the canes), and conſtant manure. One of the Oliverian regiments firſt ſettled here, under the command of colonel Archbould and major Hope, who, with Sir William Beeſton, poſſeſſed the beſt and largeſt ſhare of this whole tract. Few of the ſugar-plantations are remoter from the harbour than ſix or ſeven miles; the interior or hilly part being chiefly employed in the cultivation of coffee and proviſions. The roads here are in general firm; the ſugar of excellent quality; and the carriage to and from the town ſo eaſy, that the eſtates are juſtly eſteemed very valuable. The Long Mountain, which runs obliquely from Rock Fort for about four miles inland, is for the moſt part compoſed of lime-ſtone. The end of it, which advances neareſt to the harbour, ſupplies large quantities of ballaſt for the

ſhips, ſtones for building and for lime; which are carried by water from the foot of it. But the houſes in general are of brick manufactured from the natural ſoil, which is a certain proof of its fertile quality.

Near Merryman's Hill, in Liguanea, a mineral water has, not long ſince, been diſcovered; which is ſaid to contain a vitriolic acid iron, a portion of talky, argillaceous, and abſorbent earths, joined to a fixed foſſile alkali. Dr. Richardſon, who tried ſome experiments upon it, acknowledges, however, that this analyſis is incomplete, and requires further experiments, which cannot be made, except at the fountain head. This is commonly known at preſent by the name of Curtin's Spring, and probably contains a very medicinal quality; for which reaſon, a more perfect analyſis is extremely deſireable, for aſcertaining all its ingredients.

State of the Pariſh:

			Annual Produce of Sugar.	
	Negroes.	Cattle.	Sugar-eſtates.	Hogſheads.	Other Settlements.
1734,	7631	5413			
1740,	8363	5244			
1745,	8936	5001			
1761,	9024	30	2600	122
1768,	9813	4626			

This pariſh is in a flouriſhing ſtate, and increaſing in its number of ſugar-plantations, though not ſo rapidly as might have been expected, conſidering its vicinity to Kingſton. This ſupineneſs may be attributed to the abſence of the chief proprietors, who reſide in the mother-country, and are not ſolicitous about forming new eſtates, which require ſome money to be advanced, and perhaps the perſonal ſuperintendency of the owners. The diminution in cattle has (among other cauſes) proceeded from the erecting of ſeveral water-mills, which have rendered a leſs number neceſſary. The whole iſland, indeed, has owed much of its preſent improved ſtate to the extenſive introduction of theſe uſeful machines.

SECT.

N.º I.

Cobre River

Passage Fort

Hunt's Bay

Spanish Town Road

New Greenwich

Musquito Point

Port Henderson

PORT ROYAL

HARBOUR

Point

Gun Key

Rakams Key

Green Bay

Salt Pond

Hill.

Salt Pond Reef

Middle Ground

Drunken Mans Key

Lime

Grooper

Great Portuguese

South

One Bush Reef

Little Portuguese

Three fathom Bank

to face page VIII.

Halfway Tree

LONG MOUNTAIN

Rock Fort

Kingston Harbour

Port Royal

Great Plumb Point

Key

Middle 9 Ground

10 f.

Sandy Key

Reef

A Scale of Two Miles.

A DRAUGHT of the HARBOURS of PORT ROYAL and KINGSTON.

...hall at the Admiralty, June 1774.

SECT. III.

PORT ROYAL.

THIS pariſh is bounded on the Eaſt, by St. David; on the Weſt, by the port, and St. Andrew; North, by Kingſton harbour, and St. David; and South, by the ſhip channel, and ſea. A part of Yallahs River forms the inland confine on the North; as the Bull Bay River does on the Eaſt. It is watered alſo by the Hope, and Mammee. The town, which is in 17° 57′ North latitude, and 76° 37′ longitude Weſt from London, is ſituated on the point of a peninſula, or narrow neck of land, called the Paliſadoe, which, projecting from the main land about eight miles and three quarters, forms a barrier to the harbour of Kingſton againſt the ſea. The foundation of it was firſt laid by general Brayne, in the year 1657. It was then called Cagua, or Cagway, a corruption probably of caragua, the Indian name for the coratoe, or great aloe, which overſpreads the adjacent Saltpan Hill. The excellent anchorage in the road, where a thouſand ſhips might lie ſecure from all winds except hurricanes, and the depth of water, inſomuch that the largeſt veſſels uſed to lay their broadſides to the wharfs, and load or unload with little trouble, made it ſo deſireable a ſeat for trade, that it ſoon became celebrated for the number of its inhabitants, the extent of its commerce, and amazing treaſures of gold and ſilver. In the year 1672, it contained eight hundred well-built houſes, moſt of which were rented as high as any of that time in the heart of the city of London. Twenty years after this, the number was increaſed to two thouſand; and it had then attained the height of its ſplendor. The ſituation was extremely incommodious in many reſpects. It had neither earth, wood, nor water; the ſoil was nothing more than a looſe ſand, lodged at firſt upon a ridge of rock, and gradually extended in breadth, as well as depth, in a long ſeries of time, by the renditions of the ſea. The natural wants, however, of ſo large and populous a town, proved very inſtrumental towards forming and encouraging plantations upon the

main land. The demand for fire-wood, building-timber, bricks, fleſh, corn, fruits, and other vegetable proviſions, was conſiderable; and this was ſupplied by the ſettlers in St. Catharine and St. Andrew. The advantage of trade to an infant-colony, and the mutual dependence of the merchant and planter one upon the other, were never more conſpicuous than in this example. The town was inhabited by ſcarcely any other than merchants, warehouſe-keepers, vintners, and retailers of punch; the latter were very numerous, and well ſupported by the buccaneers, who diſſipated here whatever they got from the Spaniards. As an inſtance of their profuſion, it is ſaid, that one of them has been known to ſquander three thouſand pieces of eight, equal to 750*l.* of preſent currency, in leſs than a month. The immenſe riches they brought into this town, the grand treaſury of all their ſpoil, may partly be judged by the ſums which the armament, under Sir Henry Morgan only, is ſaid to have brought in during 1669 and 1670, viz.

On the capture of Puerto del Principe,	—	50,000 pieces of eight.
Puerto Vela,	— —	250,000
Maracaibo,	— — —	250,000
Panama and Cruz,	—	400,000
In all,		950,000 or £. 237,500

beſides an immenſe quantity of ſilks, linens, gold and ſilver lace, plate, jewels, and other valuable commodities; which probably amounted to near as much more. By this means (as an hiſtorian has obſerved) money grew to be in vaſt plenty, and returns eaſy to England, into which many hundred thouſand of thoſe pieces of eight were imported. A ſhare of theſe acquiſitions, however, remained in circulation among the planters, who by this time brought their manufactures of ſugar and indigo to great perfection. Their other commodities for export were, ginger, anotto, cacao, cotton, and pimento; fuſtick, mahogany, and *lignum vitæ*. All their goods were ſhipped at Port Royal; and, by an act of aſſembly paſſed in 1683, all productions of this ſort, that were levied on for payment of debts, were directed to be appraiſed in that town by the church-wardens, upon their oaths, and then delivered to the creditor, who was obliged to accept them at the appraiſed value, as

as ſo much money. This law, ſo favourable to the planters, was likewiſe highly beneficial to the mother-country, by its conſidering the foreign money then current here as mere merchandize, and of courſe leaving it free for exportation to England.

I am now about to deſcribe the ſad reverſe of fortune which this town experienced; but, firſt, it may not be improper to mention the ſtate of it in the beginning of the fatal year 1692. It contained at that period upwards of three thouſand five hundred inhabitants, and two thouſand houſes; the greater number of which were of brick, ſeveral ſtories in height, founded cloſe to the very brink of the water, on a looſe bank of ſand. The fort, which then mounted ſixty pieces of ordnance, and the reſt of the houſes, were founded on the rocky part of the peninſula. On the 7th of June, 1692, between eleven and twelve o'clock at noon, began that terrible earthquake which, in two minutes time, produced ſuch a ſcene of devaſtation [x]. All the principal ſtreets, which were next to the water, ſunk at once, with the people in them; and a high, rolling ſea followed, cloſing immediately over them. Not leſs than ſixteen hundred were thus ſwallowed up, or ſhook into an

[x] The year began with very hot, dry weather, which continued till May, when there was much blowing-weather, and a great deal of rain, till the end of the month; from which time, till the earthquake happened, it was exceſſively calm, hot, and dry. The 7th of June was a very hot, clear ſun-ſhine day, ſcarce a cloud appearing, and not a breath of air felt. The earthquake began at forty minutes paſt eleven A. M. with a very ſmall trembling. The ſecond ſhake was ſomewhat ſtronger, accompanied all the while with a hollow, rumbling noiſe; and, immediately after this ſecond ſhake, came on the third, and moſt violent, which continued near a minute.

When Venables took the iſland, the point whereon Port Royal now ſtands was almoſt inſulated, being joined to the Paliſadoes only by a ridge of ſand, which at that time juſt began to appear above water. When Jackſon invaded St. Jago de la Vega, which was about ſeventeen years antecedent, it was entirely ſeparated by the ſea. On this ſandy iſthmus, which the inhabitants enlarged by driving piles, wharfing, &c. the greater part of the town was built, extending above a quarter of a mile; and the weight of ſo many large brick houſes was juſtly imagined to contribute, in a great meaſure, to their downfall; for the ground gave way as far as the houſes erected on this ſandy foundation ſtood, and no further.

So in the great earthquake which happened in Sicily in the following year, 1693, it was obſerved, that in leſs ſolid ground, as chalk, ſand, or looſe earth, the miſchief was beyond compariſon greater than in rocky places. And, in Syracuſe, the difference was viſible in three places; that is, in the middle of the city; in the little iſland; and in Zaracatti, where the antient Syracuſa ſtood; in all which places, the buildings, being on a rocky foundation, remained for the moſt part untouched, or only ſhaken, or at leaſt not quite demoliſhed: whereas, on the contrary, in the reſt of that territory which is not rocky, a vaſt number of noble ſtructures and towers lay in a heap of ruins.

heap of rubbiſh. Some of the ſtreets were laid ſeveral fathoms under water; and it ſtood as high as the upper rooms of ſome houſes which remained. It was computed, that about two thouſand Whites and Negroes periſhed in this town alone. The harbour had all the appearance of agitation as in a ſtorm; and the huge waves rolled with ſuch violence, as to ſnap the cables of the ſhips, drive ſome from their anchors, and overſet others. Among the reſt, the Swan frigate, that lay by the wharf to careen, was forced over the tops of the ſunken houſes, and providentially enabled ſome hundreds of the inhabitants to ſave their lives. The fort only, and about two hundred houſes, eſcaped without damage. But a part of the neck of land, communicating from the point to the Paliſadoes, about a quarter of a mile in length, was entirely ſubmerſed, with all the houſes, which ſtood very thick upon it. The water forced its paſſage through the Saltpond Hill and guſhed in torrents from its ſide, at an elevation of twenty, and in ſome places thirty feet above its baſe, and continued running for ſeveral hours afterwards. The mountains on each ſide the river-road, leading from Spaniſh Town to Sixteen-mile-walk, were thrown down in ſuch heaps, as to obſtruct the paſſage of the river, and for ſome time to prevent all communication between theſe two places. A great part of a rocky mountain in St. David's fell down, and buried a whole plantation lying at the foot of it. The part from which this huge fragment was detached is now a precipice of ſolid rock, conſpicuous from its height at a great diſtance, and remains a dreadful monument of that day's cataſtrophe.

The ſhock was not leſs violent in the mountains. Some were even of opinion, that they had ſunk a little; others, that the whole iſland had ſomewhat ſubſided; for they obſerved, that ſeveral wells in Liguanea did not require ſo long a rope, by two or three feet, as they did before the earthquake. However, it is more natural to account for this change, by ſuppoſing, that the water had riſen higher; for, in all theſe violent commotions of the earth, it is well known, that ſprings are remarkably affected. At the North ſide, above one thouſand acres of land are ſaid to have ſunk, with thirteen inhabitants. It left not a houſe ſtanding at Paſſage Fort; only one at Liguanea; deſtroyed moſt of the planters habitations

in the country; and all in St. Jago de la Vega, except what were built by the Spaniards. During theſe convulſions, which continued with little intermiſſion, though in a ſlighter degree, for ſome weeks afterwards, the moſt offenſive ſtenches were emitted from every fiſſure and opening made in the ſand near the harbour; the ſky became dull and reddiſh, which indicated a plentiful diſcharge of vapours from the earth; the weather grew hotter than had been obſerved before the ſhock; and ſuch prodigious ſwarms of muſkeetos infeſted the coaſts, as to aſtoniſh the inhabitants; the beauty of the mountains was quite effaced, and, inſtead of their lively, youthful verdure, they appeared diſtorted with fragments, bald, and furrowed.

After this fatality, many of the inhabitants, who had ſurvived the loſs of Port Royal, removed to that part of Liguanea where Kingſton now ſtands. Here they took refuge in miſerable huts, which could not defend them from the rain. Thus deſtitute of ſuitable conveniences and medicines, they ſoon periſhed with malignant fevers. The air, empoiſoned with noxious vapours, cooperating with the terror of theſe calamities, and the diſtreſs they occaſioned, brought on a general ſickneſs, which very few eſcaped in any part of the iſland. Not leſs than three thouſand are computed to have died; the greater part at Kingſton only, where five hundred graves were dug in a month's time, and two or three buried in a grave. What rendered the ſcene more tragical were the numbers of dead bodies which, after periſhing in the ſhock at Port Royal, were ſeen in hundreds floating from one ſide of the harbour to the other. Thus fell the glory of Port Royal; and with it all the publick records; which proved a heavy loſs. In the following year, the aſſembly taking into conſideration, that the fort and many of the houſes were ſtill left ſtanding; that it was a place ſo excellently adapted to carry on trade, and of great ſtrength to reſiſt an enemy; reſolved upon rebuilding it. Firſt, however, they endeavoured to ſhew the deep impreſſion which the late misfortune had made upon their minds, by appointing every 7th of June to be obſerved, for the future, as a day of faſting and deprecation of the divine wrath; which ſtill continues, and ever ought, to be religiouſly kept here. The ſand on the South ſide of the town

was

was ſunk ſo low, that it was feared the ſea would encroach too faſt, and endanger the houſes left ſtanding on that ſide. They therefore enacted that the owners of ground formerly built upon, and whoſe houſes had been thrown down by the earthquake, ſhould rebuild them; or, otherwiſe, that the lots ſhould be ſold on a fair valuation, and the money be paid to the owners. Some proviſions were likewiſe made for repairing the wall, or breaſtwork, which had been built to hinder the encroachment of the ſea; and the receiver-general, ſecretary, and port officers, were ordered to hold their offices here, by themſelves or deputies, as heretofore.

By degrees, as the popular fears ſubſided, the town increaſed in buildings and inhabitants, though far ſhort of its former ſtate, till the year 1703, when it was deſtroyed a ſecond time. A terrible fire broke out among ſome of the ware-houſes, which ſpread with ſuch fury, as to reduce moſt of the houſes to aſhes. It was occaſioned, as appears from an act paſſed ſoon after, by keeping large quantities of gun-powder, and other combuſtibles, in the different quarters of the town; and its devaſtation was imputed to the Northward ſhingles, with which the houſes were covered. This accident produced the law, which enacts, that, as the North-American ſhingles had been found very dangerous, no perſon, inhabiting in this town, ſhould for the future cover any houſe, or other building, with any ſhingles brought from the Northward, nor any other than what are made and produced in this iſland, under penalty of forfeiting 100*l.* and ſuch houſe or building: a regulation ſo prudent, that it is amazing it has not been extended to Kingſton, and other towns where it is equally neceſſary. This ruinous accident cauſed another deſertion to Kingſton; which thus began to thrive by the decline of her elder ſiſter; ſo that, two years afterwards, it was grown ſo populous, that the legiſlature found it convenient to eſtabliſh here a quarter-ſeſſion, and court of common-pleas, and to enact ſeveral proviſions for ſecuring the navigation of the harbour, ſettling the rates of wharfage, repairing the ſtreets, and guarding againſt fire. Port Royal was at this period reduced to a very low ebb, yet it was not wholly deſerted. It was thought adviſeable to keep it provided always with a ſtrong garriſon. It ſtill poſſeſſed ſome little trade, and was the favourite

reſort

reſort of the ſeamen belonging to the men of war and privateers. But, as if Providence had decreed that it ſhould never more revive to any thing like its former ſplendor, what the earthquake and conflagration had ſpared was nearly demoliſhed by a violent hurricane, which happened on the 28th of Auguſt, 1722. It began at eight in the morning, and laſted fourteen hours; during which, the rain was inceſſant, and the ſtorm veered all round the compaſs. In Kingſton moſt of the buildings were thrown down, or much ſhattered. The very day preceding it was perfectly calm; but ſo great a ſwell at ſea, that the waves broke over the breaſt-work at Port Royal, and laid all the ſtreets under water. The fort ſuffered very much; ſeveral of the guns were diſmounted, and ſome waſhed into the ſea. The church and row of houſes in the Eaſt part of the town were ſo battered, that there remained very little appearance of a building. In ſhort, above half the town was laid in ruins; and the houſes and plantations in all parts of the iſland ſuffered conſiderable damage, except in St. Jago, where the Spaniſh buildings ſtood the ſhock unhurt. Very few of the inhabitants loſt their lives; but in the harbour it proved more fatal. Out of thirty-ſix merchant-ſhips and ſloops, only ten were to be ſeen after the ſtorm; and of theſe one half were irreparably damaged. The Falkland, Swallow, and Weymouth men of war, and the ſloop Happy, loſt all their maſts and boats; the other part of the ſquadron, conſiſting of the Lancaſter, Mermaid, and Adventure, were luckily at ſea, and eſcaped. The naval ſtore-houſe was blown down; and moſt of the powder in the magazines damaged. The Rio Cobre was obſtructed for ſeveral miles about the Caymana's, and loſt its uſual channel, by the prodigious abundance of trees and rubbiſh which the wind and inundation had thrown into it; ſo that the paſſage from St. Jago to Kingſton by land became interrupted for ſome time; and the aſſembly were obliged to paſs an act for clearing it. It was computed, that four hundred perſons loſt their lives in the harbour, among which were two hundred Negroe ſlaves on board a Guiney ſhip, which foundered at her anchors. In 1717, the aſſembly, being ſenſible that the wall, or breaſt-work, on the South ſide of the town was of the utmoſt importance to prevent the ſea from breaking in, eſtabliſhed 150*l. per annum* as a per-

petual fund for keeping it in repair. They had, ſome time before, prohibited the carrying away any ſtones or ſand from the cayes and ſhoals which lay in the channel, with a view to the like precaution; which was ſufficiently juſtified in the year 1744, when another furious hurricane aroſe at ſix in the evening on the 20th of October, and continued till ſix the following morning. A new fort, begun at Moſquito Point, was entirely razed; many houſes were blown down in the towns and other parts of the iſland; and all the wharfs at Port Royal, Kingſton, Paſſage Fort, and Old Harbour, were deſtroyed, and moſt of the goods ſwept away. The inhabitants of Port Royal expected every moment to be ſwallowed up by an inundation, the ſtreets being all laid ſeveral feet under water; but, happily, their wall withſtood the ſhock, and ſaved them from utter ruin. Their dangerous ſituation may be imagined; for the wind, ſetting the whole time from the South, drove the ſurge full againſt this part of the town, and with ſuch fury, that immenſe loads of ſtone and ſand were poured over the wall. Sir Chaloner Ogle, who then had the command on this ſtation, was fortunately at ſea, with the major part of the fleet; but there were nine men of war and ninety-ſix merchant ſhips in the harbour, one hundred and four of which were ſtranded, wrecked, or foundered; ſo that only the Rippon rode it out with the loſs of her maſts; and a great number of mariners were drowned. Thus has this unhappy town undergone, in the ſpace of fifty-two years, a ſad ſucceſſion of extraordinary diſaſters, by earthquake, tempeſt, fire, and inundation. In its preſent humbled condition, it has three ſtreets, two or three lanes, and about two hundred houſes. The fortification, called Fort Charles, ſtands on a low ſpot at the entrance or mouth of the harbour, and is defended by one hundred and twenty-ſix guns. The breaſt-work, or line, is alſo formed to guard the channel in coming in, as well as to prevent any acceſs by the Paliſadoe or land-ſide; ſo that it is now compleatly fortified. Within the fort is a ſmall powder-magazine, and a houſe for the commanding officer. The barracks are capable of receiving upwards of three hundred men, excluſive of their officers; and here is a hoſpital for their ſick. In 1734, when Sir Chaloner Ogle commanded the ſquadron here, a large piece of ground was taken in at the North-

East quarter of the town, and veſted in the crown, for the ſervice of his majeſty's ſhips; and in 1741 the yard and wharf were greatly enlarged by an act of aſſembly, paſſed for that purpoſe. Here the men of war are careened and refitted; but the greater part of the naval ſtores are kept in proper ware-houſes at Greenwich. The hoſpital for the ſeamen is a large, airy, and well-contrived building. The church is a ſmall, but neat ſtructure, with an organ, a tower, and cupola. The captain of the fort has of late years been appointed by the governor's warrant, upon the nomination of the miniſtry. His ſalary is only 109*l.* 10*s.* *per annum*; but the profits of this poſt make it far more conſiderable. By the revenue-law, paſſed in 1728, a proviſion is made of 547*l.* 10*s.* *per annum* for twelve matroſſes and gunners, who are required to be inhabitants of the town, and continually reſident in it. The holding theſe employments is an excuſe from ſervice as peace-officers, jury-men, or in the militia; and for this reaſon, the inhabitants make ſtrong intereſt to obtain warrants of appointment to theſe merely nominal commiſſions, for they gladly relinquiſh their claim to the ſalary, which of courſe becomes a perquiſite to the captain. A practice, very detrimental to trade, was formerly in uſe here; I mean the demand of a gratuity from the maſters of veſſels, importing bullion from foreign parts, for leave to paſs the fort: this, with exactions of the like nature from the governors, naval officers, &c. became ſo grievous, that theſe foreigners at length declared it to be the principal reaſon of their abandoning all further trade at this port, and of their reſort to the French at Hiſpaniola, where they are ſaid to have met with a more favourable reception, and to have made up their aſſortments full as cheap. Rapacious acts commonly begin at the top in theſe diſtant governments, and ſo deſcend to the loweſt underſtrappers.

It was unpleaſing to ſee the intereſt of a colony thus made a ſacrifice to the baſeſt principle; and more ſo, that the injured people either had not, or were not able to exert, a ſuitable remedy. But ſuch as a governor is, ſuch will be the ſubordinate miniſters within his juriſdiction. The captain of the fort takes charge of all the powder brought into the magazine purſuant to the tonnage-act, and accounts, upon oath, for its waſte and expenditure, to the

council and assembly when called upon; subject, in case of neglect or refusal, to a penalty of 500*l.* The profits of this post have been computed at not less than 1000*l.* sterling *per annum*. The expence of keeping this fort, and the barracks at Port Royal, in repair, from 1743 to 1752, paid by the public of Jamaica, amounted to 27,667*l.* which is about 3074*l. per annum*. The powder ordinarily in the magazine is about 20,500 lb.wt. and all that it is not capable of containing is lodged at Mosquito Point, and Rock Fort.

The quantity consumed in salutes, minute-guns, rejoicing-days, and a morning and evening-watch, is, *communibus annis*, about —— —— —— 25600 lb.wt.

The waste, in sifting and shifting, about —— —— 3000

28600

which, at eighteen-pence *per* pound (the price at which it is rated on being paid in), comes to 2145*l.* a charge which might be lessened, and the saving better applied to the article of repairs.

These salutes, &c. have usually been regulated in the following manner:

	N° Guns.
On the death of the governor, admiral, or the governor's lady, —— —— —— ——	61
Ditto of the king's uncle or aunt, —— —— —— ——	44
King's birth-day, —— —— —— ——	27
Death of the king's brother, or sister; birth-day of any of the royal family, except the king's; on arrival or departure of a governor; on his visiting or leaving the fort; on publishing his commission; commissioners of the forts visiting, and leaving; gun-powder plot; St. George's day; and other publick holidays; ——	21
Salute of an admiral's flag, —— —— ——	15
Ditto a privy-counsellor of the island arriving, — ——	14
Ditto ditto leaving the island; — —— ——	13

An exact account of all the powder brought in every year to this fort, and the out-ports, would give a tolerably accurate detail of the tonnage of shipping employed in the trade of this island; it would

would probably be rather under than over the truth, as their registers seldom correspond with exact menfuration.

The powder, expended at Fort Auguſta, on Moſquito Point, is, one year with another, about 7000 lb.wt. value 525 *l.*

In the year 1760, the quantity of powder received at Fort Charles amounted to three hundred and nine barrels, of 100 lb.wt. each, = 30,000 lb.wt. which makes the tonnage of that year, of the ſhips that come to Kingſton harbour, thirty thouſand nine hundred; and, ſuppoſing ſeventy tons each to be an average, the number will be four hundred and forty-one ſhips and ſmaller veſſels [*y*].

For the ſervice of the forts ſeveral Negroes are allotted; and by the laſt account there were,

At Fort Charles,	———	———	23
Fort Auguſta,	———	———	13
Rock Fort,	———	———	12
Engineer for general work,	———	———	30
		Total,	78

and proper canoes, either for going with diſpatches, or bringing proviſions from Kingſton market, &c. The inhabitants are chiefly ſupported by the money ſpent here by the garriſon and the ſquadron; by the gains made by their wherries that ply for fare in the harbour; their turtle-fiſhery, which is conſiderable; the pilotage of ſhips in and out; and by their votes at the election of repreſentatives; though it muſt be confeſſed, that, except when party-feuds run very high in the iſland, their profits in this laſt article are but trifling: however, many perſons are proprietors of houſes in this town, merely for the advantage of voting at theſe elections; in the mean time letting them rent-free, on condition only, that the tenant keeps them in tolerable repair.

Beſides theſe douceurs, one inhabitant receives 400*l.* a year for ſupplying the fort and the garriſon at Moſquito Point with freſh

[*y*] The medium quantity received, *communibus annis*, about 415, equal to 21,500 tons of ſhipping. An act has lately been paſſed for levying the duty in money at 1*s.* 6*d.* *per* ton on all veſſels (foreign only excepted), and appropriating the proceeds as a general fund for repairing forts and fortifications; a meaſure from which, I am perſuaded, the iſland will reap very great advantage. By the ſame act, the receiver-general is empowered to buy powder for ſupplying them.

water,

water, brought in boats from the river Cobre; and another is paid 100*l.* annually, for giving a dinner to the committee of the legiſlature, who come hither to view the ſtate of this fortreſs. Sometimes they have obtained a partial exemption from certain taxes; and, conſidering the veneration and compaſſion due to the town on account of its antient grandeur and preſent poverty, there ſeems to be juſt ground for theſe eleemoſynary benefactions. The air of the town has been always eſteemed remarkably healthful. It is open to a free ventilation; and the wind is corrected by paſſing in every direction over the ſea-water. In the middle of the day it is generally very hot; for the heat of the air is greatly augmented by the ſand, which retains it like a *balneum mariæ*. But rain rarely falls here. The clouds from the land have a quick drift out to ſea, after being blown over the Blue Mountains; and thoſe that approach from the ſea generally follow the mountainous ridges, and thus are drawn away from this quarter. The inhabitants in general live to a great age; and many convaleſcents repair hither from other parts of the iſland, to recruit their emaciated bodies with the purity of this atmoſphere, and a regular courſe of turtle-diet, which is cooked here in the higheſt perfection. The civil government of the town is, like the others, under the diſpenſation of a *cuſtos*, or chief magiſtrate, and his aſſiſtants, with other peace-officers. It has alſo a quarter-ſeſſion of the peace, and court of common-pleas, and muſters a ſmall corps of militia. The rector's ſtipend is 250*l. per annum*; and, all perquiſites included, does not amount to more than about 300*l.* as I am informed.

Port Royal, as a place of defence, is deſervedly valued. The ſhips, in advancing towards the harbour, muſt neceſſarily paſs, between ſhoals and rocks, through a difficult channel, in ſome parts extremely narrow; and are inevitably expoſed to a ſevere fire, without poſſibility of bringing their guns to bear. A-head they have a battery of twelve guns, moſtly forty-two pounders, called the Twelve Apoſtles, built on a point of Saltpan Hill (above the range of an enemy's ſhot), which would rake them the whole way, till they tacked to ſtand up the harbour; they are then expoſed to the fire of this battery on one ſide, to the fire of the fort on the other,

and

and in front to the battery of Fort Auguſta. The harbour is about one mile and three quarters in breadth, but widens further-in.

The men of war anchor near the town in eight and ten fathom water. Fort Auguſta ſtands on Moſquito Point, which is a ſandy peninſula, about two miles in length, and very narrow, projecting from the North-Eaſt ſide of the Saltpan Hill, and forming a kind of Iuiette on the Weſt ſide of the harbour. At the point, the ſhip-channel between the harbours of Port Royal and Kingſton is not a quarter of a mile in breadth, and would probably become ſhoal-water, if it was not for the Rio Cobre, which ſweeps through it to the ſea. The channel has from ſix to eight fathom; but on each ſide of it are ſand-banks, in paſſing over which, the ſmall wherries ſometimes rub their keels. This fort mounts eighty-ſix large guns, kept in excellent order. It contains a large magazine, a houſe for the commandant, barracks to contain three hundred ſoldiers, with all convenient offices, and caſemates. It was projected to mount one hundred and ſixteen guns; but it is not yet compleated. The walls and baſtions are built upon piles of the palmeto or thatch-pole tree, which is endued with the property of laſting in water without being liable to eroſion by the worm. Theſe were driven down through the looſe ſand, until they reached a firm bed. If the ſame precaution had been uſed in conſtructing the houſes of Port Royal, it is probable that the greater part of the town would have ſurvived the earthquake. This fort contains an hoſpital, beſides habitations for the officers, and is looked upon to be an healthy garriſon. The neck of ſand which joins it to the main is not above fifty or ſixty feet wide in moſt places, and ſo low, that an enemy could not carry on approaches, on account of the water riſing near the ſurface; and it is flanked by a lagoon, or inlet of water from the harbour, of ſome extent; for theſe reaſons, and becauſe the ſhips, in paſſing up the channel towards Kingſton, muſt come within point-blank ſhot of a whole line of guns, a governor of this iſland pronounced it impregnable both by land and ſea. The fort is about two miles diſtant from Port Royal, and about three and a half from Kingſton.

The

The broadeſt part of Port Royal peninſula is nearly oppoſite to the Eaſt quarter of Kingſton: on this part is a ſmall graſs-penn, ſtocked with ſheep and goats. The ſide next the harbour is interſected with ſeveral little ponds and inlets; and here is the uſual careening-place for merchant-ſhips. This neck of land might be made very paſſable for horſes; but the people of Port Royal prefer a water-carriage, which is more pleaſant, and equally expeditious. Leaving this maritime part of the pariſh, I ſhall proceed to the other diſtrict of it, which lies on the main land. It contains about fifteen thouſand acres, but very few ſettlements or inhabitants; for the more level part bordering on the coaſt is parched, for want of rain; and the reſt is occupied with ſteep mountains. Near the road, which leads acroſs this pariſh from the Eaſtward to Kingſton, ſtands the antient habitation of Sir James de Caſtillo, a Spaniſh gentleman; who was knighted by king William III. for his ſervices in negociating a treaty, to furniſh the Spaniſh dominions in the Weſt-Indies with an annual number of Negroes, by the way of Jamaica [z]. This houſe was defended by ſeveral ſwivel-guns, ranged on poſts before the front; its ſituation near the Bull Bay ſubjecting it in war-time to the danger of being attacked by the privateers, which frequently have made deſcents on this part of the country.

There is nothing further in the pariſh that merits notice, except the caſcade at Mammee River. This ſtream takes its riſe among the Blue Mountains; and, after a winding courſe, diſcharges itſelf between two rocky hills near Bull Bay, by a fall of about two hundred feet. The direction of the fall is altered, midway, by a vaſt rock, extending from the ſide of the adjacent precipice, which breaks the ſheet of water, and cauſes it to be agitated with ſuch violence, that the ſpace below is filled with a continual miſt; which, ſo long as the ſun ſhines upon it, exhibits a beautiful variety of fine irides: from thence the river ruſhes, foaming along between rocks, till it reaches the open ground below. Under the brow of the Eaſtern hill, above the fall, is a very large and curious cave, filled, like all the others that I have ſeen in this iſland, with

[z] He was commiſſary-general for the Aſſiento; lived here many years; and acquired a conſiderable property, with univerſal eſteem.

ſtalactic

ſtalactic petrifactions. In many parts of the mountains are found ſimilar cavities, ſome of which have adits deſcending a very great depth into the earth. It is poſſible, they may have been originally formed by earthquakes; yet, to judge from the appearance of moſt of them, they appear coeval with the iſland itſelf. On going into one of theſe in the middle of the day to the depth of about forty feet, the air, or vapour, grew ſo hot and ſuffocating, that it was impoſſible to proceed any lower. Theſe chaſms, perhaps, have a very extenſive ſubterraneous communication; and, whenever the external air is highly rarefied, the vapours ruſh upwards through the aperture in a continued ſtream; on the contrary, when the external air is in a different ſtate, it probably deſcends with ſome violence into theſe openings: at certain times therefore, as for example in the early morning-hours, it may be practicable to go down very low into them without inconvenience or danger. In moſt of them are found large quantities of human bones, almoſt conſumed by time, the teeth alone being in a tolerably perfect ſtate. Some have conjectured, that theſe places were either uſed by the Indians as oſſuaries, or elſe as occaſional retreats, to elude the ſearch of an enemy. The moſt probable account is, that the bones belonged to thoſe poor Indian natives who fell victims to the barbarity of their Spaniſh conquerors; for Eſquemeling, who wrote in 1666, and had ſeen great quantities of human bones lying in caves in the iſland of Hiſpaniola, tells us he was informed, by the inhabitants of that iſland, that, when the Spaniards had reſolved upon the extirpation of the Indians, they made uſe of dogs of a peculiar breed, large, bold, and very fleet. The poor Indians having for ſome time been obliged to take refuge in their woods, theſe animals were conſtantly employed to hunt them out. The Spaniards by this means caught a great number of them; and were content at firſt to kill ſeveral, quartering their bodies, and fixing their limbs on the moſt conſpicuous ſpots *in terrorem*, that the reſt might take warning by their fate, and ſubmit at diſcretion. But this horrid cruelty, inſtead of intimidating or reducing to friendly terms, only ſerved to embitter them more againſt their ſavage invaders, and affected them with ſo inveterate an abhorrence of the Spaniards, that they determined to fly their ſight for ever, and rather periſh by

famine or their own hands, than fall into the power of ſo mercileſs an enemy. The greater part of them therefore retired into caves and ſubterraneous privacies among the mountains; where they miſerably periſhed, leaving a ſad, though glorious, monument to future ages, of their having diſdained to ſurvive the loſs of liberty and their country.

State of Port Royal Pariſh:

	Negroes.	Cattle.	Sugar-works.	Annual Produce of Sugar. Hogſheads.	Settlements.
1734,	1548	106			
1740,	1546	158			
1745,	1685	35			
1761,	1203				
1768,	1432	170	1	60	11

We have here a glaring proof, that this pariſh is declining very faſt, and perhaps irreparably; ſince there appear no means of putting the town into a more thriving way; and the inland part of the pariſh is too rugged or ſteep to admit of any conſiderable ſettlements, while the tract adjacent to the coaſt is rather ſterile, and deſtitute of a good ſhipping-place. The only barquadier is near the mouth of Bull River, where none but ſmall veſſels can lie; and the anchorage is unſafe, on account of the openneſs of the bay.

SECT. IV.

St. DAVID, in the Precinct of St. THOMAS in the EAST.

THIS pariſh is bounded on the Eaſt, by St. Thomas in the Eaſt, and a part of Portland; on the Weſt, by Port Royal pariſh, and a ſmall part of St. Andrew; on the North, by St. George; and on the South, by the ſea. It is watered by ſix rivers, the principal of which are, Collier's, Vavaſor's, and Yallah's. The latter takes its firſt ſource in the Blue Mountains, and, after a meandring courſe of twenty-five miles, falls into the bay of the ſame name, a ſmall diſtance from the diſcharge of the others. This pariſh was formerly populous: in the year 1673 it contained

eighty

eighty ſettlements; but the loſs of regular ſeaſons occaſioned its deſertion. The hamlet at Yallah's Bay conſiſts of a few ſcattered houſes, near the church, which is a very ſmall building, though large enough for the pariſhioners; the rector's ſtipend 100*l. per annum*. The ſhipping-places are, Yallah's Bay, and Cow Bay. At the former, there is anchorage for large ſhips; but at the latter only ſmall veſſels can lie. Yallah's Bay is ſheltered from the breezes and Norths by a point of land. But no ſhipping can lie with ſafety at either of theſe places in a ſtrong Southerly wind, on account of the prodigious ſwell which ſets in. Cow Bay is remarkable for having been the ſcene of an extraordinary action in the year 1681; when Sir Henry Morgan, the governor, having intelligence that one Everſon, a famous Dutch pirate, rid there with a ſloop and a barqua longa, manned with about one hundred deſperate fellows, diſpatched a ſloop with fifty men, beſides officers, in queſt of him. On the firſt of February the governor's armed veſſel attacked the pirate, and after ſome reſiſtance, in which the Dutch captain was killed, got poſſeſſion of the ſloop. The bark cut her cable, and eſcaped by outſailing her purſuer. The piratical crew, who were almoſt all of them Engliſh, Sir Henry ſent to the governor of Carthagena, to receive puniſhment for all the outrages they had committed upon the Spaniards. In this he was thought by ſome to have gone too far; but he was willing perhaps to convince the Spaniards, by this ſacrifice, that he knew how to diſtinguiſh between hoſtilities carried on under a lawful commiſſion, and acts of lawleſs piracy; and that he was determined to keep the treaty with the Spaniards inviolate on his part. In 1694, twelve ſail of the fleet, under command of Du Caſſe, anchored in this bay, landed their men, and plundered and burnt all before them, for ſeveral miles; killed the cattle; drove whole flocks of ſheep into houſes, and then fired them. They put ſeveral of the priſoners they took to torture, murdered others in cold blood, and committed the moſt ſhocking barbarities. Some days afterwards, ſeveral of the fleet being forced out to ſea by the violence of the wind, which drove their anchors home, the commanding officer of the militia in this quarter fell upon their ſtraggling parties on ſhore, ſlew many of them, and forced the reſt to take ſhelter on

board their ſhips, leaving their proviſions behind. Soon after this action, they ſailed away.

This coaſt was always much expoſed to the inſult of privateers, until the laſt war; when a ſmall frigate was ſtationed at Morant to windward, which being only five leagues from Cow Bay, it would be very difficult for an enemy's veſſel to eſcape after making a deſcent. This pariſh has three large ponds on the coaſt, divided from the ſea only by a very narrow, ſandy bank, ſo that the waters communicate. Two of them are ſituated in the South-Eaſt ſide, between White River and Yallah's Bay; the larger is two miles and a quarter in length, and three quarters in breadth in the wideſt part; a very narrow ſlip ſeparates this from the next, which is about a mile in length. Theſe were antiently pans, formed by the Engliſh who firſt ſettled in the pariſh, for making ſalt. They were probably afterwards deſtroyed by inundations of the ſea in the great earthquake and ſubſequent hurricanes; and they have now a conſiderable depth of water in ſome places. The third lies about two miles Weſt of theſe, and is about one mile in length, and of unequal breadth. If the pariſh was crouded with ſettlements, theſe baſons might be converted to ſome advantageous ſcheme, either for maintaining a fiſhery, or opening a water-carriage from the Eaſtern part to Yallah's Bay; which would be extremely feaſible. The lower or more level range of the pariſh, lying between the hills and the ſea, was, by the failure of the regular ſeaſons, in general ſo dry, that canes would not grow here; and the ſettlements, thinly ſcattered, conſiſted only of penns and ſheep-paſtures, until within theſe few years, when a gentleman who poſſeſſes a property here conceived the idea of watering it from the neighbouring river. The experiment anſwered much beyond his expectation: he ſoon covered his formerly parched land with the verdure of cane pieces, and has now, as I am informed, made a noble eſtate of four hundred hogſheads *per annum*; the land proving moſt amazingly fertile, inſomuch that I have heard it aſſerted to have yielded him from three to four hogſheads *per* acre. This example may probably operate upon his neighbours; and, in proceſs of time, St. David will in conſequence become a populous and wealthy pariſh. The air is eſteemed healthy in all parts of it, except the neighbourhood

of

of the Saltponds, but, if the pariſh ſhould ever be thick-ſettled, the mangrove-trees, which confine the atmoſphere on the ſwampy borders of theſe ponds, will be cut down, or probably ſome method fallen upon, to drain them. The glades between the hills are exceedingly fertile; and the air and water perfectly good.

State of the Pariſh:

	Negroes.	Cattle.	Sugar-works.	Annual produce of Sugar. Hogſheads.	Other Settlements.
1734,	1540	1165			
1740,	1628	1497			
1745,	1365	1494			
1761,	1838				
1768,	2316	1667	8	550	35

This pariſh is evidently on the improving hand, having increaſed both in number of Negroes and cattle. And it is to be hoped, the new ſyſtem of watering will pervade the lower quarter as far as may be practicable, that the greater part of that tract may be brought into cultivation.

SECT. V.

St. THOMAS in the EAST.

THIS delightful pariſh is bounded on the South and Eaſt by the ſea; on the North, by Portland; and on the Weſt, by St. David. It is plentifully watered by upwards of twenty rivers and ſmaller ſtreams: the principal are, the Negroe, the Morant, and Plantain Garden rivers; the laſt-mentioned of which is navigable by ſmall boats for a conſiderable way up. This river ſweeps through the pariſh from Eaſt to Weſt in a meandring courſe of about twenty miles from its ſource, which lies among the Blue Mountains: the other two croſs it from North to South, at the diſtance of about half a mile from each other. Upon entering this pariſh from St. David's, the land riſes on the coaſt; and the road lies along ſhore near a mile, paſſing under two precipitous mountains, compoſed of rocks, and *ſtrata* of a light-coloured friable marle, intermixed with large pebbles. Theſe cliffs are ſeen a great

a great diſtance from the coaſt, and called by ſeamen "The White Horſes." The ſurf ſets in here very high upon the beach, and ſometimes runs up quite to the foot of the cliff; but, in general, the ſea is not ſo boiſterous as to prevent carriages from paſſing. On leaving the ſhore, the road becomes hilly for moſt part of the way, till we come to Morant, which is about four miles to the Eaſtward. The bay of Morant is a conſiderable ſhipping-place. The road in which the ſhips anchor is well defended from the ſea by a reef of rocks: the ſhore is lined with ſtores and ware-houſes at the bottom of a riſing ground, on which the village ſtands, which conſiſts of about thirty houſes, or more, as it comprehends within its circuit the church, which is not far diſtant. This village is growing faſt into a town, and indeed better deſerves that appellation than ſome others in the iſland: the church is a handſome building; and adjoining is the parſonage, an exceedingly comfortable manſion: the ſtipend annexed to this living is 250 *l.*; but, conſidering the extent of the pariſh, the rector's income is probably not much ſhort of from five to ſix hundred pounds *per annum*. There are ſeveral circumſtances which ſeem to favour the growth of a town here. The ſoil is dry, the air healthy, and the water good and in great plenty; the Eaſtern branch of Morant River fall into the ſea on one ſide of the bay; and the country behind, and all around, is well-ſettled and fertile. The ſhipping are defended by a ſmall battery, kept in good repair. About five miles further Eaſtward, the road brings us to Port Morant, which is one of the largeſt and moſt beautiful harbours in Jamaica. It runs up the country about two miles and a quarter; the entrance is about one mile acroſs; but the channel dangerous to ſtrangers, on account of two reefs in the offing, which have proved fatal to ſeveral ſhips. On the windward-ſide, the land ranges pretty high, covered with thick wood; and, being ſheltered on all ſides by the main-land and the reefs, it is always ſecure, and has a good depth of water. The entrance is defended by a ſmall battery on the Eaſt ſide. The old fort was erected on the oppoſite ſide; but it was ill-conſtructed, and eſteemed not healthy [*a*]. It was in the neighbourhood of this

[*a*] Proviſion has lately been made by the aſſembly for re-building two forts, or batteries, one on each ſide the entrance.

harbour

harbour that governor Stokes ſettled in 1656, with his colony of Nevis planters. The governor fixed himſelf about two miles and a half from the head of the harbour, where the plantation, called Stokes-hall, ſtill commemorates him. In 1671, notwithſtanding the mortality which had ſwept off many of the firſt planters, there were upwards of ſixty ſettlements in this neighbourhood; many of which formed a line along the coaſt Eaſtward from the harbour, where are only two or three at preſent. Point Morant, which is the Eaſternmoſt end of the iſland, is diſtant between nine and ten miles from Morant Harbour. Adjacent to the Point are near eight thouſand acres of very fine land, moſtly a rich, black mould upon a clay, at preſent in moraſs, and therefore neglected; but it is capable (by draining) of being converted into rich ſugar-plantations; an example of which has been ſhewn in the Northern quarter of it, bordering upon Plantain Garden River, where an eſtate, formed out of the moraſs not many years ſince by this mode of improvement, was lately ſold for 105,000*l.* and is thought to be well worth the money. The draining of this large tract would anſwer the further good purpoſe of rendering all the ſettlements, that lie to leeward of it, more healthy; and in proceſs of time this may probably be accompliſhed[*b*]. The road, continuing along the Weſt ſide of the harbour, and running Northwards about five miles, terminates at the town of Bath, which is forty-four miles diſtant from Kingſton, and about ſixty from Spaniſh Town. The road from Kingſton was made partly by private ſubſcription, and partly publick grants. As it paſſes the whole way near the coaſt, and through a variety of flouriſhing ſettlements, it is cheered with a number of moſt agreeable proſpects; and, to render it more commodious for travellers, there are mile-ſtones fixed all along. Since the Bath has become a place of leſs reſort than formerly, this road has been too much neglected. Some parts of it were formed

[*b*] About ten leagues South-eaſt from the Point, or Cape of Morant, lie the two Morant cayes, called by the French *Ranas*. The North-eaſt caye is placed in latitude 17° 26′ North; and the South-weſt in 17° 20′. As they are directly in the track of ſhips coming down to Jamaica from Europe, or the Windward Iſlands, great caution is uſed not to fall in with them in the night-time. Not long ſince, a Guiney-man was wrecked here. But ſuch accidents have very rarely happened. Under the South-weſt caye there is good anchorage from five to eighteen fathom water.

with

with infinite labour, being carried along the ſide of a lofty precipice of ſolid rock, which nothing but the force of gun-powder could penetrate. This paſs is very tremendous in a wheel-carriage; from one ſide of which, the eye is torrified by the view of a river foaming ſeveral hundred feet below; but a parapet wall is built, for the ſecurity of paſſengers, where any danger may be apprehended.

The Bath waters have long been known, and juſtly celebrated for their ſalutary virtues. They are ſaid to have been firſt diſcovered by colonel Stanton, formerly a planter and inhabitant of the pariſh, who was proprietor of the demeſne in which they riſe, and ſold his right to the publick for a valuable conſideration, paid him in purſuance of an act of aſſembly paſſed in the year 1699. The diſtance and trouble of coming at them prevented any experiment being made of their efficacy, till about the year 1696, when two perſons, one of whom was greatly reduced by the belly-ach, the other by the venereal diſeaſe, had recourſe to them for a cure: they carried proper neceſſaries with them; built huts; and, by the internal and external uſe of the hot ſpring, they found their health re-eſtabliſhed in the ſpace of only ten days. The water was ſoon afterwards tried in the preſence of the governor, Sir William Beeſton, with an infuſion of galls, which in twenty-four hours gave it the tincture of Canary-wine, or old-hock; a ſufficient proof that it is not impregnated with chalybeate, or at leaſt in a very ſmall portion.

The hot ſpring iſſues by ſeveral different rills from fiſſures in the ſide of a rocky cliff, the foot of which is waſhed by the Sulphur River. The ſpring is in ſuch a ſtate of ebullition, when received immediately from the rock in a glaſs, and applied to the lips, that it can only be ſipped like tea. This has given occaſion to ſome dealers in the marvelous to affirm, that it is hot enough to boil chickens and even turkies. I have, indeed, been aſſured by men of veracity, that it will coagulate the white of an egg, if placed cloſe to the fiſſure, and held there for ſome time covered from the air: and of this I have no doubt; for it is to be remarked, that at ſome times it is heated to a far greater degree than at others, which depends probably on the greater or leſs effervеſcence of the water within the bowels of the mountain from whence the ſpring derives its ſource. It is naturally light, ſparkles when received in the

To face page 160, Vol. II.

W. Walker, sculp.

A View of the Bath Hot Spring.

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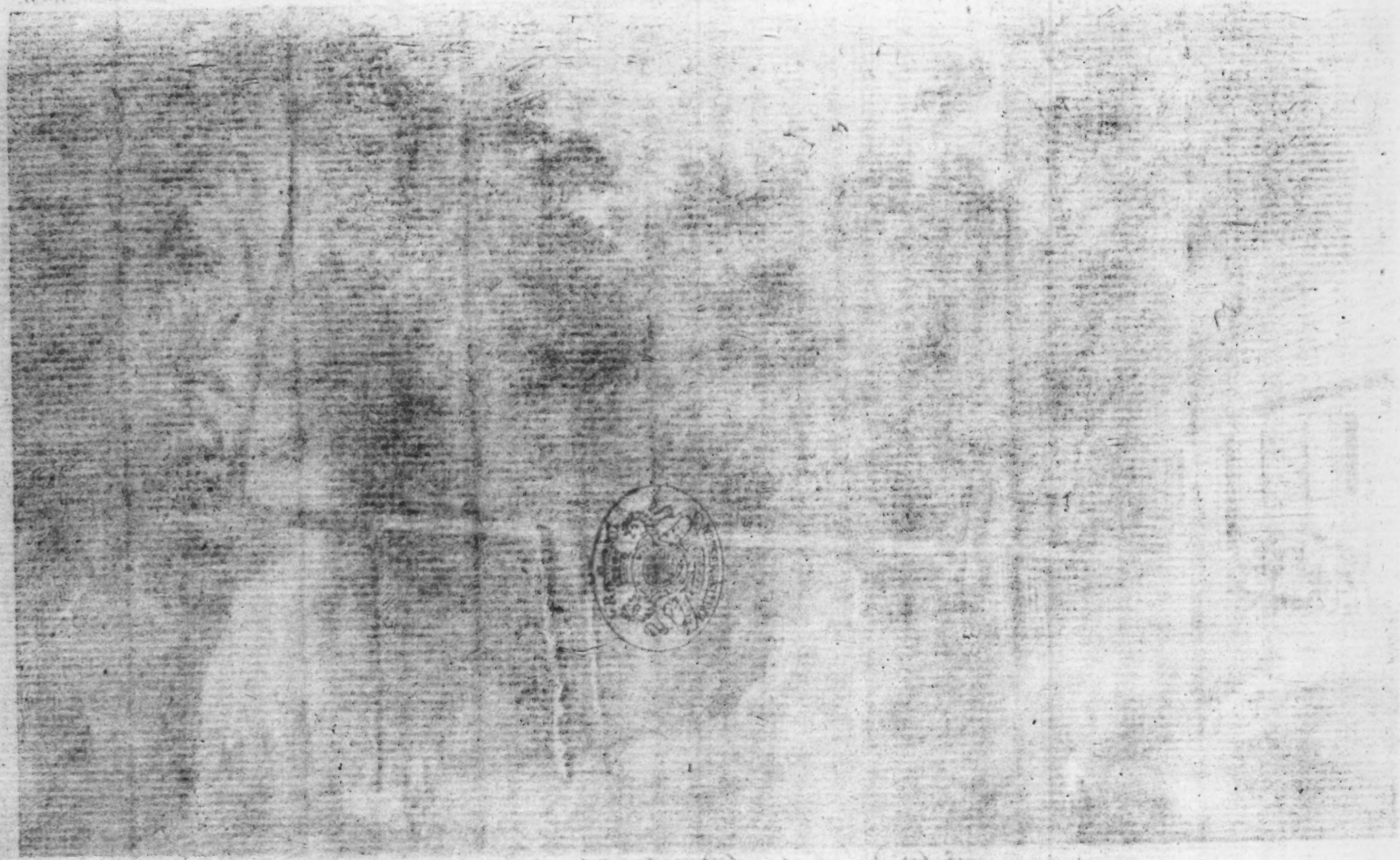


glaſs, ferments ſlightly with acids, turns ſilver black, and ſeems copiouſly charged with volatile particles, combined with a phlogiſtic, a calcareous earth, and a portion of fixible air: it has a nauſeous taſte when drunk at the rock; but this leaves it on being ſome time kept. The face of the rock over which it flows is covered with an ochrous precipitation, impregnated with ſulphur. It is remarkably beneficial in all capillary obſtructions and diſorders of the breaſt, proceeding from weakneſs, or want of the proper glandular ſecretions; in all lentors and viſcidities, proceeding from inaction; in conſumptions, and nervous ſpaſms. It reſtores the appetite, and natural action of the bowels; invigorates the circulation; warms the juices; opens the ſkin; cleanſes the urinary paſſages; ſtrengthens the nerves; and ſeldom fails to procure an eaſy ſleep at night. Externally uſed, by way of a fomentation, it has been known to heal the moſt obſtinate ulcers. In paralytic complaints it is generally ſucceſsful, and has recruited many conſtitutions that were impaired by debauch, or lingering intermittents. Numerous as its known virtues are, it ſtill requires a more thorough analyſis. Some other particulars likewiſe ought to be aſcertained, in order to make it of more general uſe. But, of the different phyſicians who have reſided here, I know of none that has been at the pains to examine it ſcientifically, or at leaſt that has favoured the public with any diſcovery of the principal purpoſes to which it is applicable in medicine, or of the methods by which it may be beſt adminiſtered, to anſwer the cure of diſeaſes; or of the ſubſtances proper to be uſed at the ſame time with it. Theſe particulars are left at preſent to the diſcretion of the patients, who drink it, for the moſt part, with very little attention to rule or meaſure; and therefore ſome of them do not reap all the advantages from the uſe of it, which, under due regulation, it might be capable of producing. The general enquiries are,

1. What is the fitteſt ſtate in which the water ſhould be drank?
2. The quantity?
3. Time of the day?
4. Length of time proper for it to be continued?
5. Seaſon of the year in which it is moſt efficacious?

6. Regimen of life, and diet, whilſt under the courſe?

7. What medicines preparatory to, or to cooperate with, the uſe of it [c]?

In general, it is drank immediately from the ſpring, beginning with one half-pint glaſs, and increaſing the number to three or more. It has been found to have the beſt effect taken on an empty ſtomach early in the morning; but ſome repeat the draught in the afternoon, beſides taking a conſiderable quantity, mixed with a little rum and ſugar, by way of a diluent at dinner. All fruits and other acids are cautiouſly abſtained from, and vegetables ſparingly indulged. The diet moſt uſual conſiſts of fiſh, black crabs, fowls, and the more delicate kinds of butchers meat, with puddings, and the like. At firſt drinking, it diffuſes a thrilling glow over the whole body; and the continued uſe enlivens the ſpirits, and ſometimes produces almoſt the ſame joyous effects as inebriation. On this account, ſome notorious topers have quitted their claret for a while, and come hither, merely for the ſake of a little variety in their practice of debauch, and to enjoy the ſingular felicity of getting drunk with water. The cold ſulphureous ſpring, which riſes near Blue Mountain Valley, in this pariſh, ſome miles Weſtward of the bath, is more groſs, and abundantly impregnated with ſulphur, diſtinguiſhed by the fœtor of its ſmell and inflammable ſediment. It is eſteemed more effectual than the other in all cutaneous diſorders, obſtinate obſtructions in the bowels, the ſcurvy, and all the other diſpoſitions of the juices that require ſtrong lixivious diſſolvents: for theſe reaſons, in ſome habits, it is recommended to ſucceed a moderate courſe of the hot ſpring; but it is not much frequented, except by inhabitants of the neighbourhood. The mountains, between which the Sulphur River takes its courſe, deſcend on each ſide with ſo precipitous a declivity, that it was found impracticable to build a town at the ſpring; there is barely room to admit a bathing-houſe, and even this is inconveniently ſituated on the ſide oppoſite the ſpring; ſo that, before the water can be conveyed acroſs in a wooden gutter, laid from the rock to the bathing-houſe, it loſes much of its heat and volatile gas.

[c] See Falconer's treatiſe on the Bath-water of Somerſetſhire; which merits the peruſal of any gentleman who may incline to try experiments on that of Jamaica.

This

This could not be remedied, except by uſing an iron pipe, to conduct the water; for a building cannot be erected on the ſame ſide as the ſpring, without being ſo remote from it, either above or below, as to be liable to equal inconvenience. This is the caſe with reſpect to a bathing-houſe for paupers, built by the river's ſide above the ſpring by a teſtamentary donation of Peter Valette, eſq; which is at too great a diſtance. This gentleman, having obſerved with regret that many poor and ſick white perſons, who had come from time to time to Bath for the benefit of the waters, either died, or ſuffered greatly for want of ſubſiſtence, and the common neceſſaries of life, deviſed the ſum of 100 *l.* *per annum*, payable during the term of ten years, from the time of his deceaſe, towards the relief and ſupport of ſuch poor perſons, not being indented ſervants, nor having any viſible way of maintaining themſelves, who might from time to time actually reſide about the Bath-ſpring; directing the phyſician there to deliver a weekly ſtipend of 7 *s.* 6 *d.* into the hands of all ſuch objects of charity; or otherwiſe to lay out the ſame for their uſe and benefit during the time of their reſidence, not exceeding three months each: and, in caſe of any overplus remaining at the end of the year, he deſired that it might be expended in providing nurſes to attend the poor infirm people at the ſpring, or in building lodging-houſes and accommodations for them near it. His executors performed their truſt with great propriety. They built an hoſpital, provided nurſes, [ſupported upwards of one hundred paupers, who had come from different parts of the iſland at various times for relief; and in 1771, when the ten years term aſſigned by the donor expired, had a balance of 96 *l.* in their hands. The aſſembly, upon their repreſentation, that, without the public aſſiſtance, this neceſſary relief, could no longer be continued to diſtreſſed objects reſorting to Bath, benevolently granted an aid of 70 *l.* *per ann.* and ordered the ſame to be paid into the hands of the phyſician there, to be expended, and accounted for, to the ſame good purpoſes, and under the ſame proviſions, as Mr. Valette's annuity. This worthy man has thus laid the foundation of a very uſeful charity, which is likely to be permanent; ſince there is no doubt but the aſſembly will continue to ſupport it by an annual benefaction. Acts of this kind are real monuments

numents of honour, which outlive the coſtlieſt ſculpture, attract panegyric without flattery, and veneration without envy.

The patients, who deſire to drink the water in the greateſt perfection, take their ſtand upon large flat ſtones in the river-courſe, within two or three feet of the rock, and receive it immediately from the hand of the drawer. The mountain, called Carrion Crow Ridge, in which it takes its ſource, is one of the higheſt in this iſland, and appears from ſome diſtance below to have a ſharper pike than moſt others. The town of Bath is ſeated about a mile and three quarters from the ſpring, on a triangular flat, waſhed on three ſides by the Sulphur, Iſland, and Plantain Garden rivers; ſo that it is a perfect peninſula, bounded, where it joins the main land, with a range of hills, which gradually riſe one above another, till they reach the Blue Mountains. The three rivers unite their ſtreams a little beyond the town, and continue their current together till they fall into the ſea. This low ſituation makes the town very liable to be incommoded by inundations, whenever theſe rivers happen to be ſwelled by the autumnal rains. They have often endangered ſome of the buildings; and ſeldom retire into their proper channels without committing depredation. In other reſpects, the diſtance from the ſpring is attended with the happieſt conſequences to the patients, who ride on horſe-back to drink at it twice a day, and promote the efficacy of the water by joining ſo wholeſome an exerciſe with it. The road which leads to the ſpring is of a romantic appearance, being conducted along the ſides of very ſteep mountains the whole way, whoſe projections and gullies have not unaptly been compared to the folds or plaits of a man's coat. It is not in all parts of ſufficient width for a wheel-carriage to paſs, nor very ſecure even for horſes, if they ſhould be ſkittiſh; for here and there it over-hangs the river at a great elevation; and theſe precipices have no other ſafeguard againſt ſuch kind of accidents, than the trees which grow upon their face. Among theſe mountains is great abundance of iron ore. The preſence, indeed, of this metallic ſubſtance is, in the opinions of ſome, ſufficiently evidenced by the quality of the waters iſſuing from them; but it is not probable they will ever be explored for the ſake of obtaining it.

The

The firſt viſit paid to the Hygæian fount is generally attended with ſome terror; but this ſoon wears off; and I have known ladies, who, from a very cautious ſnail's pace, proceeded gradually to a quick trot, and at laſt to a hand-gallop, along this road, emboldened by habit, and animated by the inſpiriting effects of the water. To prevent getting wet with ſudden ſhowers, which frequently deſcend from the ſurrounding cloud-capped ſummits, little ſheds are erected at ſhort intervals, ſtretching acroſs the road, under which the bobelins may take refuge. Theſe ſhowers are generally tranſient, though ſometimes heavy while they laſt. The hill-ſide along the road, for the moſt part, conſiſts of *ſtrata* and large maſſes of a brown, brittle ſtone, which ſlides off in thin flakes, ſmooth, and ſhining. The ſoil above is a deep, rich mould, chiefly vegetable; and it abounds with ſmall rills of very fine water. The extraordinary cures performed by the Bath-ſpring induced the legiſlature of the iſland, from motives of humanity, to take it under their ſanction, and extend ſo noble a remedy to thoſe poor inhabitants who might want the means of procuring ſubſiſtence and medical advice, whilſt under its operation. They formed the town into a corporation by law; granted it a public ſeal; directed the manner of laying out and aſſigning the lots of ground; cauſed thirty Negroes to be purchaſed, for keeping the road leading to the ſpring in conſtant good repair, and planting vegetable proviſions for the uſe of poor perſons reſorting hither; and appointed a liberal ſalary for a phyſician, to be reſident in the town, and adminiſter to the poor *gratis*. For the better accommodation of the latter, they founded an hoſpital in the ſquare, divided into convenient wards and apartments. The reigning ſpirit of the inhabitants zealouſly ſeconded theſe charitable proviſions. Many perſons of fortune took up lots, and began to erect houſes. The ſquare was ſoon adorned with the hoſpital, a public lodging-houſe, and a billiard-room. It became the faſhion every year for a crowd of company to aſſemble here from all quarters of the iſland. The powers of muſic were exerted; the card-tables were not idle; and, in ſhort, from a dreary deſert, it grew into a ſcene of polite and ſocial amuſements. This (alas!) was of no long continuance. The unfortunate political diviſions, which afterwards prevailed during the adminiſtration of a certain

hot-headed governor, deſtroyed all that harmony between families which, while it ſubſiſted, had been the principal cauſe of making this place an occaſional retreat; where they had uſed to meet each other in friendſhip, and united their talents of pleaſing. The ſcene became changed; party-rage ſucceeded; the partizans of the different factions could not endure the thought of mingling together under the ſame roof; and the more moderate perſons grew indifferent to a place, where chearfulneſs, confidence, and mutual reſpect, no longer held any ſway. From this period began its decline. Moſt of the houſes that were built have, from neglect and want of inhabitants, gone into decay; the half-finiſhed frames of ſome, which were juſt beginning to rear their heads, have mouldered into duſt. The billiard-room is in ruins; and, in 1768, I obſerved the tattered remains of a once ſuperfine green cloth, which covered the table, all beſmeared with the ordure of goats and other animals, who took their nightly repoſe upon it. At this time, the town was reduced to about nine or ten habitations. The hoſpital was converted into a barrack for a company of the regulars. Two lodging-houſes ſtill remain; but they are much in want of repair, and ſeem inclined to partake of the general ruin. The ſalutary ſtream, which Providence has ſo benevolently granted for the relief of human miſery, is ungratefully (I had almoſt ſaid impiouſly) ſuffered to glide away neglected and unheeded to the ocean, as if it had entirely loſt its former virtues. There is nothing more reproachful to the œconomy and good-ſenſe of the principal men in this iſland, than ſo ſhameful a neglect. Will it be imputed to indolence, to caprice, or inconſiſtence, that, after ſo much ſolemnity and parade in eſtabliſhing the town; after ſo much apparent happineſs derived from the inſtitution; ſuch munificent proviſions for the ſick poor; after advancing the plan ſo far towards maturity; they have devoted their whole fabric to ſubverſion? It is much to be regretted, that a ſcheme attended with ſo large an expence, and ſo well calculated for the public health and entertainment, has been ſo unaccountably dropped; when a ſmall annual fund, ſet apart for the purpoſe, would have ſupported all the buildings erected here for the general uſe or amuſement. The hoſpital is built of a kind of white free-ſtone, of which there are ſeveral

quarries in the neighbourhood: it is of the ſame quality as that which abounds in the pariſhes of St. Anne and Weſtmoreland; it is very ſoft, and eaſily wrought when firſt dug, but grows hard after expoſure for ſome time to the air. The ſoldiers, on their firſt arrival here, became ſickly. This was imputed to the conſtant dampneſs of the walls; for which reaſon they were afterwards plaiſtered; and it was thought they grew healthier; but in the year 1768 they had no leſs than twenty-five on the ſick liſt; and upon enquiry it was found, that they were ſubſiſted on ſalt-fiſh, ſalt-beef, and biſcuit, not the beſt in quality; and were allowed freſh proviſions only one day in the week. The ſalt proviſion was brought from Kingſton, and came at a much dearer rate than freſh victuals, which the neighbourhood affords. Of biſcuit, for example, not more than five or ſix could be bought for ſeven pence-halfpenny; and that quantity cannot be thought more than ſufficient for a ſoldier's daily allowance of bread. Whereas fifty plantains were to be had at Bath for the ſame money; which are more than one ſoldier could devour in a week. Freſh pork was to be got here cheaper than the beſt ſalt-beef; fowls likewiſe, and freſh fiſh, were exceedingly reaſonable. The number of ladies and gentlemen, who had reſorted here for the benefit of the water, amounted in two years to only ſixty-ſix, by many fewer than uſed to meet here at one time, when Bath was in its flouriſhing æra.

Proceeding from Bath to the Eaſtward, we paſs along the rich banks of Plantain Garden River, through a ſucceſſion of the fineſt ſugar-plantations in the iſland. The ſoil in ſome parts is a black, vegetable mould, of great depth, intermixed with ſhells; in other parts a deep, brick mould; and, towards the river's mouth, the land on each ſide is extremely flat, which ſubjects it to be overflown pretty regularly once a year by the river. Theſe floods generally lay all the canes proſtrate, and cover them with a rich ſediment of mud. But they ſpring again after the water retires, and grow aſtoniſhingly luxuriant, requiring no other manure than what this river, like another Nile, ſo invariably depoſits. Yet the ſugar produced here is commonly of a good complexion, though faireſt and in greateſt quantity, if the ſeaſon continues dry during the crop.

This

This is the tract of cane-land which ſuffers leſs than any in the whole iſland by a long drowth; for the water is every where ſo near the ſurface, as to ſupport a due vegetation, when the canes in other pariſhes are parched and deſtroyed for want of rain. The rich mould of Vere alone may diſpute the preference with it for depth and fertility; but, I think, the land on Plantain Garden River, being happily in a more ſeaſonable ſituation, muſt be eſteemed ſuperior; and, in ſhort, on a general ſurvey of this Eaſtern quarter of the iſland, it appears rather more productive, and of better ſtaple, than the Weſtern end. In regard to the natural productions, it contains a great many rare plants that are peculiar to it, with ſome others that are alſo obſervable in the Weſt diviſion; and the reſt are ſuch as are common to all parts of the iſland. Among thoſe of the firſt claſs is the gum-tree, or *ſapium* of Dr. Brown, who, by ſome miſtake, has deſcribed the parrot gum-tree for it, which is a ſpecies of manchineel, and bears not the leaſt affinity to the gum-tree in its parts of fructification. It is probably a new *genus*, and hitherto undeſcribed. It grows to a very conſiderable ſize, and yields a large quantity of a light-green, tranſparent, thick reſin, or gum, of little ſmell. This is much uſed by the planters of the diſtrict for burning in their boiling houſe-lamps. They once were found here in vaſt abundance; but, from the continual ravage of the inhabitants, who have cut down vaſt numbers every year, without the leaſt remorſe, or any caution to plant a new race; it is not improbable, that, in a little time, the old ſtock will become extinct; for none of this claſs have been diſcovered in any other part of the country. The wood is coarſe; but it ſupplies tolerable ſtaves for ſugar-caſks: a gentleman here got as many from one tree as made one hundred hogſheads, or upwards of three thouſand ſtaves; from whence ſome idea may be formed of the magnitude of theſe trees.

The air of the hilly part of this pariſh is extremely healthy. At Bath it is cool during the greater part of the year; which is owing to its being ſhaded by the neighbouring high lands, and watered with frequent ſhowers. The air of the low grounds near the coaſt, eſpecially where they are ſwampy, or not drained, is by no means to be reckoned healthy. The Negroes on the plantations which border on Plantain Garden River are ſubject to frequent mortalities,

eſpecially

eſpecially if their huts are placed on the levels, which are damp, and annoyed by conſtant exhalations. The planters have wiſely fixed their own habitations in general upon elevated ſpots, in order to be ſecure from floods, which have ſometimes been ſo violent on the lower grounds, as to ſweep away buildings, cattle, and Negroes.

State of the Pariſh:

	Negroes.	Cattle.	Sugar-plantations.	Annual Produce of Sugar. Hogſheads.	Other Settlements.
1734,	6176	5488			
1740,	6618	5256			
1745,	7282	5561			
1761,	12300				
1768,	14624	9007	66	9270	34

This pariſh, it is apparent, has increaſed very largely in its ſtock of Negroes and cattle; and now contains near one hundred ſettlements. From the goodneſs of the ſoil, the number of rivers, and plentiful ſupplies of rain, it has the promiſing appearance of becoming one of the moſt populous and opulent in the whole iſland.

SECT. VI.

PORTLAND.

THIS pariſh is bounded on the Eaſt and North by the ſea; Weſt, by St. George, and part of St. David; and on the South and South-Eaſt, by St. Thomas. The adjuſtment of its boundary, as the whole was formerly included in the pariſh of St. Thomas, has occaſioned many diſputes between the two pariſhes, both of them laying claim to the inhabitants of Manchineel, in the South-Eaſt quarter; who, though actually within the boundary of Portland, have generally paid their taxes in the pariſh of St. Thomas. But the law, by which Portland was firſt formed into a diſtinct pariſh in the year 1723, expreſsly makes White River the South-Eaſt boundary; and, this limitation having been ratified by clear recitals in ſeveral ſubſequent laws, there appears no authentic

ground at preſent for controverting it. This pariſh comprizes a vaſt tract of fine land; but the ſettlements are ſcattered along the coaſt; and the interior parts are as yet unoccupied, except near the Rio Grande on the North ſide, where the moſt diſtant are not more than ſix miles from the ſea. It is mountainous, and ſubject to almoſt continual rains, which are naturally cauſed by the height of the central ridges, and ſo prodigious an extent of thick woods; but they would undoubtedly decreaſe here, as they have done in the other diſtricts, if any conſiderable part of this wilderneſs was cleared, and room given for a free paſſage to the wind and vapours. It contains eight or nine rivers, moſt of them of no great note; the principal is Rio Grande before-mentioned, which has its ſource about ſixteen miles from the ſea, and becomes very conſiderable by the acceſſion of ſeveral ſtreams which fall into it. The chief ſhipping-places are, Port Antonio, formerly called St. Francis; Prieſtman's Bay; and Manchineel Harbour. Port Antonio lies on the North-Eaſt part of the coaſt, in about 18° 11′ North latitude. It comprehends two harbours, the Eaſtern and Weſtern, divided from each other by a narrow peninſula, of about three miles and a half in length, on the point of which ſtands Fort George. The ſhip-channel leading into the Weſtern harbour paſſes between this point, and Lynch's, or Navy Iſland, and is about one mile over. The entrance into the Eaſtern lies between the South-Eaſt point of Navy Iſland and the main land, and about three miles from ſhore to ſhore. There is alſo a ſmall channel on the Weſt ſide of the iſland; but it is extremely narrow, and obſtructed with very extenſive ſand banks; ſo that the deepeſt part can only admit boats. It is alſo rendered dangerous by a reef of rocks, ſtretching from the North-Weſt ſide of the iſland, between two and three leagues towards the main land. This iſland is three miles and a half in length, by about one and a half in width, and lies in an oblique direction South-Eaſt and North-Weſt. Towards the ſea it is inacceſſible, on account of the rocks and ſhoals which guard it on that ſide; but on the ſide next the harbour there is very deep water cloſe in, ſo that men of war coming in have ſwept the trees with their yards. The harbours are land-locked, and capacious enough to receive a very large fleet.

This

This part of Jamaica, lying only about thirty-ſix leagues from Cape Tiberon, on the Weſt end of Hiſpaniola; and the difficulty conſidered which our men of war have ſometimes encountered in turning up againſt the trade-wind, and currents from Port Royal, in order to weather the Eaſtern point of Jamaica; together with the commodious ſituation of Port Antonio, which opens directly into the Windward Paſſage; gave riſe to the ſcheme of fortifying and adapting it as a place of rendezvous for the ſquadron in time of war. In the year 1728, the aſſembly paſſed an act appropriating twenty acres of land on Lynch's Iſland for the conveniency of erecting ſtore-houſes and wharfs for his majeſty's naval ſtores, and careening the ſhips of war. In the year 1733, this work was in great forwardneſs; and rear-admiral Stuart, who then commanded on the ſtation, finding the air of the iſland unhealthy, ordered the wood to be cut down and burnt. Unfortunately, inſtead of hiring Negroes to perform this laborious taſk, it was aſſigned to detachments made from the crews of the Lion, Spence, and ſome other ſhips of war; of whoſe incapacity for it Dr. Lind has given us the following melancholy account:

Many of theſe men were ſeized at once with a fever and delirium. This phrenzy attacked a man ſo ſuddenly, and with ſo much fury, that with his hatchet, if not prevented, he would have cut to pieces the perſons who ſtood near him. Orders were iſſued, that, as ſoon as the men were thus ſeized, they ſhould be bled, and immediately ſent on board their reſpective ſhips. The conſequence was, that all who were carried on board quickly recovered; whereas thoſe who remained on ſhore either died, or underwent a dangerous fit of ſickneſs. This calamity, and the peace which not long after happened, occaſioned the project to be dropped, although the government had been put to a great expence in erecting ſeveral ſtore-houſes, and in purchaſing the iſland in propriety. Theſe buildings having ſince gone to decay, and the inhabitants in the neighbourhood made free to pull down and uſe ſuch of the materials as were ſerviceable to them. The reaſons for reſuming this ſcheme are at preſent extremely ſtrong, ſince the French have laboured ſo ſucceſsfully in fortifying and compleating a very large town at Cape Nicola Mole; which lying only ſixteen leagues and a half from the

Eaſternmoſt point of Cuba, they have got a key, which as effectually locks up the navigation of the Windward Paſſage to the Eaſt, as the Havannah, in the hands of the Spaniards, ſecures it to the Weſt by the Gulph of Florida; the conſequence of which muſt neceſſarily be, in any future rupture with France and Spain, that, without a very ſtrong convoy of ſeveral men of war, not a merchant-ſhip will have the leaſt chance of getting home: and I think it is evident, from all the pains and expence which the French have been at in making their eſtabliſhment at the Mole, that they deſigned it as an effectual curb upon the Jamaica trade, and for no other purpoſe: becauſe the country that environs it is rocky, barren, and unfit for plantations of any ſort. It is plain, therefore, that they had not agriculture in view; and it is moſt probable, that, in time of war, they will always take care to keep a number of men of war and frigates at the Mole, or cruizing between it and Cape Maize, to intercept our homeward-bound trade, which of courſe will fall an eaſy prey, unleſs we have always ſo large a fleet on the ſtation, as to be able to block up theirs, or diſpute ſuperiority of force with it. As a check therefore upon their fortreſs, it would ſeem abſolutely neceſſary, that Port Antonio ſhould be ſtrengthened with fortifications, and the former plan revived of accommodating it for the reception, refitting, and careening, of his majeſty's ſhips: and, in order to guard againſt that havock, which the employment of felling trees, and clearing ground, in the Weſt-Indies, has never failed making among Europeans, eſpecially if unſeaſoned to the climate; the legiſlature of Jamaica ought, in regard to the importance of this concern to their properties, either to purchaſe fifty Negroes, or levy that number in rotation from different eſtates, to be employed, under proper white overſeers, to clear away all the wood upon the iſland, and aſſiſt in carrying on other laborious works that may be required. The raiſing them by levy might be made very equitable, if, at the ſame time, their reſpective owners were to be paid a certain juſt rate *per* day, for their maintenance and hire, out of the public funds; and the expence to the iſland would be very trifling.

The

	£	s.	d.
The hire, for example, of fifty Negroes, at 6*l.* *per* head *per ann.* —— —— —— ——	300	0	0
Their ſubſiſtence, at 7¼*d.* each *per* day, is, *per ann.* —	566	19	3
	866	19	3
Hire of two ſuperintendents, or overſeers, at 140*l.* each,	280		
Cloathing and medicines, at 30*s.* each *per ann.* (I ſuppoſe the tools to be furniſhed by government), —	75	0	0
Whole of one year's expence to the iſland is, ſterling, 872*l.* 16*s.* 7¼*d.*; currency, —— ——	1221	19	3

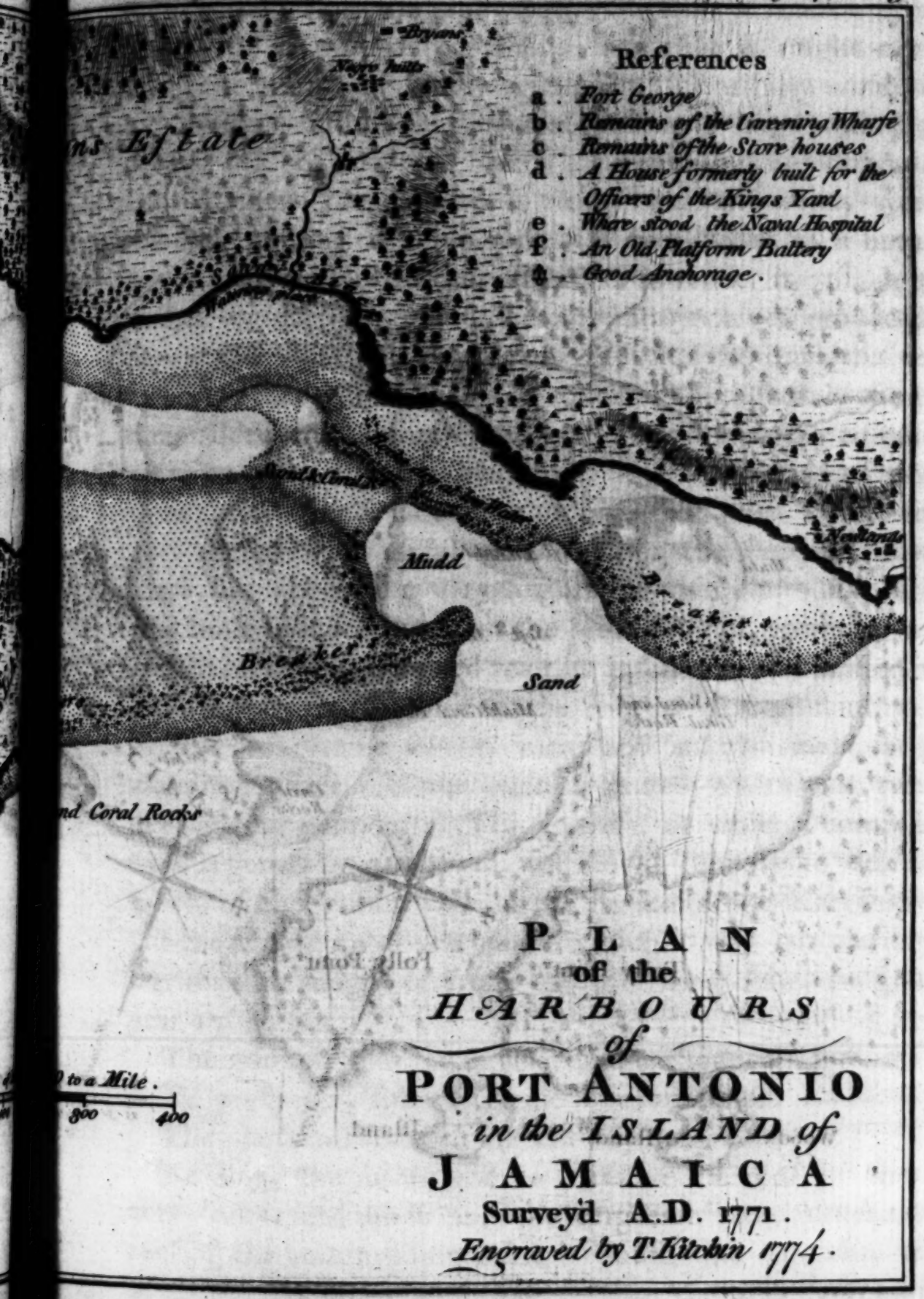
It is not probable, if theſe Negroes were to be duly taken care of by the ſuperintendents choſen for this purpoſe, that any of them would die within the twelvemonth, ſuppoſing them to be healthy and able when delivered; and none others ſhould be accepted; but, for greater equity to the individuals to whom they belonged, they might be fairly valued by three or more diſintereſted magiſtrates before their going on ſervice, and any deficiencies at the year's end made good by the public accordingly. In order to form a body of labourers, to be kept afterwards conſtantly employed in building fortifications or other works, ſeveral draughts might every year be made, from the gaols, of ſuch ſlaves as are ſold out for payment of their fees; and, in many caſes, the ſentence of death, or baniſhment, might be commuted for perpetual labour in the king's ſervice; and a piece of land appropriated near the port for their proviſion-ground, that their ſubſiſtence might, for the future, be attended with no expence, either to the iſland, or to the crown. No time can be ſo convenient for conducting ſuch a plan as the preſent interval of peace; and, being carried on with vigour, we ſhould have in another war this ſure aſylum for the ſquadron, from whence it might ſally forth to diſtreſs the enemy, defend our homeward-bound fleets, and give protection to our ſhips coming from Britain to Jamaica, or coaſting round from the North to the South parts of the iſland.

When the duke of Portland was governor, a town was projected on Pattiſon's Point, bordering ~~on~~ the harbour, which was to be called

called Titchfield, after a manor belonging to his grace in Hampſhire. One hundred acres were aſſigned by act of aſſembly for this purpoſe; to which were added three hundred and fifty acres for a common. A quarter-ſeſſion for the peace was to be held here four times a year; the port was made a port of entry and clearance; and the receiver-general, ſecretary, and collector, were ordered to keep deputies here, who were allowed a ſalary of 70*l.* each *per annum.* This town was laid out, but not built; for, the project before-mentioned not being carried into effect, and the pariſh continuing but very thinly ſettled, there was not a ſufficient encouragement to induce perſons to build; nor trade, nor manufacture to give a town ſupport; ſo that, at preſent, here are not above fifteen or twenty ſtraggling houſes about the harbour. The making this one ſtation for the ſquadron would be the ſureſt means, not only of encouraging a town here, but of multiplying ſettlements in the neighbourhood, by the demand there would be for hogs, poultry, plantains, and other proviſions; and, in regard to trade, this port lies conveniently for opening ſome intercourſe with the Eaſt end of Cuba, and the ſmall Spaniſh veſſels of St. Domingo, who might ſteal along ſhore to the Iſle of Vache, and eaſily make this port. Some beneficial traffic might likewiſe be occaſionally carried on with the French for their indigo, in return for our Britiſh hardwares, and a few other aſſortments. I am not without hopes, that the legiſlature of Jamaica will, in time, be rouzed into a ſerious attention to the further improvement of their country, by a few eaſy meaſures, which require only judgement in ſetting them on foot, and unabated perſeverance in conducting them to a happy effect. No part of the iſland ſeems to claim their aſſiduity more, than this extenſive pariſh of Portland; which, from all the reports of ſurveyors who have traverſed its receſſes, contains immenſe tracts of very rich land, finely watered, though ſtill covered with thick woods. The moſt popular work they have hitherto done in it, is the road which paſſes through an almoſt uninhabited wild, from Bath to Port Antonio. It traverſes a tract of near ſixty thouſand acres, which has not a ſingle ſettlement. The former road from Titchfield to Bath through Manchineel was at leaſt thirty-four miles in length. Upon a repreſentation to the houſe of aſ-

ſembly,

Soft Mudd
Mudd
Coral Reefs
Folly Point
Woods Island
Magnetic North



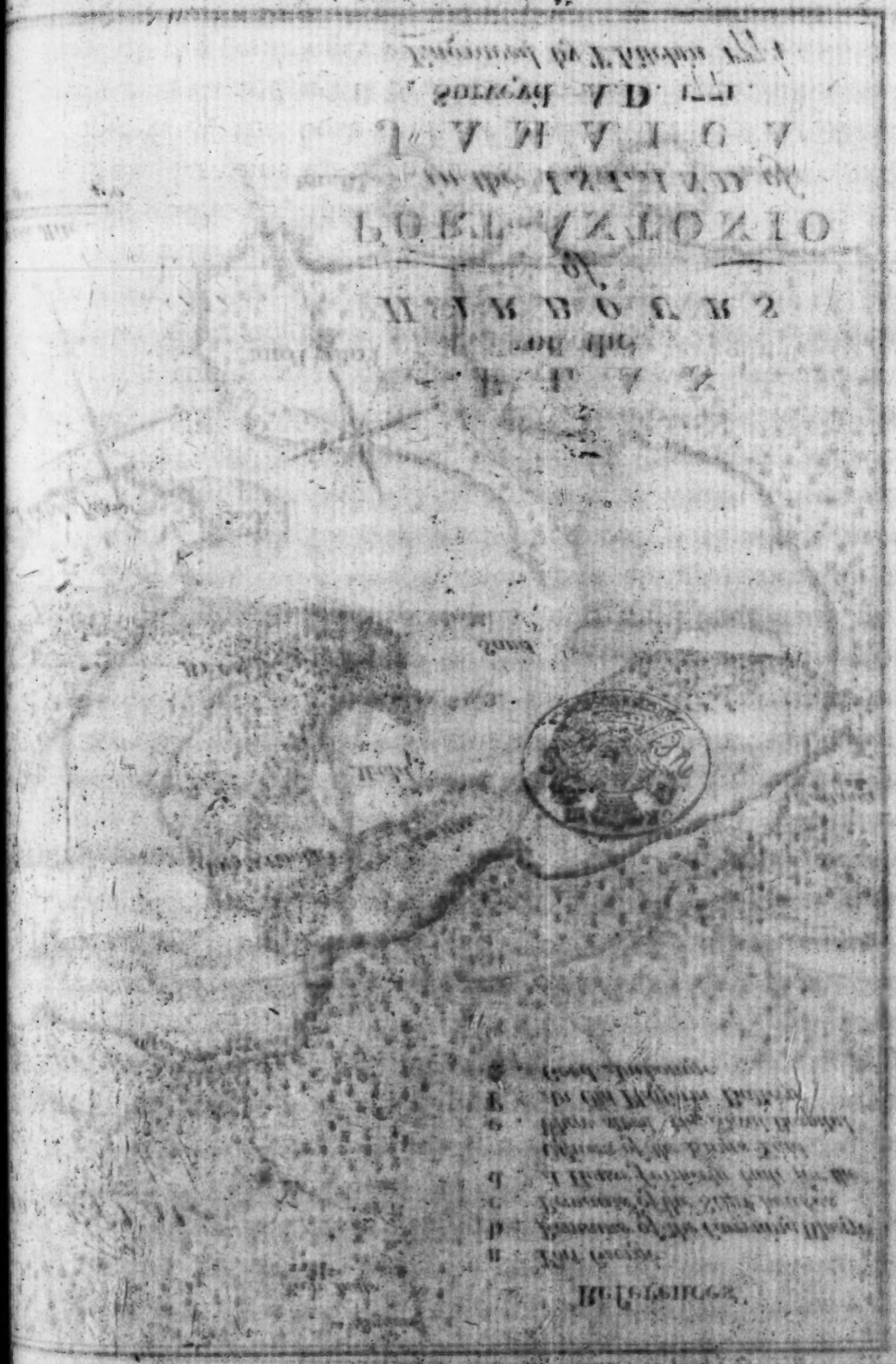
References

a. *Fort George*
b. *Remains of the Careening Wharfe*
c. *Remains of the Store houses*
d. *A House formerly built for the Officers of the Kings Yard*
e. *Where stood the Naval Hospital*
f. *An Old Platform Battery*
g. *Good Anchorage.*

PLAN
of the
HARBOURS
of
PORT ANTONIO
in the ISLAND of
JAMAICA

Survey'd A.D. 1771.

Engraved by T. Kitchin 1774.



ſembly, in 1769, that a road from Titchfield through Nanny Town, and over Break-heart Hill, would be ſhorter by twenty-three miles; that the lands through which it muſt paſs were very fit for the culture of proviſions; and that it might not only become the means of ſupplying the Bath plentifully with all manner of proviſions and poultry, but of ſettling a large tract at that time uſeleſs, and of ſubſiſting many poor families in Portland, then in very indigent circumſtances; three hundred pounds were granted towards making it. No ſum was ever voted to a better deſign; but it required ſtill further aſſiſtance, to render it paſſable for loaded mules, or carriages; and therefore has not yet produced all thoſe advantages that the petitioners expected from it, the expence of the undertaking being rated at 1000*l.* The aſſembly therefore have ſince added 300*l.* more, the pariſhioners engaging to raiſe the remaining 400*l.* by a ſubſcription. I am not fond of paſſing cenſures; yet I muſt take leave to ſay, that even in the ſecurity of Port Antonio, ſo uſeful a retreat for the ſhipping in war-time, there has appeared a very ſingular inattention. The fort, which was built here to command the channels of entrance, and which is extremely well-deſigned for that intention, is a baſtion of twenty-two embrazures, incloſed to the Southward from flank to flank by barracks to receive ſeventy men, and an apartment for the commanding officer. It was once mounted with about twelve guns, twenty-four pounders. This fortreſs, at which a company of ſoldiers is generally garriſoned, we ſhould ſuppoſe to deſerve full as much of the public care as the Rock Fort at Kingſton Harbour; but the condition of defence in which it was left during the late war may be judged of from the following ſtate, as given in the year 1768; viz.

The guns all unfit for ſervice, and without carriages.

No wadhooks, ſpunges, ladles, or rammers.

The platforms for the guns entirely decayed.

No flag; the boat unfit for ſervice; the roof of the magazine very leaky, and no door; the ſurgeon's room untenantable; the roof of the commanding officer's houſe, and barracks, wholly out of repair; the ſoldier's barracks without platforms; no hoſpital; the guard-houſe tumbled down; and no place of confinement, &c. &c.

To

To the honour of the aſſembly, however, let it be mentioned, that, upon ſeeing this miſerable catalogue of dilapidations, they immediately granted ſome proviſion for putting it in a better ſtate; and I ſhould not have quoted the report, but for the ſake of remarking the expediency there ſeems of having an engineer, or inſpector-general of the barracks and fortifications all round the iſland; whoſe province it ſhould be, once in every year at leaſt, to viſit them all, examine their ſtate, take account of their ammunition, ſtores, and habiliments, and report them to the governor, who would regularly lay the account before the aſſembly.

By a method of this nature, they would be duly acquainted with the condition of thoſe defences, which are too remote to admit of inſpection from their own committee; and I think it will alſo be acknowledged, that their ſtores would be better taken care of, and leſs waſte committed.

The road from Bath paſſes by Moore Town, inhabited by the Maroon Negroes; who firſt took up their reſidence on the Weſt ſide of the pariſh, bordering on St. George, at a place called Nanny Town; which they afterwards deſerted. Their preſent town is much better ſituated for giving ſpeedy protection to the eſtates on each ſide the Rio Grande. The South-eaſt diviſion of the pariſh, adjacent to Manchineel Harbour, is well-ſettled, and promiſes to become very populous. The harbour is capacious and ſecure, defended by a battery of ten guns, which is not ſo ſtrong a fortification as it ſeems to require, eſpecially if Port Antonio ſhould not become a ſtation for men of war. Between theſe two ports is another conſiderable ſhipping-place, at Prieſtman's River. The whole number of ſettlements in this pariſh is between eighty and ninety; very few, in proportion to its extent. It remains for time to diſcover the many natural productions and curioſities which, there is reaſon to believe, are not ſparingly diſtributed through ſo vaſt a ſpace of mountains and vallies, as yet but little explored. As yet we are only informed of a hot mineral ſpring, which riſes on the North ſide of the ſame mountainous ridge that gives birth on the oppoſite ſide to the Bath ſpring. It is reaſonably conjectured to be only another vein proceeding from the ſame reſervoir;

there being, as it is ſaid, no perceptible difference in their heat, taſte, and medicinal operation.

State of the Pariſh:

				Annual Produce.	
	Negroes.	Cattle.	Sugar-works.	Hogſheads.	Other Settlements.
1734,	640	125			
1740,	775	178			
1745,	1235	637			
1761,	2354				
1768,	2813	1651	29	1330	57

This pariſh is certainly much improved. The legiſlature paſſed ſeveral acts tending to invite ſettlers into it; and a conſiderable part of thoſe who at preſent occupy it, or their anceſtors, came hither under their ſanction. I have endeavoured to point out the defects in thoſe acts; conceiving, that, if they had been framed upon a more effectual plan, the pariſh might by this time have acquired double the number. It is ſubject to ſome local inconveniencies, which lay the ſettlers under difficulty; for which reaſon, the encouragements to beginning new plantations cannot be too great; for theſe inconveniencies will grow leſs, in proportion as it becomes more populous. The great tract of mountain covered with high woods occaſions almoſt inceſſant rainy weather at a ſmall diſtance inland from the coaſt; and the navigation to Kingſton for ſupplies of neceſſaries, or diſpoſal of produce, is tedious and hazardous, particularly in war-time. Their woods require, therefore, to be laid open; and a trading town is wanted. By multiplying ſettlements in the interior diſtrict, the firſt might be gradually effected; and the ſecond would naturally attend the multiplication of ſettlements. The ſoil of the mountains, and indeed all the interior part, is extremely well-ſuited to indigo; and this manufacture might be revived here, and carried on with great ſucceſs and advantage. But it muſt be the province of the legiſlature to pave the way for it, by giving ſuch aids of Negroe labourers as will leave little further to be done, by the new ſettlers invited over, than to exerciſe their ſkill in building their works, cultivating the plant, and conducting the proceſs to perfection. The obtaining a colony of perſons, who are well acquainted with the whole art of managing the indigo, will, I imagine, be attended with no great difficulty, if

ſuitable encouragements are given. It is certain, that, if ſuch a manufacture ſhould upon trial be found to anſwer, there is vacant land enough in this pariſh to furniſh much more than would ſatisfy the conſumption of Great-Britain; and the richneſs of the ſoil affords juſt motives for expecting that indigo might be produced here of the fineſt quality.

I have omitted to mention, that this pariſh is without a church. The incumbent's ſtipend is 100 *l. per annum*; but he does not reſide. The ſervice is performed in ſome planter's houſe, about once or twice in the year. It may appear extraordinary, that the legiſlature ſhould, in the example of this and ſome other pariſhes, have provided a ſtipend for a miniſter, without at the ſame time providing a houſe of prayer. An act paſſed here, in 1681, empowers the juſtices and veſtry of every pariſh, at their annual meeting in January, to lay a reaſonable tax on the inhabitants, for the maintenance of the miniſter and poor; and for erecting convenient churches, and repairing ſuch as are already made, and providing convenient ſeats in them. The erecting of churches is, therefore, only made a ſecondary obligation, and as ſuch diſpenſed with by the junior pariſhes, under the plea of poverty, which will probably avail them, till a more ardent zeal in the cauſe of religion, than hitherto has been manifeſted, ſhall inſpire the houſe of repreſentatives, and lead them to enquire into the merits of this pretence.

SECT. VII.

St. GEORGE, in the Precinct of St. MARY.

THIS pariſh is bounded on the Eaſt by Portland; Weſt, by St. Mary; North, by the ſea; and South, by the pariſhes of St. Andrew and St. David. It is watered by about ſixteen rivers and principal ſtreams; the largeſt and moſt noted are, the *Agua Alta*, or Wag-water, which forms the Weſtern boundary; the Buff Bay; Anotto, Spaniſh, and Swift. The former of theſe, being joined near the coaſt by ſeveral other ſtreams, forms a canal, navigable by boats from Anotto Bay (into which it diſcharges), about two miles inland; which is a great conveniency to thoſe ſettlements that border upon it. The bay is common to this pariſh and St.

Mary, and is their principal ſhipping-place: it is a good road, except in the time of year when the Norths prevail, to whoſe violence it is too much expoſed. The face of the pariſh is for the moſt part very hilly; and the Blue Mountain Ridge, after interſecting Portland, continues its lofty battlements from Eaſt to Weſt through St. George's, engroſſing the whole of its Southern diſtrict. The inconveniencies of much wet, and a diſtant market, which have retarded the population of Portland, have likewiſe attended this pariſh, and perhaps in a ſeverer degree; ſo that it is ſtill to be conſidered in its infancy.

The lands adjacent to the coaſt are not ſettled for more than four miles from the ſea, and in ſome parts not more than one. The diſtrict behind comprizes about ſixty-five thouſand acres of wilderneſs, whoſe ſoil and natural productions are at preſent unknown: this vaſt tract has only one road cut through it, which paſſes from Kingſton through Liguanea, and, croſſing the centre near the Negroe-town called New Crawford, terminates at the coaſt. The land hitherto ſettled in ſugar-plantations turns to better account, and is leſs laborious, than what we meet with in Portland; but as yet no trial has been made with canes above the diſtance of two miles from the ſea. The mountainous region behind contains, probably, a very great variety of ſoil; which, though too rich at firſt to produce ſugar, would yield a large quantity of fine rum, or indigo: this latter is conſidered as a great impoveriſher of land, and therefore very fit to prepare a rich ſoil for the ſugar-cane. It is pretty evident, on contemplating the face of this pariſh, that it is not likely to make much further progreſs until more roads ſhall be formed through ſo extenſive a wood-land; for, although many thouſand acres have been patented, they were, for the greater part, forfeited, and the remainder left unſettled by the proprietors on this very account: they found it impracticable to get at their lands after they had patented, or purchaſed; and of courſe were unable to make any uſe of them. The firſt ſtep towards further improvements here will therefore naturally commence with opening new roads of communication; which may allure the proprietors of plats on each ſide to begin ſettlements. It cannot be expected, that individuals will undertake this taſk, or incur ſo much expence, on

the diſtant view of profits, not to be acquired till after ſeveral years of diligent application, and many further charges. It muſt be executed at the public coſt, as it is not likely to be ever atchieved by any other means. Nor would the expence be thrown away; ſince every ſettlement, once eſtabliſhed, makes a return by adding ſomewhat to the ſecurity of the iſland, to its trade, opulence, and revenues. In order to prove which, let us examine the advantages of this nature which the pariſh even now contributes. Here are about ſixty ſettlements in all, whoſe quota of the poll-tax amounted to about 391 *l.* for one year; which, at an equal average, comes to 6*l.* 10*s.* each. Every new ſettlement formed here may therefore be reaſonably concluded to give the revenue an annuity of 6*l.* 10*s.* in that tax alone. If we aſſign this, on a moderate computation, as the one-half of the whole taxes levied, conſiſting of various branches, the annuity will appear 13*l. per annum*, without taking into account the conſumption of tools, food, cloathing, and other articles; which to the meaneſt ſettler cannot be rated at leſs than 50*l. per annum*. The projecting of new ſettlements therefore, and encouraging them till effectuated, when conſidered in this view, ſeems a moſt profitable adventure for the legiſlature to engage in, and well deſerves their moſt ſerious attention. To form roads which may be perfectly firm, eaſy, and commodious, is doubtleſs a buſineſs of much time, labour, and charge: for theſe very reaſons (if they are admitted to be true), the leſs expectation ſhould be indulged, that poor families will be able, or, if able, willing to devote their induſtry to road-making, inſtead of agriculture. But, when the public takes this work in hand, the caſe is very different. The more perfect it cauſes the road to be made, the better aſſured it becomes of alluring inhabitants to fix themſelves on each ſide of it. The returns for theſe expenditures may be tardy; but they will be certain, and always increaſing; and (what is not to be over-looked) the money, thus laid out for ſuch laudable purpoſes, will remain to circulate in the iſland, and give employment to many of its inhabitants, without impoveriſhing the public.

There is nothing very remarkable in this pariſh (at leaſt that has fallen within my knowledge), except a ſalt lake, called Alligator Pond, extending from Fig Tree to Buff River Bay, and ſeparated from

from the ſea by a narrow ſlip of ſandy land. It is near five miles in length, and about half a mile wide in the broadeſt reach. There is no tradition in what manner it was formed, whether by an earthquake, or an inundation of the ſea; probably both concurred. The air of this, as of all the Northſide pariſhes, is in general healthy; and it may be remarked here, as at the Weſt end, that the hills decline gradually towards the ſea, and ſwell as they recede from it towards the mid region of the iſland. The moſt unwholeſome ſtate of the atmoſphere in theſe parts occurs during the May rains; when the wind, ſetting from the Southern points, has to paſs over an immenſe tract of woodland, before it reaches the ſettlements on the North ſide; but it rarely produces any other fevers than intermittents, which here are not much regarded, as they are not often attended with any dangerous conſequences.

This pariſh is not yet provided with a church. The incumbent's ſtipend is 100 *l. per annum*; and the living, like that of Portland, a mere ſinecure.

Having no materials for a more particular account of St. George, I ſhall conclude with,

The ſtate of it:

			Annual Produce.		
	Negroes.	Cattle.	Sugar-works.	Hogſheads.	Other Settlements.
1734,	1085	1485			
1740,	969	1024			
1745,	1163	1136			
1761,	2147				
1768,	2765	3421	12	1200	48

Notwithſtanding the ravages committed in it by the Maroon Negroes before their reduction, it is apparent this pariſh has made conſiderable progreſs in the laſt twenty years; but, as a ſugar-pariſh, is as yet of very ſmall importance. The means by which it may be improved I have already touched upon, as the beſt that offer to my judgement; and in this light only I ſubmit them to the diſcuſſion of abler politicians.

To recapitulate the preceding detail of this county: it has for its metropolis, Kingſton, where the aſſizes are held in January, April, July, and October.

State

State in 1768.

Negroes.	Cattle.	Sugar-works.	Annual Produce. Hogsheads.	Other Settlements.
39,542	21,465	146	15,010	314

Rectories and Stipends.

	£	s.	d.
Kingston,	250	0	0
St. Andrew,	200	0	0
Port Royal,	250	0	0
St. David,	100	0	0
St. Thomas in the East,	250	0	0
Portland,	100	0	0
St. George,	100	0	0
	1250	0	0

Churches, — 5
Chapels, — 9
Synagogue, - 1

CHAP. IX.

CORNWALL

CONTAINS about 1,522,149 acres, and has five parishes, and nine towns and hamlets, viz.

Parishes.	Towns.	Hamlets.
St. Elizabeth,	Lacovia, Accompong, Negroe-Town, —— ——	Black River.
Westmoreland,	Savannah la Mar, the county-town, —	Queen's Town, *alias* Beckford Town, *alias* the Savannah.
Hanover,	Lucea.	
St. James,	Montego, Furry's, Negroe Town.	
Trelawny,	Trelawny, Negroe Town,	Marthabrae.

SECT.

SECT. I.

St. ELIZABETH.

THIS pariſh is bounded on the Eaſt by the pariſhes of Clarendon and Vere; on the Weſt, by Weſtmoreland; on the North, by St. James and Trelawny; and on the South by the ſea. It is watered by the Black, Y S, Hector's and Broad Rivers, and ſeveral ſmall rivulets. Of theſe the two former are the moſt capital. The Y S riſes, firſt, in the South-Weſt angle of St. James's pariſh, in a very ſmall ſtream; and, after a courſe of about two miles, hides itſelf under-ground, and emerges at about half a mile's diſtance in a large body of water, at about thirteen miles from the coaſt; then, after a moderately winding courſe of thirteen miles and a half, falls into the Black River. The Broad River riſes in the Eaſtern quarter of the pariſh, about ſix miles from the ſea; firſt emerging in a moraſs, called Caſhue, through which it makes its way for about the ſame number of miles, till it unites with the Black River. The latter firſt emerges in the North diviſion, at the diſtance of ſixteen miles from the neareſt part of the coaſt, and meanders about thirty-four miles before it reaches the ſea, having its ſtream very much enlarged by the various tributes it receives during its paſſage; ſo that, in moſt parts, it is from one hundred and fifty to two hundred feet wide. This is the nobleſt river in Jamaica, and is navigable by boats and barges for many miles. About mid-way, and at the Forks, where it meets with the other two rivers I have mentioned, it ſweeps through a large tract of moraſs. The road, paſſing over the May-day Hills to the Weſt end, croſſes this and Y S over two handſome bridges.

This great Weſtern road, which leads from Spaniſh Town, traverſes St. Jago Savannah, and the bridge of Milk River, in Clarendon; not far beyond which is the eſtate which belonged to the late lord Ol—ph—t. Soon after leaving this, the aſcent begins over May-day Hills, continuing rocky for about half a mile, till it narrows into a gloomy path between two hills, over-hung with the interwoven boughs of trees on each ſide, which form an agreeable ſhade. At the end of two or three miles further on is a ſmall plantation

plantation and pimento-grove; and, beyond this, the way opens ſuddenly upon a pretty riſing lawn, on the higheſt part of which ſtands a little villa, belonging lately to Mr. W—ſtn—y, who is ſaid to be a natural ſon of the late duke of L—ds. This villa overlooks a diminutive vale, through which the high road paſſes, and extends its narrow proſpect to another delightful, riſing ſpot, of a circular form, and fringed with ſtately trees. A number of kids, lambs, and ſheep, are paſtured in the glade, or roam on the ſides of the adjacent hills, which are fenced in with a wall of craggy mountains, richly cloathed with wood. In rural charms few places exceed this little ſpot. The road acroſs this aſſemblage of high lands is extremely curious in every part, and worthy the traveler's attention. There are none in England, nor I believe in Europe, reſembling it. It divides the May-day Ridges, as it were, through the middle; the breadth of which, from Eaſt to Weſt, is upwards of fourteen miles; it is about fifty feet in width, and confined on each ſide by a majeſtic wood, that is almoſt impervious to the ſun. The lofty trees, ſo cloſe arranged, form a living wall; and, intermingling their leafy branches, afford a cooling ſhade during the greater part of every day throughout the year. The Tavern of Knock-patrick (belonging alſo to Mr. W—ſtn—y), the next ſettlement we come to, ſtands very commodiouſly, and enjoys a moſt excellent climate. The Engliſh beans, peaſe, and other culinary vegetables of Europe, grow here, in moſt ſeaſons of the year, to the utmoſt perfection. A gentleman who ſupped here could not help remarking, that the victuals were literally brought ſmoaking-hot to table; a phænomenon ſeldom obſerved in the low lands, where the air is ſo much more rarefied. A ſpecies of the tarantula ſpider is ſaid to be often found in this part of the country. The woods abound with paroquets, and pigeons of various ſorts. The laghetto, and other uſeful trees, ſuch as mahogany, cedar, pigeon-wood, &c. This tavern ſtands in the midſt of theſe woods, and as yet has but a very ſmall tract of cleared ground about it. Every appearance of the road to the Weſtward of it is ſimilar to what is obſerved on the approach to it from the Eaſtward, till the hills begin to decline, and the pariſh of St. Elizabeth breaks upon the view. From the different parts of this declivity,

the

the proſpects are finely variegated, and, from ſome ſtations, are extended not only over the champaign-country of this pariſh, but into great part of Weſtmoreland many miles: but one of the moſt pleaſing ſcenes is, the ſpacious tract of open land, called Labour-in-vain Savannah, which appears partly of a vivid green, and partly of a ruſſet colour. One ſide of it is girt about with romantic hills and woods; the other, towards the South, is waſhed by the ſea; the middle ſweep is graced with ſcattered clumps of trees and under-wood; which objects all together combine in exhibiting a very picturesque and beautiful appearance.

"From this the proſpect varies. Plains immenſe
"Lie ſtretch'd below; interminable meads,
"And vaſt ſavannahs; where the wand'ring eye,
"Unfix'd, is in a verdant ocean loſt.
"Another Flora here, of bolder hues,
"And richer ſweets, beyond our garden's pride,
"Plays o'er the fields; and ſhow'rs with ſudden hand
"Exub'rant ſpring; for oft' the valleys ſhift
"Their green embroider'd robe to fiery brown,
"And ſwift to green again; as ſcorching ſuns,
"Or ſtreaming dews and torrent-rains prevail."

One would almoſt incline to think, that Thompſon, and his Pegaſus, had made the tour of this region; ſo appoſitely has he deſcribed it.

South of Eſſex Valley Mountains, are diſtinguiſhed the high lands, and ſand hills near Pedro Bluff. Theſe, it is true, are ſome additions to the proſpect, but upon reflexion diſpleaſe the eye, as they are in general ſo poor and barren, as to diſdain all kinds of cultivation, and only yield in wet ſeaſons a ſcanty paſturage for ſheep and the younger cattle. About the foot of May-day Hills, the bread-nut trees grow luxuriantly, and afford to the bordering ſettlements great abundance of nouriſhing fodder for their ſtock.

The principal capes, or head-lands, on the coaſt are Pedro Bluff, and Luana Point; the former of which gives ſhelter to an anchoring-place for ſmall veſſels in Pedro Bay, lying to the Weſtward of it. Between this and Luana Point is Black River Mouth, defended

by ſeveral banks of ſand; within them is a fine road for ſhips of large burthen; and near this is therefore eſtabliſhed the chief bar, quadier for all the plantations and ſettlements in the pariſh [d]. The Eaſtern ſide retains its antient name of Palléta, or Parratee Bay. The Spaniards had a ſmall village here, which was deſtroyed by a detachment of the army under colonel D'Oyley. This part is ſwampy, and principally inhabited by Mulattoes, Quaterons, and other Caſts; a poor, but peaceable and induſtrious race, who have long been ſettled here, and live by fiſhing and breeding poultry. If it was not for the ſhoals at the mouth of the river, there is depth and room ſufficient in it to anchor, and keep afloat, a very great fleet of capital ſhips. But, though it is not navigable by veſſels of burthen, it is, as well as its branches, of very eminent ſervice to the inhabitants of the adjacent country, by enabling them, at ſmall expence and trouble, to bring their ſugars, rum, and other kinds of produce, by water-carriage, down into the bay. Hector's, or One-eye River, which riſes near Wallingford-plantation, in the North-Weſt diſtrict, after a zig-zag courſe of about twelve miles, diſcharges into Black River. The Eaſtern branch of it enters into a very high ridge of mountainous land, extremely well-wooded, and filled with mahogany and other valuable timber, and diſembogues again at three miles diſtance. The arch-way under which it paſſes is of a rude, Gothic appearance, about twenty feet in height, but riſing and falling alternately within; where it is ſupported with pillars, the nuclei of which are of a very fine, white free-ſtone; and in ſome parts of this cavern are large *ſtrata* of marble. The water deepening as we advance forwards under the mountain, it is not an eaſy matter to explore this remarkable adit for any very conſiderable extent; though, for a good diſtance from the mouth, it does not reach much above the knees. However, it may be claſſed among the more beautiful natural curioſities in the iſland, and merits a further inveſtigation. This, with the YS (ſo called from the Galic word YS, which ſignifies crooked, or winding), and the other ſtreams which empty themſelves into the Black River, contribute chiefly

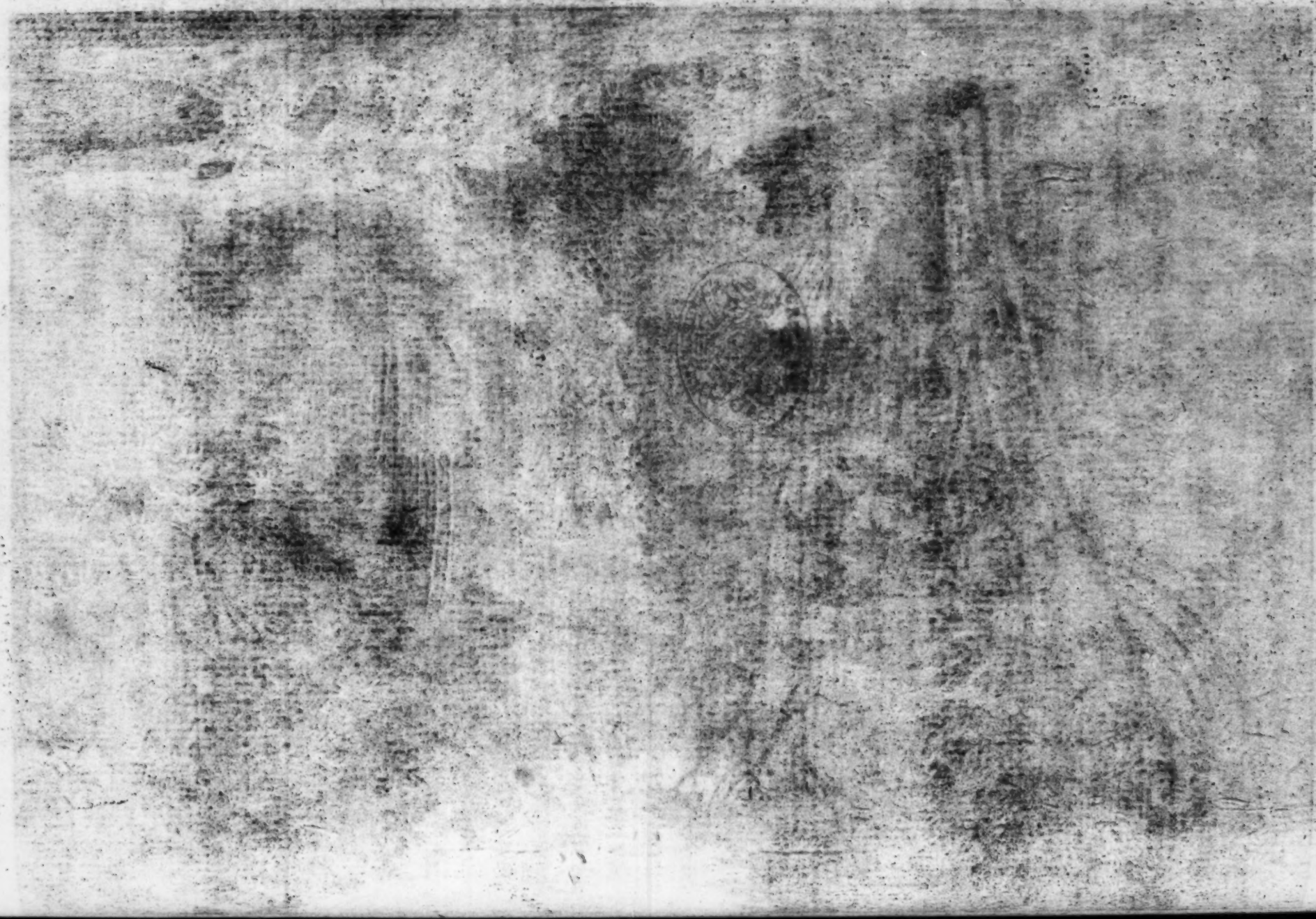
[d] Near the mouth is often caught the manati; which has given name to ſome adjacent mountains.

to

Isaac Taylor sculp.

View of a Cascade at Y S River.

Published as the Act directs. June 1, 1774.



to its importance. The road or harbour is guarded not only by the ſhoals, but by two batteries; the firſt, a publick one, of five guns, ſix to nine-pounders, built on a little eminence near the ſea; the other, a private property, belonging to Mr. Crutcher. Excluſive of theſe fortreſſes, the variation of the ſands renders the entrance difficult, and dangerous to thoſe who are not well acquainted with it. The barracks ſtand at about a quarter of a mile from the bay; are capable of receiving thirty men, and generally garriſoned with a party of regulars. The church is about the ſame diſtance from the village of Black River, a handſome edifice of brick, lately re-built. The parſonage-houſe ſtood on Middle-quarter-Mountains, in a dry, elevated, and very pleaſant ſituation, in the centre of the glebe; but, not long ſince, was unfortunately burnt to the ground by an accident. The rector's ſtipend is 200 *l.* *per annum*; but he has likewiſe a conſiderable income from the labour of about twenty Negroes, which, in conſequence of an act of aſſembly, paſſed in the year 1753, for diſpoſing of ſundry parcels of land belonging to the pariſh, were purchaſed with the value of the ſales for the uſe of the rectory; and, by another act paſſed in 1764, all the parcels of land then undiſpoſed of were directed to be ſold, and the nett-money applied to the buying a tract of proviſion-ground contiguous to the old glebe, and to be annexed to it in perpetuity: ſo that the whole of the glebe conſiſts of, at leaſt, two hundred acres of fine paſture and proviſion-land; and the value of the living is computed to be between ſix and ſeven hundred pounds a year. By the road-ſide, not far from the parſonage, is a very curious object, viz. a large ſpreading fig-tree, whoſe boughs overſhadow the road. It is about thirty feet in height, and out of its ſummit appears to grow an elegant thatch-tree, of about ten or twelve inches diameter, which has a branched top diſtinct from the other, and riſing twelve or fifteen feet above it. The wild fig-tree is, in its infant ſtate, only a poor, weakly, climbing plant, like the tendril of a vine, which rears itſelf from the ground by the friendly help of ſome neighbouring tree, and ſhoots out ſeveral delicate radicles, which entwine about the ſupporter, and gradually extend themſelves downwards as the ſtem increaſes. This at length attains to the ſummit, multiplying its branches and radicles, which in pro-

ceſs of time reach the earth, where they ſoon take root, and become ſo many new ſtems to feed and ſuſtain the parent plant. This now begins to enlarge in dimenſions, and, expanding its bark, forms by degrees a trunk, or caſe, around its foſter tree, which, if not compoſed of very firm materials, is liable to have its vegetation entirely checked by the paraſitical embrace. A ſpeedy decline is the conſequence. At laſt it dies; and then ſerves only to nouriſh with its duſt the luxuriance of the reptile, that has ſupplanted it. The reaſon why this thatch-tree has eſcaped the like fate may be, that it was probably at full-growth when it was firſt invaded; and the denſity and hardneſs of its bark, which render it almoſt impenetrable by the keeneſt inſtrument, have made it capable of reſiſting the utmoſt impreſſion and efforts of its treacherous gueſt.

The town of Lacovia, which ſtands about ſeven miles inland from the bay, between the Y S and Black rivers, has its name perhaps from a corruption of the Spaniſh words *la-agua-via*, the watery way, or *lago-via*, the way by the lake; for this part of the country, being very low and flat, is ſometimes overflowed with water, from the large moraſs which ſurrounds it; but, as the roads are now raiſed conſiderably, it is ſeldom, if ever, impaſſable. This town contains two good taverns, for the accommodation of travellers, and about twelve or fourteen houſes, moſtly inhabited by Jews. Here is alſo a court-houſe, for more conveniently holding the quarterly ſeſſion of the peace, petty-courts of common-pleas, elections, and veſtry-meetings, it being ſituated nearly in the middle of the pariſh.

The face of the pariſh is various. The Eaſtern diviſion is walled in by ſucceſſive ridges of high mountains, diſtinguiſhed by the names of Carpenter's, Don-Figuerero's, and May-day. Towards the North, it is bounded by thoſe of Edmund's Valley, and the Blue Mountain Chain, which diſſociate it from St. James and Trelawny. Accompong and Charles Towns, inhabited by Maron Blacks, lie among theſe mountains, in the North-weſt part of the pariſh. Beſides theſe, are ſmaller chains, which run in different points; as Eſſex Valley Range, Eaſt and Weſt, near the coaſt; Top Hill, lying parallel; and the high land of Pedro Bluff, extending from the Cape, Eaſtward, along the ſhore. In the centre

of the parish are Santa Cruz, and Burnt Savannah Mountains, lying North-west and South-east. A little further back, are those of Nassau and Lacovia. To the South-west of these, are Middle-quarter Mountains, running N. N. E. and S. S. W. and the Western boundary is crossed by New Savannah and Luana Mountains, tending N. W. by W. and S. E. by E. Such a multitude of eminences not only serve to attract frequent rains, but contain reservoirs for affording the constant supply of water necessary to feed the innumerable springs, rivulets, and those larger collections, which are perpetually flowing through every part of the lower grounds, and spending themselves in the ocean. The lands between, and at the feet, of these different mounds, admit of a great variety of soils. In the Eastern district they consist of savannah, for the most part dry and infertile. The most noted are Pedro Plains, Bull, Labour-in-vain (a name perfectly descriptive of its nature), Nassau, and Burnt Savannahs. In these parts there are but few sugar-plantations, though a great number of very fine penns for breeding horned cattle, horses, mules, sheep, and goats, as well as poultry of all kinds. The soil of Middle-quarter Mountains, in the South-west, is stony, though not altogether so unproductive; but the plain of Luana is a continued sand, and covered with palmeto-trees, which, though large and flourishing, are a sure indication of its poverty. The rich veins of mould adapted to the sugar-cane are bordering upon the Y S and Black rivers; but a vast scope, of not less than twenty thousand acres in the whole, lies scattered in waste moras, which, could it be drained, might form many capital plantations. No attempt of this sort has yet been made, at least that I have heard of; but it promises to yield a very great return to any of the proprietors, who shall have spirit, ability, and patience, sufficient for prosecuting such an experiment. It lies in three principal divisions, each of which is pervaded by a river. The remotest part is distant only ten miles from the sea, and might have its products sent by water-carriage the whole way. The other two approach to the very mouth of Black River; and all of them are well circumstanced for water-mills. The land in this island has, from its first settlement, been out of all proportion too much for its average-stock of inhabitants; but, if it should

ever

ever become populous, theſe neglected portions will undoubtedly be brought into culture. In the year 1764, a project indeed was talked of here for building a bridge acroſs Black River, near its mouth, in order to open a communication with the Eaſt and Weſt ſides; by which means, it was alledged, and with great appearance of reaſon, that the contiguous lands might ſoon be improved[e]; which at preſent they cannot well be, on account of the inconvenient and expenſive mode of paſſing acroſs in a ferry-boat, for which each paſſenger pays 7½*d.* a time; and often it happens, that it cannot be ferried at all. The ſum of 2500*l.* was propoſed to be raiſed within the pariſh, for carrying this ſcheme into execution; but I do not find that it has been hitherto attempted. This extenſive ſpace of undrained, ſwampy ground circumjacent, renders the habitations on the bay unfavourable to health. So it proved to a company of the 66th regiment, quartered here in 1764. In the month of Auguſt they were attacked with putrid fevers and dyſenteries, ſo fatal to them, that three men were buried in one day; an inſtance of great mortality, conſidering the ſmall number of which the company conſiſted. This ravage is to be aſcribed to no other cauſe than the exhalations reeking from the marſhy ſoil around them, which, in that hot ſeaſon of the year, imparted an evil diſpoſition to the atmoſphere. Some of the other quarters on the coaſts are not leſs unwholeſome, from ſimilar cauſes; which I ſhall occaſionally ſpeak of. This regiment, which was chiefly cantoned in different parts near the ſea-ſhore, buried in this year no leſs than one hundred and two men; whereas the 36th, whoſe quarters lay moſtly at Spaniſh Town, Port Royal, Moſquito Fort, and Clarendon (two detachments only, I think, being poſted on the coaſt in the out-pariſhes; one at Old Harbour, the other at

[e] The land contiguous to the banks of this river is alledged by ſome to be of an infertile nature; which they aſcribe to this cauſe, that the water, being uncharged with ſoil, affords no vegetative depoſit, like moſt other rivers of the iſland, when it overflows; but rather does miſchief, by leaving a petrifactive, barren ſubſtance behind. If this be true, it furniſhes another argument in favour of draining and embanking the adjacent grounds; by which means, the river-water, being hindered from ſpreading, might be confined within the cuts. The lowneſs of ſituation induces a probability, that any ſuch depoſit is but very ſuperficial, and that at a very ſmall depth the natural ſoil is rich, and when duly turned up would become highly productive. Beſides, there certainly muſt have been no ſmall quantity of vegetable mould accumulated in the courſe of ſo many ages, by the annual decay of plants and herbage on the ſurface.

Port

Port Maria), loſt no more than thirty men. They both arrived from Europe in the month of June. And hence may be deduced ſome uſeful remarks with regard to the ſituations moſt proper, or moſt baneful, to troops ſent hither from Northern climates; which, if poſſibly it can be avoided, ſhould not be brought down to ſwampy places near the coaſt; for, in the inland barracks, they would probably enjoy their health and vigour unimpaired, and ſo be in fitter condition for effective ſervice; or, by the reſidence of one or two years, become ſo thoroughly ſeaſoned to the climate and manner of living, as to be leſs ſuſceptible of malignant diſtempers, in caſe of their being afterwards, upon any emergency, marched into unwholeſome quarters on the coaſt.

State of the Pariſh:

			Annual Produce.		
	Negroes.	Cattle.	Sugar-plantations.	Hogſheads.	Other Settlements.
1734,	7046	9184			
1740,	6641	9695			
1745,	7575	13500			
1761,	9715				
1768,	10110	16947	31	2600	150

From this view it appears to be improving; but it contains near eighty thouſand acres of land as yet unſettled; the greater part of this is mountainous, though capable of producing coffee, and other valuable commodities. The air of the low lands is hot; and they have a plentiful ſtock of moſkeetos; but the hilly parts in general are temperate and pleaſant.

SECT. II.

WESTMORELAND.

THIS pariſh was formed in the year 1703, out of St. Elizabeth, by which and a part of St. James it is bounded on the Eaſt; on the South and Weſt, by the Sea; and on the North, by Hanover. Its rivers are Bluefields, in the Eaſt diviſion; Bonito, or Cabarito Eaſt Branch; and Cabarito Weſt Branch; which interſect it about the middle diſtrict; and New Savannah River, which riſes further Weſtward. It has likewiſe ſome ſmaller ſtreams; and, on the North-eaſt, the Great River, which diſcharges

on the North ſide coaſt of the iſland, makes the dividing limit. It contains ſeveral head-lands, and ſome good harbours; of the former, along its Southern ſhore, are Parkinſon's, or Palmeto Point, Crab Point, Cape Bonito or Bluff, Cabarito and Palmeto Points. From the laſt-mentioned to South Cape Negril, which is the Land's-end, is a ridge of moderately high eminences, called the Negril Hills; the ſhore iron-bound, and lined with rocks. On the Weſt end are this Cape, Cunningham's Point, and North Cape Negril, which divides this pariſh from Hanover. Bluefields Bay lies Weſtward, within Crab Point. It is ſpacious, and has ſuch excellent anchorage, with ſo fine a watering-place, that it is the conſtant rendezvous, in time of war, for the homeward-bound fleets and convoys, intending to ſteer by the way of Florida Gulph. The river, which falls into the bay, riſes ſuddenly about three quarters of a mile from the ſhore, and turns two mills in its way. Here is the ſecond great barquadier for the plantations in this pariſh. Weſt of this bay lies Savannah la Mar, latitude North about 18° 13′, ſheltered on one ſide by Bluff Point; on the Weſt, by Cabarito. The road leading into Weſtmoreland from St. Elizabeth croſſes the boundary at a place called the Wells, and proceeds for eight or ten miles along a dreary, narrow lane, oppoſite Parker's Bay, till it reaches Bluefields. Near this part ſtands, on an elevated ſpot, the dwelling-houſe of Mr. Wh—e, called Bluehole, which commands an extenſive proſpect over the ſea to the Southward, and over the Weſtern diſtrict of the pariſh. This is a modern building, conſtructed with ſtone, fortified with two flankers, and loop-holes for muſquetry, and defended, beſides, towards the ſea with a barbette battery of ſix guns, nine-pounders. But, notwithſtanding theſe muniments, it was taken during the laſt war by the crew of a Spaniſh privateer, who plundered the houſe, carried away the owner and his brother priſoners, and treated them extremely ill: fortunately for them, they were re-taken, together with their enemies, upon whom the Engliſh captors did not retaliate, as they well deſerved.

From the foot of this hill, the paſſage is frequently made acroſs the bay, about four miles, to a place called the Cave, where the barquadier ſtands. This is built of timber, and projected to a conſiderable

ſiderable diſtance into the ſea, for better conveniency of ſhipping goods. Here moſt of the ſugars, rum, mahogany-plank, and other commodities of the neighbouring eſtates, are put into boats, or lighters, to be carried on board ſuch ſhips as are to export them, and lie either at Savannah la Mar, or the upper end of the bay. The road from hence continues rough and ſtony, till it reaches Sweet River, ſo called from the tranſparency and purity of its waters, which fall into the bay. After paſſing this, and a long tedious lane, the face of the country opens at once upon the view, and appears truly beautiful from the continued ſucceſſion of well-cultivated ſugar-eſtates and rich paſtures. The rains in this pariſh being uſually heavier than in moſt others on the South ſide of the iſland, and the country in general flat near the ſea, the roads are conſequently for the moſt part deep and dirty, and in the rainy ſeaſons ſcarcely paſſable. Savannah la Mar, though it is the principal barquadier, has nevertheleſs but a very indifferent harbour, or rather road, for the ſhipping. The water is ſhoal, and againſt the aſſaults of the ſea it is defended only by reefs of ſunken rocks, and a few ſand-banks, which are apt to ſhift. Nor is it much better guarded againſt enemies. The fort, which coſt the pariſhioners upwards of ſixteen thouſand pounds in building, is extremely ill-contrived, and perpetually ſapped by the ſea. Formerly it was mounted with eighteen or twenty guns, moſtly of too ſmall a calibre; and, indeed, both from its ſtructure and furniture, it never could have promiſed any ſecurity except againſt privateers. Unleſs it has very lately been repaired, it is in a very ruinous condition. It was never compleated; and, the South curtain being undermined, the wall on that ſide is almoſt all tumbled into the ſea. As for the baſtions, they are for the moſt part unfiniſhed. Of this fort we may juſtly ſay,

Vis conſili expers, mole ruit ſuâ.

"Ill-counſel'd force, by it's own native weight,
"Headlong to ruin falls."

The pariſhioners thought perhaps that they had a right to lay out their money in what manner they pleaſed; and therefore, conſulting (as one would imagine) neither engineer, nor any other perſon better ſkilled than themſelves in fortification, they reſolved to

throw away one half of it into the ſea, and with the other erect this miſ-ſhapen pile, as a laſting monument to convince poſterity of the inexpertneſs of their fore-fathers in military architecture. At the entrance is a ſmall magazine, and a barrack for about a dozen men. Moſt of the guns are diſmounted; and ſalutes are therefore fired from a battery of fourteen ſmall pieces, ranged before the court-houſe. This building was erected in 1752, for holding a court of common-pleas in matters of debt not exceeding 100*l.*, quarter-ſeſſions of peace, elections, and veſtry-meetings. In 1758, the aſſize-court for the county of Cornwall was appointed by law to be holden here; in conſequence of which, the juriſdiction was greatly enlarged. Two years before, this port, together with Kingſton, Montego Bay, and St. Lucia, was by act of parliament made free, for the importation of live cattle, and all other commodities except ſugars, coffee, pimento, ginger, melaſſes, and tobacco, the growth or produce of any foreign colony in America; and for the export of Negroes, and all other legally imported commodities in foreign ſloops or ſchooners having only one deck. The advocates for this bill, and the ſubſequent one (cap. LII. 6 Geo. III. which permits the importation of foreign melaſſes, paying only a duty of one penny *per* gallon), alledged the great utility of admitting Negroes and proviſions to be brought into our Weſt-India iſlands from the foreign colonies, and in foreign bottoms, in order that they might be plentifully and cheaply ſupplied. On the other hand, it was objected, that Ireland and the North-American provinces were very able to furniſh our iſlands with much more proviſions than they could conſume; that, if the price of Negroes is high, this may ariſe from ſome miſmanagement in the African trade; but that it does not appear that foreigners can buy them at a cheaper rate; if they do, the trade requires to be better regulated; but, if they buy them upon equal terms, the high price is a gain to the Britiſh merchants; that the capital miſtake in theſe bills lay in the latitude of encouragement which they gave to the employing a greater number of foreign ſhipping and ſeamen than are at preſent employed, and conſequently diminiſhing thoſe of Great-Britain. Nor is this evil remedied by allowing the exportation of Negroes, and certain other commodities from our iſlands, to ſuch

foreign

foreign colonies, ſince the ſame foreign bottoms, which import proviſions, melaſſes, cotton-wool, and indigo, into our plantations, will undoubtedly endeavour to make bullion or ſpecie the chief article of their return-cargoes. The bill therefore ſeems, on this preſumption, in an eſpecial manner to favour the navigation and commerce of the Dutch, and ſuch North-Americans as are, from the nature of their employment, adopted foreigners; who readily obtrude their veſſels into an opening of this kind, and actually become the principal carriers of French ſugars and coffee into the free-ports, whence they carry a return chiefly in money or bullion for the French iſlands. It was ſaid, that, if proviſions are dear in our iſlands, this happens from a peculiar obſtacle, namely, "that the "North-American veſſels would willingly bring them as much as "they want, if they could but be ſure of a back-lading; but that, "from the difficulty of procuring one, they carry their proviſions "to the French iſlands, and ſell them cheaper than they would at "our own, becauſe they can take in at the French iſlands a back-"lading of melaſſes." This inconvenience was intended to be obviated, in part, by the latter of the acts mentioned, admitting the importation of French melaſſes into our iſlands, which may help to load back the North-American veſſels: but upon this it is rightly obſerved, that the importation of their ſugars ought likewiſe to have been allowed under certain reſtrictions, and for ſeveral ſtrong reaſons; viz. the North-Americans would then have no pretence, nor indeed any adequate inducement, to go to the French iſlands for a back-lading; they would bring their proviſions to a better market at our iſlands, and be able to procure the very returns they want; for it is not to be ſuppoſed they reſort to the French merely to take in their melaſſes; the French ſugars are their primary object, and ſurely they would rather receive them at Jamaica without riſque, than run the hazard of getting them clandeſtinely from Hiſpaniola. If we could become the carriers to Europe of all the ſugars which the French iſlands produce, it would certainly be very much for our intereſt to become ſuch; but, whether we are or not, their produce will find its way to the European markets, either in their own, or ſome other bottoms.

We are then to conſider, that the North-Americans are carriers every year of a certain proportion of their produce; and in all likelihood will ſo continue. The queſtion therefore is, whether it would not be more advantageous for Great-Britain, that this produce ſhould be firſt brought into our own iſlands, to be afterwards taken from thence to Europe by Britiſh carriers? And it clearly appears to be ſo, becauſe this double voyage tends to the employment of more Britiſh ſhipping. This ſhipping would receive all, or the greateſt ſhare of, the freight, which is now paid to foreigners, or to North-Americans; beſides the further benefit of ſupplying ſugars to thoſe European markets which the French and Dutch at preſent monopolize. In reſpect to our iſlands, they would be more plentifully furniſhed with proviſions, and be able to keep up their ſtock of ſilver ſufficient for circulation, or to remit the ſuperfluity to Britain, inſtead of ſeeing it drained away to the French iſlands. Nor need the planters apprehend the lowering the value of their own produce. There may be, it is true, a greater quantity and aſſortment of ſugars at their markets; but the increaſe of demand, and of ſhipping, to take it off their hands, muſt neceſſarily be in proportion; ſo that the augmentation of one will keep pace with, and prevent any miſchief from, the increaſe of the other. This point is regulated by the European markets, which will ſtill require to be ſupplied as heretofore; and the annual quantity ſupplied for their conſumption cannot be at all affected, whether it is brought to them from Hiſpaniola, or from Jamaica. As this conſumption is permanent, ſo muſt be the demand; both will co-operate to relieve the iſland-markets, whilſt they have ſhipping enough to facilitate the carriage to Europe; and ſhipping is naturally attracted by well-ſtocked markets, and a certain and profitable freight.

Theſe motives, for permitting our own ſhips to carry French produce, with a view to improve our commercial dealings with the North-Americans, and re-eſtabliſh an export of ſugars to the foreign markets in Europe, appear, I think, of ſome weight, and merit ſerious conſideration; in order that the ſeveral free ports, opened in this iſland, may become of more extenſive utility to the trade of the mother-country, than in their preſent ſtate they ſeem capable

capable of. The act of parliament was certainly well-meant, but it has produced an effect very contrary, in ſome reſpects, to what was intended.

Of all the blunders committed by our ſtateſmen reſpecting colony-trade, none perhaps have turned out more injurious, than the branding his majeſty's ſhips and tenders, in the year 1764, with cuſtom-houſe commiſſioners, under pretence of rigorouſly executing the navigation-act; in conſequence of which meaſure, and the ſtrict orders accompanying it, the Spaniſh traders were wholly proſcribed from entering the ports of this iſland. The folly and ignorance of thoſe who projected and abetted this French-Spaniſh ſcheme cannot be more expoſed, than by ſhewing the loſs which Great-Britain ſuſtained in conſequence of it, and which will appear from the following comparative account of the exports to Jamaica:

		Value, Sterling,	£	s.	d.
1763,	(Before theſe regulations took place)	—	584,978	0	0
1764,	—— —— ——	——	456,528	0	0
1765,	—— —— ——	——	415,624	0	0
1766,	—— —— ——	——	415,524	0	0
1767,	(Firſt year of the free-port act)	— ——	467,681	0	0

This loſs, in actual diminution of exports, amounts, at a medium, to 146,134*l.* ſterling *per annum*. But, when we take into the account what would have been gained on the return-cargoes, and compute the ſuper-lucration on the prime-coſt only at 30*l. per cent.* the loſs in four years amounts to upwards of 700,000*l.* We may venture, indeed, without any exaggeration, to pronounce it near a million. And, what is worſe, we have every reaſon to believe, that France, by the immediate tranſlation of this trade to her colonies, gained at leaſt the full amount of what Great-Britain loſt.

Second to this enormous meaſure, were the orders given (rather unwiſely), in a public manner, in November 1765, for the free admiſſion of Spaniſh veſſels into all the colonies. Little regard was paid to this invitation by the traders.

Excluſit; revocat. Redeam? Non; ſi me obſecret.

"He" (the miniſter) "kicks us out of doors; then he calls us "back. Shall we return? No; not if he ſhould intreat us "on his knees."

The free-port act was then let go as the ſheet-anchor. Great advantages would probably have reſulted from this meaſure, if it had been thought of and tried immediately after the war, inſtead of commiſſioning cruizers to deſtroy the trade: and although it may have prevented a total wreck of this valuable commerce; yet it came perhaps too late, and under too many diſadvantageous circumſtances, to make any adequate reparation for the damages we have ſuſtained, and are ſtill liable to ſuſtain.

The trading inhabitants of the iſland required nothing more than very ſtrict and poſitive private injunctions to the governor and port-officers, not to allow or to practiſe exactions upon thoſe foreigners who came hither; whereby they had at different times been much diſcouraged. The act of navigation, ſo far as regarded theſe particular bottoms importing live ſtock and bullion, was always relaxed, and never rigorouſly obſerved here; becauſe it appeared repugnant (ſo far as regarded theſe imports) to the ſpirit of commence, and the plain intereſt of Britain. Theſe were therefore already free-ports in every beneficial ſenſe; and the traffic went on in ſilence and ſecurity. But ſo ſoon as government interfered, with a view to do no more than was already virtually done, ſo public a declaration of favouring this commerce, and laying open what ought to have remained clandeſtine, naturally awakened jealouſy in the breaſt of that power, whoſe policy it has ever been to defeat and impede, as much as poſſible, every ſuch attempt. Guards, cautions, and penalties, were multiplied, and held to their vigilance and execution with ſuch unabating ſeverity, as had never before been obſerved.

What would be the conſequence, if the port of Boulogne, or Dunkirk, in France, was to be opened by a public arret, expreſsly for the importation of ſmuggled wool from Great-Britain? Surely, the whole Britiſh nation would take alarm, and Britiſh guarda-coſtas would immediately be commiſſioned, without number, to prevent the effect which an invitation ſo authoritatively given might be likely to produce. It is notorious, that large quantities of Portugal gold have been privately gleaned from Portugal, and brought into this kingdom. But, if government ſhould, from a fond deſire to ſwell the tide, and procure the ſtream to flow hither in

a publick

a publick channel, iſſue proclamations for expreſsly encouraging the importation of gold coin from Portugal; is there any doubt, but every Britiſh veſſel, and their crews, would be ſearched in the moſt rigorous manner before they were ſuffered to depart from Liſbon and Oporto? or may it not rather be queſtioned, whether any Britiſh veſſel would ever be admitted to enter them again?

I have ſaid enough to point out the ill conſequence of this meaſure, and the ground of complaint among the Jamaica-traders, who are all ſenſible that, inſtead of being ſerved by it, they have loſt what perhaps may never be retrieved. And, unfortunately, things are ſo circumſtanced, that a repeal of the free-port law would only tend to make bad matters worſe. We muſt therefore leave it to the operation of time, and the dexterous management of thoſe parties who are to be reciprocal gainers by this traffic, to revive it again extenſively. It is a very juſt obſervation I have ſomewhere met with, that, conſidering the native wants of Spain, the vaſt expences ſhe is at in endeavouring to prevent her colony-ſubjects from ſupplying themſelves with various conveniences in a clandeſtine manner, which they cannot procure, at leaſt in ſufficient quantity, or equally cheap, by any other channel at preſent;—That, notwithſtanding all theſe precautions, no leſs than fifteen millions of every annual cargo have been ſuppoſed to belong to foreigners; and that it is, in every view, ſo much for the intereſt of that nation to cultivate the friendſhip of Britain, and admit the latter to a fair and regular commerce by treaty:—Theſe circumſtances conſidered, it is amazing that ſhe ſhould rather have choſen to reject what might ſettle a perpetual harmony between the two nations, and to perſiſt in thoſe ſtubborn maxims, of whoſe inefficacy ſhe has had ſo long and uniform an experience. It is in vain for her to expect, that her numerous ſubjects here will obey thoſe reſcripts, in the breach of which their natural wants, as well as their intereſt and inclination, concur. Inſtead of an equitable tariff, admitting the free importation of certain enumerated goods and manufactures from Britain; ſhe has often unneceſſarily inſulted and provoked its vengeance: and the iſſue of all her quarrels has only ended in waſte of her treaſure, loſs of ſhips, and the affording more convenient opportunity for the ſubjects on both ſides to proſecute that

very intercourſe which ſhe meant to obſtruct; inſomuch that it never has attained to ſo flouriſhing and active a ſtate as during the time of open war. By a different ſyſtem of policy, ſhe might have enjoyed a ſtrict alliance with the greateſt maritime power in the world, capable and ready to fight her battles, and defend her againſt the united forces of all the other European ſtates; whoſe merchants might have largely augmented her revenue [*f*], by regular payment of the bullion-duties, and have united with her in keeping off every interloper; for it had then been their intereſt to put a ſtop to every inlet of contraband traffic, and make every return which honour, good faith, and gratitude, could prompt. Thus might Spain, inſtead of being one of the pooreſt, become one of the richeſt and moſt reſpectable powers in Europe; if it were not for the infatuation of thoſe impolitic counſels which ſo long have kept her at variance with Great-Britain.

But it is now time to return to Savannah la Mar, hitherto the metropolis of Cornwall; though Montego Bay ſeems to tread cloſe on its heels, and in a few years will probably diſpute this pre-eminence. The number of veſſels which enter and clear here is from ſixty to ſeventy *per annum*; and the tonnage, excluſive of coaſters, has by ſome been computed *per* average at eleven thouſand five hundred. The town, not many years ago, poſſeſſed a very flouriſhing trade. It is ſituated commodiouſly for a correſpondence with Truxillo, Honduras, and the Moſquito-ſhore; being not more than one hundred and five leagues from the bay of Honda, and the paſſage equally ſhort and ſpeedy, as the trade-wind ſerves both in going and returning. Near this tract lie, ſcattered along, the little cayes and iſlands of Serranilla, Quitoſveno, Serrana, Roncador, Sancta Catalina or Old Providence, and St. Andreas, &c. Serrana took its name from Auguſtin Pedro Serrana, who was wrecked upon it, and lived here ſeven years. Sancta Catalina was a celebrated place of reſort for the buccaneers, is about fifty leagues from Cape Gracias a Dios, and contains ſeveral good harbours; for which reaſon it ſeems a very proper ſtation for ſmall cruizers in war-time. The town, at preſent, is but ſmall, conſiſting only of one tolerable ſtreet, and about fifty or ſixty ſcattered houſes. Moſt of the pro-

[*f*] A fifth of all the treaſure ſhipped from their American dominions.

duce

duce of Weſtmoreland, beſides ſome of what belongs to St. Elizabeth and Hanover, is ſhipped from this port. Underneath the court-houſe, or hall of juſtice, are the barracks, capable of receiving ſeventy men, and garriſoned with a company of the regulars. The ſituation, in point of health, is by no means approvable; for to the Weſtward of it lies a tract of undrained moraſs, at leaſt ſeven miles in length, which at certain times of the year cannot fail of producing miſchievous effects. It is overſpread with mangroves, and below the level of the ſea, and therefore not eaſily to be drained. Cabarito Eaſt River diſcharges its ſtream into it, and contributes by this means not only to feed the lagoon-water, but in ſome degree to refreſh it. Whether the river could be converted into a drain, by banking and retrieving the ground on each ſide, is a point I cannot determine; but it may be worth examination. This river has two good bridges of timber acroſs it, and is navigable in boats about twelve miles inland to a public barquadier at Paul's iſland. The land on which the town is built is flat and low, ſubject therefore to thoſe exceſſive heats and putrid vapours, which, in the months of July and Auguſt, occaſion fatal maladies in habits unſeaſoned to ſuch places of reſidence. In 1768, a very neceſſary act was paſſed, the better to ſecure this town from accidents by fire. Coopers were prohibited from making fires except within an incloſed yard, ſurrounded by a brick or ſtone-wall of eight feet height, having only one door, and that placed to the Weſtward; and the magiſtrates were empowered to cauſe all huts and other buildings covered with thatch to be pulled down. The hamlet of Queen's Town ſtands about two miles North from Savannah la Mar. It conſiſts of a few houſes tolerably well built; but is a place of no note as yet. This is more uſually called Beckford Town, or Savannah, the land having been given in lots of from five to twenty acres by the late Richard Beckford, eſq; and regularly laid out for ſtreets, with a large ſquare left in the centre for a church. At the Weſt end, between the two capes of Negril, is Long Bay; where is good anchorage, and ſhelter from tempeſtuous winds. It is conveniently ſituated for our men of war, during any rupture with Spain, to lie in wait for the Spaniſh veſſels paſſing to or from the Havannah; and here admiral Bembow col-

lected his ſquadron in 1702, when he was looking out for Du Caſſe. It is not as yet made convenient for ſhipping of produce, being rendered almoſt inacceſſible on the land-ſide by means of a large moraſs, extending the whole length, comprehending upwards of ſix thouſand acres, which in time may probably be drained and cultivated, as the Black Moraſs which lies near the centre of the pariſh has ſucceſsfully been. It contains large quantities of graſs, boar-wood, Santa Maria thatch, and mountain cabbage trees; and is interſperſed with ſmall iſlands, full of bread-nut and other hard timber trees, and ſome mahogany; which prove the ſoil to be very deep and rich. Three ſtreams, or rivulets, take their riſe in it, and empty themſelves at Negril Harbour, and Long Bay. When the wind ſets hard-in upon this part of the coaſt from Weſt and North-Weſt, they are frequently repelled; and by this means overflow the lower grounds. Yet the draining of this tract appears extremely practicable, and by means of the rivers, if proper flood-gates and banks were formed, after the method practiſed on the flat coaſts of Lincolnſhire and Suſſex. The Eaſtern range of the moraſs has a fine, ſubſtantial clay; but the part neareſt the ſea is of a looſer texture, though poſſibly it might become more ſolid, if it could be reclaimed from the water, which at preſent ſaps and oozes through it. It is the reſort of wild pigeons, and hogs, in great abundance; and the rivulets are ſtored with plenty of excellent fiſh and land-turtle.

This pariſh has a chapel for performing divine ſervice, though ſcarcely opulent and populous enough to afford a good church. The chapel is built with timber, and ſtands in the ſavannah, about the diſtance of one mile from the town of Savannah la Mar.

Some years ago, there was an exceeding good church, of white free-ſtone, built in the form of a croſs, about ſeven miles from the bay: but the pariſhioners falling into a violent diſpute, whether they ſhould repair it, or erect a new one at Savannah la Mar, the roof was unable to wait the iſſue, but tumbled in; and, the point not having ſince been brought to a final determination, it remains a ſtately ruin, to add one proof more to the million of the deplorable effects which attend religious ſquabbles. As the two parties could not agree, the church (which formerly was no uncommon caſe)

caſe) ſeems to have taken the deciſion upon itſelf, and by wilful dilapidation endeavoured to convince them, that it will at leaſt be the cheaper plan for them to build a new tabernacle than repair the old one. As no houſe of reſidence has been provided for the rector, he receives 50 *l.* a year in lieu of one. The rector's ſtipend is 250 *l.*; but his whole income has been computed at not leſs than 700 *l.* In the year 1710, a Mr. Thomas Manning deviſed the bulk of his eſtate to truſtees, for the purpoſes of founding a free-ſchool near Beckford Town, maintaining and educating poor children of the pariſh till the age of fourteen. In 1738, an act was paſſed for more effectually executing this charitable bequeſt. The truſtees were incorporated, empowered to build a ſchool-houſe, receive children, appoint tutors, and preſcribe rules and orders, under a common ſeal, for its better government. I ſhall take occaſion hereafter to offer ſome remarks in regard to this and other ſimilar foundations, which have not in general anſwered the good ends of their inſtitution.

In the Eaſt part of the pariſh, near Scot's Cave, were ſettled the Surinam planters in 1675, and in 1699 the remnant of the Scotch Darien colony, who may now be traced by the names of ſeveral ſettlements hereabouts, as Culloden, Auchindown, &c. From the former, this diviſion was called Surinam quarters. The ſavannahs, or low lands, of Weſtmoreland are in general rich and fertile, but, if neglected for any time, become as much infeſted with logwood as thoſe in St. Catharine's are with the opopinax. The air of theſe parts is hot, but tolerably healthy, except near the ſhore. The Eaſt and North-eaſt diſtrict, being very mountainous, is not yet peopled. Towards the Weſt, or land's-end, the hills diminiſh. Many of the planters houſes are ſituated on theſe eminences, and enjoy a very pure and healthy air, though ſubject to very heavy and frequent rains, occaſioned by the collection of vapours, blown hither from the Eaſtward, over the whole length of the iſland, by the trade-wind: theſe are often impeded in their courſe, either by the high ridges, or Weſterly airs, and then they fall very copiouſly. This plentiful irrigation, though productive of ſome inconveniencies, yet conduces to the fertility of the plantations, and ſecures their crops with ſo much regularity and cer-

tainty, that it may be eſteemed one of the moſt eligible for ſugar in the whole iſland, both in regard to quantity, and excellence of quality.

On leaving Savannah la Mar, the road to Hanover croſſes Cabarito River twice, at no great diſtance, by two bridges, about eight or nine feet wide, conſtructed with planks laid acroſs ſome beams, but unprovided with any ſide-rails to guard paſſengers from tumbling over. This river takes its riſe among the Hanover Mountains, a little to the Eaſtward of King's Valley. At Black Moraſs it ſeparates into two ſtreams, one of which empties itſelf into the ſea at Savannah la Mar, as already mentioned; the other, a little to the Weſtward of it. Theſe ſtreams, although they run upwards of eighteen or twenty miles through the country, are neither of them navigable, except for canoes. From hence to Albany plantation the way is, in general, very flat, confined, and ſwampy. This brings us to the Delve barracks, which were built in conſequence of the inſurrection in 1761, and capable of accommodating one hundred men. They are ſituated near the foot of Hanover Mountains, tolerably well conſtructed, and judiciouſly poſted. They ſtand on a dry ſpot near the dividing line of the two pariſhes, three or four miles diſtant at leaſt from the moraſſy ground of Negril, and are well enough contrived to anſwer moſt of the purpoſes for which they were intended, being ſufficiently ſtrong to reſiſt any force that a band of rebellious Negroes could bring againſt them. They are alſo built in a place moſt likely to be infeſted with ſuch diſturbances; for it is a part of the country where there are a great multitude of ſlaves, and few proprietors of eſtates reſide; and where the neighbourhood is filled with woods and thickets, that might the oftener tempt them to mutiny, by the ſhelter they afford, if they were not kept in awe by theſe barracks, from which a ſmall detachment might harraſs and prevent their committing any extenſive outrages. This building is, however, defective in ſome reſpects. The hoſpital for the ſick is only divided from the common room by a boarded partition, full of chinks; by which means there is a continual paſſage open for malignant and noxious effluvia to infect the healthy. The number of loop-holes is likewiſe too ſmall, there not being more than five or ſix; ſo that very little

annoyance

annoyance can be given from it in caſe it ſhould be cloſely beſieged. The window-ſhutters are of bullet-tree-wood (ſo called, becauſe an inch-board of it is bullet-proof); but, if theſe windows are to be opened in the time of attack, in order that the garriſon may fire upon their enemy, which they could not otherwiſe do, for want of loop holes, their bodies muſt neceſſarily be much expoſed, and the ſhutters of no uſe to ſkreen them. The roads, for three miles after leaving Albany, afford a proſpect delightfully variegated. Towards the North, the late commodore F—rr—ſt's plantation, and ſeveral others, are ſeen ſtretching along the ſkirts of the Hanover Mountains, which are juſt behind, and ſeem to over-hang them. The ground towards the South appears uneven, poor, and of a reddiſh ſoil; full of brakes and irregular clumps of trees, and uncultivated; ſerving only to feed a few young cattle that graze ſcantily among the buſhes. Point Negril lies about three or four miles Weſt of Albany. The moraſſy land embracing it renders the air of the adjacent eſtates damp and unwholeſome. Eaſtward, the view is terminated by another range of mountains, covered with a foreſt of mahogany and other gigantic trees. Between theſe different mountainous barriers lies the road to Hanover, through the fertile glade called King's Valley, which exhibits a lively and pictureſque ſcene. Though not above half a mile acroſs, it is inimitably contraſted throughout. It abounds with delicious ſprings and cooling rivulets, refreſhing the land through which they glide. The lofty mountains on either ſide twice every day extend their grateful ſhade over the whole, and veil the richly-cultivated fields below from the ſun, preſerving the canes from taint in times of drowth, to which the champaign lands, in many parts of the iſland, are much expoſed. There are, beſides, in this ſequeſtered vale, two or three ſmooth ſugar-loaf hills, that riſe to conſiderable elevation, and whoſe ever-green and ſloping ſides yield paſturage to numerous herds of cattle.

The whole machinery of this charming ſpot is highly pleaſing; for, abſtracted from its natural beauties, it is decorated with ſome handſome plantation-houſes; at one of which (called Glaſgow) ſituated on a riſing ground, is a battery which was of great uſe in protecting the eſtates here during the Negroe rebellion.

From

From hence the road into Hanover is by a ſteep aſcent, or rather paſs, of about a mile in length, ſo narrow, that two horſes can ſcarcely go a-breaſt. From the ſummit of it, the eye takes in, at once, a rural ſcene enriched with every embelliſhment of art and nature. The landſchape is inimitably fine, and mocks deſcription: canefields, villas, paſtures, clumps, groves, and rivulets, are promiſcuouſly ſpread over the whole of its ſwelling wavy ſurface. Theſe extend two or three miles from the centre of the proſpect, having about one-half filleted, as it were, with a range of hills enveloped with thickets, and a ſhaggy mantle of venerable trees; the other, ſkirted by the Weſtern ocean. This diſtrict of the pariſh exceeds moſt others, as well in the configuration and wild arrangement of all its parts, as in the peculiar nature of its ſoil, which is a kind of fuller's-earth, ſoapy and rich; ſo congenial to the ſugar-cane, that a long and uninterrupted culture ſeems not in the leaſt to have exhauſted, or even impaired, its fertility. The ſugars made here moſt reſemble thoſe of Liguanea, remarkably fine, and inferior to none in the Weſt-Indies. But I ſhall not anticipate further the deſcription of Hanover pariſh.

State of the Pariſh:

			Annual Produce.		
	Negroes.	Cattle.	Sugar-plantations.	Hogſheads.	Other Settlements.
1734,	9081	6915			
1740,	11155	8921			
1745,	12131	8520			
1761,	15158				
1768,	15186	13750	69	8000	96

There needs no other proof, to ſhew how greatly it has improved of late years. It is very capable of being advanced ſtill further in its product, if breeding-penns ſhould ever be formed in the North-eaſt mountains, and the lowland-penns be converted into ſugar-plantations. The road, which has lately been compleated from Deane's Valley, in this pariſh, to the Bogue in St. James's, is ſkilfully conducted and well-finiſhed, and will probably invite the proprietors of land, contiguous to it on each ſide, to open and ſettle their lots. This road is now the grand communication between

tween the two pariſhes, and extremely convenient to both, as the aſſize-court is held at Savannah la Mar.

The natural curioſities in this pariſh, hitherto diſcovered, are but very few; though the want of them is, doubtleſs, compenſated by the variety of its natural beauties, in point of wood, water, and proſpects. At Ricketts's Savannah, in the Weſtern diſtrict, two mineral ſprings were diſcovered not long ſince. A gentleman of the faculty, who tried ſome experiments upon them, affirmed, as I am told, that they were not inferior to the celebrated Geronſtere ſpa; and that, on being adminiſtered, they have proved efficacious in the ſame diſorders which that ſpa ſo ſucceſsfully relieves.

SECT. III.

HANOVER.

THIS pariſh is bounded on the Eaſt by Great River, which divides it from St. James; on the Weſt and North, by the ſea; and on the South, by Weſtmoreland. It was not formed till the year 1723; when it was taken out of the laſt-mentioned pariſh. It contains ſeveral rivers, but none of them remarkable, ſcarcely any riſing more than four miles from the coaſt. The principal headlands are North Negril and Pedro on the Weſt, and Roundhill Bluff on the North. Proceeding from Weſtmoreland, the firſt ſhipping-place we meet with is Orange Bay, lying within North Negril, a capacious road, and good anchorage. About a league North from this, lies Green Iſland Harbour. But the chief barquadier is at Sancta Lucia Harbour, about ten miles further on the North coaſt. Green River is navigable by boats upwards of two miles, and has many agreeable meanders, affording as many different proſpects. Its banks are cloathed on each ſide, either with groves of plantain, banana, and other trees, or with ſugar-canes, to within about half a mile of the mouth, where the breadth expands to fifty feet at leaſt; and it falls over a little ſhallow bar into the bay; here the ſides are moraſſy, and have rather a wild and unpleaſing appearance. Green Iſland Harbour and Orange Bay are the moſt North-weſtern parts of Jamaica. The former takes

its

its name from a little iſland at the offing, about half a league diſtant from the main land. On the Weſt ſide of the harbour is a ſmall battery of nine guns, ſix-pounders, to guard the entrance, and is kept in excellent order; but if, inſtead of the battery, a fort had been erected here, incloſing the barrack, a garriſon of forty or fifty men might hinder any privateer, or ſmall ſhip of war, from croſſing the bar, and landing their crew; but, whilſt it continues open towards the Weſt, it is liable to ſurprizes. Beſides the nine guns mounted at the battery, there are two more at a diſtance from it, near a ſmall tavern, where the main battery was firſt intended; and eleven embrazures completely built.

North-eaſt from this harbour is another ſmall bay, commodious enough for ſhipping; on the Weſt ſide of which is a ſtrong battery, of ſeventeen or eighteen guns, built and maintained at the private expence of Mr. J—s, whoſe eſtate lies contiguous. This battery has embrazures for twenty-one guns; and thoſe already mounted are ſix and nine-pounders.

Not far from hence is Orange Cove, near Point Pedro, a part of Hanover, beautiful beyond deſcription. So various, ſo pictureſque, and admirably fine, is the combination of all the detail which unites in forming this landſchape; and the whole ſo nicely interwoven and diſpoſed; that it ſeems almoſt impoſſible for either painter or hiſtorian to give any thing like a faithful ſketch of it. Here has nature exerted all her plaſtic powers, in laying out and arranging the ground-work; and art has likewiſe put forth her whole ſkill, in vying with or aſſiſting her in the machinery, compoſed of a thouſand decorations. Wherever the paſſing eye delights to wander, it meets with a ſucceſſion of objects, throughout an extent of many miles, equally new, ſtriking, and lively. In one diviſion is ſeen a wide plain, richly carpeted with canes of the emerald tint, differently ſhaded, and ſtriped with fringes of log-wood, or penguin-fence, or, inſtead of this border, with rills of cryſtal water. In another riſes a high-ſwelling lawn, ſmooth and fertile, whoſe gently-ſloping boſom is embelliſhed with herds and flocks, and whoſe ſummit is crowned with Negroe-villages, or clumps of graceful trees. Here, on a neighbouring hill, is a wind-mill in motion; boiling-houſes, and other plantation-buildings, at

the

the foot: there, in the various duties which cultivation excites, are labourers, cattle, and carriages; all briſkly employed. In addition to theſe animated ſcenes is a boundleſs proſpect of the ſea, which ſkirts the diſtant horizon towards the North; and, on the other hand, a wood-capped battlement of hills, that ſhuts in the Southern view. Delicious as the face of this part of the country is, it ſcarcely exceeds in beauty the proſpect of Lucea and its environs. The harbour at the entrance is half a mile acroſs; and, continuing its channel for about one mile inland, expands at once into a circular baſon of nearly the ſame ſpace in diameter every way; the anchoring-ground every where good, and depth of water from four to ſix fathom.

The town is inconſiderable, conſiſting only of one large ſtreet, and about forty or fifty ſcattered houſes. It ſtands on the South-Weſt ſide, upon a ſwampy bottom; but no part of it is ſeen from the road, until it is actually entered. The land behind and on each ſide is hilly; ſo that the view from it is only open towards the water. Two or three rivulets creep through it, more noiſome than the antient canal of Fleet-ditch. At the bottom of the harbour, the Eaſt and Weſt Lucea Rivers diſcharge their ſtreams. Though raiſed to the dignity of a free port, its trade as yet is not very extenſive. The number of veſſels which enter and clear here may be reckoned at about fifty to ſixty ſail *per annum*; but the harbour is very capable of receiving three hundred top-ſail ſhips at a time, were there but inducements to attract them. During the laſt war, this town carried on a very active trade; but this has been diſcouraged ſince by captures and other loſſes; ſo that at preſent it is far from being in a proſperous condition. The preſent ſituation is ill-choſen, and naturally unadapted for healthful reſidence. But the port is conveniently ſituated for traffic with the South-Weſt parts of Cuba; and, enjoying as it does ſo fine a receptacle for ſhipping, it is well deſerving of the public patronage. The fort, which commands the entrance, ſtands on the Weſtern point, a ſmall peninſula, and is built on a rock, riſing about twenty feet above the level of the ſea. It is very compleat in its defences, having embrazures for twenty-three guns, of which twenty are mounted from ſix to nine-pounders, and in good condition for ſervice; ſo that it is ca-

pable of making a tolerable reſiſtance. The barracks for fifty men are at a ſmall diſtance to the Southward. Theſe, like the others before-ſpoken of, are ſeparated only by a boarded partition, full of holes, from the hoſpital, which is very inconſiderately placed at the windward-end; ſo that a large quantity of the foul putrid air, proceeding from thoſe who are unhappily affected with any virulent or epidemic diſtemper, is immediately taken into the lungs, and reſpired by thoſe who are, and probably might otherwiſe long continue, in ſound health. The houſe deſigned for accommodation of the officers is, with as little propriety, erected to leeward of the barracks, kitchen, and other neceſſary offices; whence all the fœtid effluvia, that reek from theſe ſources, are wafted upon thoſe who are ſtationed here in garriſon. A want of proper regulation in theſe particulars is but too common in moſt of the maritime barracks throughout the iſland; and not only the poor ſoldiers, but the iſland itſelf, may ſuffer greatly, if it ſhould not be remedied. The circumſtance has been overlooked perhaps, as generally is the caſe in this country, where the genuine parents of ſickneſs are not ſcrupulouſly traced out. But it is to this miſtaken diſpoſition, I am perſuaded to believe, that the unhealthineſs of the garriſon, at particular times, has been chiefly owing; for, ſuppoſing only one or two men to lie ſick in the hoſpital of a malignant fever, they may contaminate the atmoſphere ſo much in twenty-four hours, as to render it morbid and infectious to the healthy who are lodged in a ſituation to be ſuſceptible of its pernicious effects. This misfortune actually befel the garriſon in 1764, compoſed entirely of men newly-arrived from Europe. One or two falling ſick of putrid fevers, the diſorder ſoon grew epidemic. Thoſe who probably would have eſcaped (at leaſt any bad ſymptoms) if they could have breathed a refreſhing air, were poiſoned with the ſtench of the hoſpital and offices; and ſeveral were ſeized with fevers of an anomalous kind, which ſeldom or never occur unleſs from ſome ſuch pre-diſpoſing cauſe. In fact, the ſickneſs ſpread ſo rapidly, that, in a ſhort time, hardly ten men of the whole company were able to do duty. Errors of this nature, though apparently trivial in the opinion of many, ought not to be ſlighted, when the value of mens lives comes to be rated. And, ſince the modern diſcoveries of

learned phyſicians have taught us to conſider a vitiated air as a principal agent in the acute diſeaſes moſt common to hot climates, the publick of the iſland ſhould, as far as poſſible, endeavour to alleviate this inclemency, and conſult the preſervation of health and vigour among theſe detachments at the out-ports. Good ſenſe, humanity, and a regard to their own ſecurity, all conſpire to enforce this recommendation. Situated on an agreeable ſpot, about half a mile from the town, and near the fort, is the church, built a few years ſince by the pariſhioners, at the expence of 7000*l.* and upwards. It is a plain, neat building of brick, decently pewed, and provided with every convenience ſuitable to the good purpoſes for which it was intended, except bells, though the tower is capacious enough to hold a ring of five or ſix. The living, perquiſites included, is eſteemed worth about 400*l.* currency. On the oppoſite ſide of the harbour is the Point Plantation; diſtinguiſhed for its fine ſituation, commanding the town, fort, church, harbour, ſhipping, and a diſtant view continued for many miles over rich cane-fields and a country moſt elegantly diverſified; ſo that few parts of the iſland preſent a greater aſſemblage of delightful objects in one proſpect.

Here, as well as at Greenwich, in the neighbourhood, and moſt of the frontier plantations near the North coaſt, are ſmall batteries, erected at the private expence of the reſpective owners of thoſe plantations, which in time of war ſupply the want of king's ſhips, and are of uſe to intimidate the privateers from landing, to carry off Negroes, cattle, and other moveables.

The face of this pariſh is, in general, hilly; and, towards Weſtmoreland, it is flanked with that ridge of mountains common to both. The air is eſteemed healthy, and will be more ſo, when greater progreſs is made in cutting down its woods; the Eaſtern and South-eaſt diviſion not being as yet occupied with any ſettlement.

Lucea has a cuſtom-houſe, under direction of a collector and comptroller.

State of the Pariſh:

	Negroes.	Cattle.	Sugar-plantations.	Annual Produce. Hogſheads.	Other Settlements.
1734,	3339	1774			
1740,	4863	2631			
1745,	6351	3054			
1761,	10498				
1768,	13571	8942	71	7500	35

Conſidering Hanover as a modern pariſh, it has advanced ſurprizingly, and contains more ſugar-works than ſome of three times the extent; which is a ſure proof of the fitneſs of the ſoil for this cultivation. There are few other in the iſland that, in the ſame time (little more than thirty years), can boaſt of having increaſed their ſtock in the proportion of four to one; which is actually the fact in reſpect to Hanover; ſo that it bids fair to vie with thoſe eſteemed the richeſt in Jamaica.

SECT. IV.

St. JAMES.

THIS pariſh is bounded on the Eaſt by Trelawny; Weſt, by Hanover; North, by the ſea; South, by St. Elizabeth. The principal rivers are Great River, on the Weſtern boundary; Marthabrae, on the Eaſtern; and Montego, which falls into the bay of that name. Great River riſes in the furtheſt Southern extremity of the pariſh, meandring a courſe of about thirty miles, and, collecting ſome other ſtreams in its way, grows pretty large where it diſembogues into the ſea at the Weſt angle of the bay, and about five miles from the town of Montego. This river is the natural boundary between this pariſh and Hanover; but, although it is pretty wide at its mouth, and penetrates ſo conſiderable a way into the country, it is at preſent not navigable above three or four miles, and that only for boats and canoes. At the mouth it is croſſed by a ferry.

The Montego River falls into the Bay about three quarters of a mile Weſt from the town. The coaſt of this pariſh has no headland of any note, nor any harbour, except Montego; but this is very ſufficient. The extent of the pariſh from North to South being

being near twenty-four miles, it contains of courſe a large run of unſettled lands. The ſettlements reach between thirteen and fourteen miles back from the ſea: but there is a ſpace ſtill behind them of one hundred thouſand acres, or upwards, yet uninhabited, except by the Maroon Negroes, of Furry's and Trelawny Towns; who poſſeſſing a grant of fifteen hundred acres, there remain about ninety-eight thouſand for cultivation. This land is mountainous, but ſaid to be inferior to none in fertility; and, as St. James is now become the moſt thriving diſtrict in the iſland, ſome extenſion will probably be made every year. One great ſource of this flouriſhing ſtate has been the rapid increaſe of the town and its trade from very ſmall beginnings. It contains at preſent, by computation, about four hundred houſes, moſtly built of brick, and ſome of them inhabited by opulent merchants; one of whom carried on the Guiney branch with ſo much ſucceſs, as to remit bills, in the year 1771, to Great-Britain, for near 50,000*l.* ſterling, on account of new Negroes alone; and, as only two of theſe bills (which were both under 300*l.*) were proteſted, we have, in this inſtance, the ſtrongeſt indication poſſible of the happy circumſtances enjoyed by the planters in this part of the country. The town, ſituated in about 18° 30′ North latitude, ſtands on the North-eaſt ſide of a ſpacious bay, along the feet of a range of moderately hilly land, which ſomewhat incommodes it by intercepting the breeze. The ſtreets are laid out with tolerable exactneſs. In the bay, the water is from four to thirty fathom: the channel leading into it is guarded, on the Eaſt and Weſt, by a reef and ſunken rocks; but far in there is excellent anchorage, and room for a large fleet of ſhips. On the South-weſt part of the bay is a cluſter of little iſlands, covered with mangroves, and other maritime trees. Beyond theſe iſlands is another ſpacious harbour, but of no uſe at preſent; ſince it is impoſſible for any veſſel of burthen to ſail into it, on account of the ſhoal-water on one ſide, and the iſlands on the other; though it is affirmed, that a paſſage between them might be opened at no very great expence. It is likewiſe ſuppoſed to be defended by the fort (ſituated about half a mile from the town to the North-eaſt, on a ſmall point of land), which mounts ſome guns, and may be occaſionally garriſoned by a party of regulars,

for

for whoſe reception the pariſhioners erected barracks capable of holding one hundred men, with their officers. As the ſituation of theſe barracks is high, and on a rock by the harbour-ſide, they would be pleaſant and healthy, if the trees and buſhes, which are ſuffered to grow ſo luxuriantly near them, were cut down; and if a further improvement was made in reſpect to the accommodations provided for the officers, which are very inconveniently placed. The fort is, or lately was, in a ſtate of decay; and ſcarcely deſerves to be rebuilt, as it does not, from its ſituation, appear to have been ever capable of guarding the entrance; ſince, at the ſpot where it now ſtands, the channel is ſo wide, that any veſſel might enter the bay without danger from its artillery, and afterwards come to anchor unmoleſted. The guns (eleven in number) are of too ſmall a ſize to range a ſufficient diſtance, and (what is ſtill worſe) ſo honey-combed and ruſt-eaten, and ſo crazily mounted, as to make it dangerous to fire them; which was fatally experienced by a gunner, who was ſhattered to pieces on letting off a *feu de joye* after the ſurrender of the Havannah to the Engliſh forces. Though a more eligible ſpot may be appropriated to the next fort, and though the preſent is not worthy to be rebuilt, I muſt take leave to ſay, that theſe ruins, like others of a ſimilar kind in many defenceleſs parts of the iſland, have happened chiefly for want of a trifling ſum every year expended in neceſſary repairs, and particularly the painting, or tarring, the guns and their carriages. In truth, the fortifications planted about the harbour of Port Royal and Kingſton, being the only ones which receive an annual viſitation from the commiſſioners of forts and fortifications, are kept in better repair than any other; and, becauſe there was a time when no other part of the iſland was fortified, or of ſo much importance as that diſtrict, it is therefore ſtill the cuſtom to expend the whole fortification-fund, and ſeveral thouſand pounds more *per annum*, upon them; while others at the out-ports are utterly neglected, and left to be kept up at the expence of private perſons, or of the pariſhes in which they have been erected, and where the inhabitants are glad, on every convenient occaſion, to leſſen their aſſeſſments as much as they can, and perhaps take no thought about their forts and batteries, except in time of actual war. This proceeding of the

the legiſlative branches is much the ſame as if a man, by clapping a helmet upon his head, ſhould think himſelf perfectly invulnerable, though all the reſt of his body remains expoſed. But, in order to maintain theſe defences along the coaſt, which are neceſſary, not only to ſuch pariſhes, but to the whole iſland; the aſſembly, we may venture to think, might every year call for an exact and faithful report of their condition; and, if no portion can be ſpared out of the fortification-fund, the juſtices and veſtry might at leaſt be obliged, in the more opulent of theſe pariſhes, to raiſe a ſmall annual ſum, by ſome eaſy and permanent mode, which ſhould conſtitute a fund to be applied ſolely to the repair of their reſpective fortifications.

Theſe ſentiments ariſe from conſidering the improved ſtate of Montego Bay; the vaſt value of its trade; its buildings, rents, goods, and ſhipping; the opulence which is likely to centre in it; and the hazard to which all theſe may become expoſed, on any ſudden revival of war, from the attacks of a few daring privateers. As it is now, with juſtice, deemed the *emporium* of the Weſtern part of the iſland, it certainly merits to be well guarded, and indeed ſeems entitled to come in for a yearly ſhare of the public money, which hitherto has been partially laviſhed upon the environs of one principal port, as if they were the only quarters which an enemy could attempt, or that were worthy of the public defence.

Montego Bay, in the opinion of the beſt judges, is growing very faſt into a place of ſo much conſequence and wealth, that, in the event of a war, it will be a capital neglect of government, ſhould it be left unprotected by a ſtrong fort, or one or two men of war for guard-ſhips.

The ſhipping of every kind, that enter and clear at this port, are, one year with another, about 140 ſail *per annum*, and continually on the increaſe; as it not only lies ſo commodious for foreign trade, but employs near about eleven thouſand tons for the products of the adjacent diſtrict; this being the great mart for ſupplying it with Negroes and other neceſſaries, that formerly uſed to be bought at Kingſton, which has therefore ſuffered a ſevere blow from this new eſtabliſhment. For the like reaſon, among others, the town of

Lucea

Lucea has made ſo little progreſs; the chief trade and buſineſs for the Northern leeward part of the iſland being engroſſed and concentered at Montego.

The eſtabliſhment of a trading town neceſſarily attracts artificers in various branches, and other numerous dependents. Hence a great convenience reſults to the ſettlers around in the country-parts, from the eaſy method by which they can accommodate themſelves with what they want. But a far greater advantage accrues to them from the yearly conſumption of their products in ſuch a town, which gives birth and ſupport to a multitude of petty ſettlements for cultivating proviſions of different ſorts to anſwer that conſumption. Such a town muſt therefore add conſiderably to the population of the country; and itſelf derive a reciprocal profit from the ſale of goods to, and tranſaction of buſineſs for, the more opulent plantations, which furniſh ſtaple or exportable commodities; and this profit will be large and durable in proportion to the fertility of the neighbouring ſoil. Now, the lands in this pariſh being very productive, and ſo many thouſand acres ſtill remaining to be hereafter gradually employed, here ſeems to be a morally certain proſpect, that this town, being conſtituted upon the moſt permanent ſupports, can never decline ſo long as the ſtaple products of the iſland are worth any thing at the home-market.

I have elſewhere taken notice of the rapid augmentation of ſettlements in this part of the country of late years; which is really amazing, and will ſo appear from the comparative table, that, like the foregoing, is brought down no lower than the year 1768: but I am well informed, that at leaſt twenty or more ſugar-works may be added to the liſt at the preſent time.

Behind the town, to the Southward, is a long range of uncultivated mountains, clad, like moſt others in this country, with lofty trees. The road which croſſes this to Montpelier is excellently conſtructed, and opens an avenue into a vale behind, containing many thouſand acres of rich ſoil, a ſmall part of which only is at preſent brought into culture. But, as improvements are moving on here at a ſurprizing rate, there is good reaſon to believe, that the whole of this fine tract will, in a few years, be overſpread with

with canes, and make a prodigious addition to the exports and imports of this pariſh.

The land towards the Eaſtern diſtrict of it is of a reddiſh caſt, and ſingularly porous quality, lying on a clayey ſubſtrate, excellently well adapted to the ſugar-cane. Towards the Weſtern parts it has more of the loamy ſoil, but not much leſs fertile. The produce of lands here in general is really amazing. I have been told the following anecdote in confirmation of this remark. A perſon rented a tract from the proprietor on a leaſe of eleven years, conditioned to ſurrender it back, at the expiration of the term, compleatly planted with canes, &c. and furniſhed with proper works. But, before the term expired, the leſſee is ſaid to have gained by the bargain a clear profit of 30,000*l.* Others, from the very meaneſt and ſmalleſt beginnings here, have acquired very large fortunes. It is related for a fact, that a poor man and his wife, poſſeſſing a grant of a ſmall parcel of land, planted ſome part of it in canes with the labour of their own hands. From theſe, when they were ripened, they made ſhift to expreſs the juice, which they boiled in an old cauldron, and manufactured a little ſugar, with which they went to market. By degrees, and the inceſſant application of their induſtry, they augmented their produce, till they gained ſufficient to purchaſe a Negroe. By the ſame means, they increaſed their labourers, and the importance of their eſtate; till, at length, they became proprietors of a valuable ſugar-work, which is now enjoyed by the ſurvivor, and by the moſt honourable title.

It is impoſſible to particularize the various natural productions of this pariſh, ſo ſmall a ſection of it being as yet laid open to view; but, from what has hitherto been diſcovered, it is wanting in no article conducive to the pleaſure and convenience of the inhabitants. In moſt parts it abounds with excellent ſtone both for lime and building; and in ſome, as about the neighbourhood of Montpelier, what is obtained from the quarry, reſembles that of St. Anne before-deſcribed, whoſe texture, when firſt dug, is ſo ſoft as to be eaſily worked with the ſaw, or the chiſſel. It remains, for its further better population, to form two good roads of communication, one leading into Weſtmoreland, the other to St. Elizabeth's. The former is at preſent well attended to; but the latter, by the way

of Chesterfield, has been thought ill constructed, and inconvenient on other accounts, as it passes over a great deal of boggy land, and very steep hills. It has therefore been proposed to lead the road from Montego Bay, through Spring-mount estate, into Hardyman's penn; thence to Ellerslea plantation, to Nassau, the centre and most thriving part of St. Elizabeth. It is said, that the land, through which this road would go, abounds in fine materials to render it firm and durable; that it could be made fit for carriages from the bay to Ellerslea for 1600*l.* and would be the best way for travelers from Hanover and St. James to go to Spanish Town, being only a day's ride, or sixty miles extent, over level grounds, from Spanish Town to Nassau, and thirty-six from thence to Montego Bay; in all ninety-six: finally, that, by opening so easy an intercourse between the seat of government and the Western parts of the island, now advanced into so flourishing a state, a multitude of conveniences and benefits might be expected to result to the whole island; of which latter position there can be no doubt, if the former ones are as practicable as they appear plausible; since a commercial island, like the human body, will always enjoy the best health and most active vigour, when the circulation is carried on, freely and without impediment, from the heart to the extremities, and back again from these to the heart.

As St James was but recently divided into two parishes, I am obliged in the table to consider it as still indistinct, to make the detail comply with the former estimates: however, I shall endeavour also to form another state of the number of Negroes and cattle contained in it, as distinct from Trelawny.

State of the Parish:

	Negroes.	Cattle.	Sugar-works.	Annual Produce. Hogsheads.	Other Settlements.
1734,	2297	1099			
1740,	2588	1204			
1745,	4907	1961	about 20	2500	14
1761,	14729				
1768,	21749	15137	95	11000	102
1768, Proportion distinct from Trelawny by computation,	10010	7007	55	3080	36
Increase, in twenty-three years, about	16842	13176	75	8500	78

The

The progreſs therefore of this pariſh, for the time, exceeds that of any other in the iſland; and at preſent it takes the lead of all, the annual produce of ſugar being at leaſt twelve or fourteen thouſand hogſheads.

The hills in general near the coaſt, and to ſome diſtance from it, are rocky, but bear good proviſions. The canes are planted in the glades and richer patches, and yield a very excellent ſugar. This, being the moſt Northern part of the iſland, and full of riſing grounds, enjoys an healthy air, and promiſes long life to the interior ſettlers, who increaſe very faſt. The ſloweſt progreſs ſeems to be made in the Eaſtern and Southern diviſions, which are overſpread with ranges of mountain, requiring nothing but good roads to promote their ſettlement. On this ſubject I may be thought, perhaps, to have expatiated ſufficiently. I ſhall only further obſerve, that, nature having in this and other parts of the iſland walled-in many of the richeſt ſpots in the world, it remains for the legiſlature to make them acceſſible, by opening a paſſage for thoſe induſtrious ſubjects who are willing to labour the ſoil, if they were but as able to get at it; and in no part of the iſland will ſuch aſſiſtance turn more beneficially to the public account than in this pariſh.

In the town is a cuſtom-houſe, under the direction of a collector and comptroller, deputy naval-officer, receiver-general, and ſecretary. The rector's ſtipend is 200*l. per annum*; but, conſidering the extent and populouſneſs of the pariſh, his income cannot be eſtimated at leſs than 700*l.* A printing-preſs has lately been ſet up here, furniſhed with a very beautiful type, and gives birth to a weekly paper of intelligence. There ſeems a ſtruggle between this town and Savannah la Mar for the aſcendency, ſomewhat ſimilar to what has happened between Spaniſh Town and Kingſton; but the oſtenſible object of diſpute is different. Savannah la Mar having declined in proportion as Montego Town has increaſed, the latter, being far more populous, and more thriving in its trade, became deſirous of having the aſſize-court alternately held. This perhaps was conſidered, by the partizans of the elder ſiſter, as a firſt ſtep towards removing the ſeat of juſtice, and transferring it wholly to Montego Bay. It was oppoſed with great warmth; and

the rights of ſeniority prevailed. But it is probable, that as the buſineſs of the court muſt be in proportion to the number and opulence of the inhabitants, ſo this claim of ſeniority will yield in the end to the conveniency of the people of Montego and Trelawny; at leaſt ſo far as to eſtabliſh an alternate court, as firſt propoſed: by which means, the eaſe of trade may be conſulted in the leaſt partial manner, and the new eſtabliſhment be reaſonably favoured, without ruining the older one.

It is a juſt remark of Dr. Browne, that thoſe towns, which, ſince the decay of the Spaniſh trade, have been ſupported chiefly by ſtanding courts and the calamities of the people, are rather a prejudice than an emolument to the community; while they harbour ſo many dependents in idleneſs at the expence of the induſtrious, who might have proved very ſerviceable members, had they been diſtributed about the iſland, and their thoughts turned more upon the advancement than the diſtreſſing of ſettlements.

SECT. V.

TRELAWNY.

PROCEEDING from St. James to Trelawny, the road lies, for the moſt part, along the coaſt, without having any object more pleaſing to the eye than, on one ſide, a proſpect of the ſea, and on the other a chain of ſhaggy mountains, which run along the North ſide of the iſland in one almoſt uninterrupted range, except where they are indented by creeks and bays, and cleft as it were by rivers. In ſome other parts are alſo receſſes, affording room for plantations and paſture-grounds; but, in general, their ſoil is good; and ſuch of them as are cultivated, produce here, as on the South ſide, great plenty of corn, plantains, coffee, pimento, yams, caſſada, and moſt other ſorts of Weſt-India proviſions, as well as many kinds of European vegetables. But although, towards the Eaſt, the hills ſeem retired further from the ſea than in the Weſtern parts of St. James, there are few diſtricts of Jamaica of a more wild and barbarous aſpect than the tract which lies to the Eaſtward of Long-Bay, till the cultivated parts of Trelawny open to view. This newly-baptized pariſh is divided from St. James on the Weſt by a North

View of Montego Bay.

North and South line, interſecting New Canaan eſtate; from St. Anne on the Eaſt, by the Rio Bueno; on the North it is bounded by the Sea; and Southerly by St. Elizabeth. Its capital river is the Marthabrae, which takes its ſource among the mountains, about twelve miles diſtance from the coaſt, as commonly ſuppoſed; for, there being no ſettlement near the ſpring-head, it is not exactly known. It ſerpentines through a courſe of about thirty miles before it reaches the harbour; from whence it is navigable by canoes and boats, for ſome miles, to the bridge. The depth of its water is ſufficient for much larger veſſels, except at the mouth, where a bar, occaſioned by the ſand diſgorged from the ſtream, and repelled by the tide, obſtructs the navigation. The village of Marthabrae ſtands about two miles above the mouth, on a riſing ground not far from the bridge, and conſiſts of about thirty houſes or more; as the late partition of St. James has of conſequence tended to the eſtabliſhment of a new town here, which may grow in ſize in proportion as the lands, at preſent unſettled in the pariſh, are brought into culture. The river which glides by it abounds with fiſh of various kinds; and the courſe ſo delightfully twining, that its banks might be laid out in gardens, with a view to pleaſure, as well as utility, which is an additional circumſtance in favour of the town's increaſe. The harbour is defended by a ſmall fort, placed on Point Mangrove, which projects into the ſea on the Weſt ſide. The only fault in its ſtructure ſeems to be the narrowneſs of the gorges of the baſtions, and of the baſtions themſelves; in which the guns cannot traverſe ſo freely as they ought. The ſpot whereon it ſtands, and all around it, being altogether ſwampy, there is reaſon to ſuſpect that without draining theſe quarters will not be very healthy. In other reſpects this fortreſs is well ſituated for guarding the entrance, or channel, which runs at right angles to it about North-Eaſt; narrow, and hemmed in by reefs and ſhoals on either ſide, for near a mile. The barracks, for the accommodation of one hundred men and officers, are at a ſmall diſtance.

The harbour is covered, towards the Eaſt and North-Eaſt, by a ſemicircular ſweep of the main land on that ſide, and by a ſmall iſland; ſo that within it is not only capacious, but well ſheltered from the ſea.

The

The country hereabouts, for a few miles, is well cultivated; but, ſome miles further to the Eaſtward, it ſtill wears a ſavage aſpect, though by no means unſuſceptible of great improvements, and valuable plantations. In the Eaſternmoſt part is a ſucceſſion of fine pimento walks, which continue, with little interruption, beyond Rio Bueno, the boundary between Trelawny and St. Anne, and through a conſiderable extent of the laſt-mentioned pariſh. The beauty of theſe ſpicy groves, which are likewiſe interſperſed with the orange, limon, ſtar-apple, avogato-pear, wild cinnamon, and other favourite trees, among which ſome impetuous river rolls its foaming flood, or babbling rivulet, gently trails along in glittering meanders, furniſhes a ſubject worthy ſome darling of the Muſes. Even paradiſe itſelf, deſcribed by the pen of Milton, exhibits but a faint repreſentation of them, when he ſays,——

" Whoſe rich trees wept odorous gums and balm.
" Others, whoſe fruit, burniſh'd with golden rind,
" Hung amiable—Heſperian fables true.—
" If true, here only; and of delicious taſte.
" Betwixt them lawns or level downs, and flocks
" Grazing the tender herb, were interpos'd;
" Or palmy hillock. Or the flow'ry lap
" Of ſome irriguous valley ſpread her ſtore,
" Flow'rs of all hue, and without thorn the roſe.
" Another ſide, umbrageous grots and caves
" Of cool receſs. Mean while, the murm'ring waters fall
" Down *yon* ſlope hill, diſpers'd, or in a lake
" That to the fringed bank, with myrtle crown'd,
" Her cryſtal mirror holds, unite their ſtreams.
" The birds their choir apply. Airs, vernal airs,
" Breathing the ſmell of field and grove, attune
" The trembling leaves. While univerſal Pan,
" Knit with the Graces and the Hours in dance,
" Led on th' eternal ſpring."

The pariſh extends about fifteen miles in depth, and is ſettled, but imperfectly, to the diſtance of ſix miles only from the ſea. A ſpace remains behind of eighty thouſand acres, and upwards, uninhabited; and concerning which we know nothing more at preſent,

ſent, except that it is very mountainous, no public road being traverſed as yet through any part of it; ſo that it is almoſt as much an undiſcovered country, as the regions bordering on the South pole. But ſo large a tract contains, probably, valuable timbers, rich veins of ſoil, and a variety of other ſtores of wealth and curioſity.

It may be proper, as my ſketch of the different pariſhes is drawing near to a cloſe, that I ſhould here recapitulate the ſeveral parcels of ſuppoſed cultivated land, which have been noticed to lie in wilderneſs, and without an inhabitant.

		Acres.	Moraſs.
Middleſex,	between St. Anne and Clarendon, about	180,000, of which	
Surry,	St. Thomas in the Eaſt,		
	Portland,	133,000	8000
	St. George,		
Cornwall,	St. Elizabeth,		
	Weſtmoreland,		
	St. James,	284,000	26,000
	Trelawny,		
		597,000	34,000

excluſive of the large vacant tracts in all the other pariſhes, which, if the computation I made in treating upon this ſubject be near the truth, amount to 1,753,000 acres of plantable or cultivable acres more. But, if the amount in all was only one million, I may ſurely hope to be juſtified in the propoſitions which I have offered, tending to ſhew the expediency of forming roads, and of introducing ſettlers, where ſo vaſt a ſpace remains unoccupied; as well as in the happy conſequences I have deduced as neceſſarily attendant upon the execution of a liberal plan of improvement; whether conſidered with reſpect to the ſtrength, the trade, the opulence, and ſalubrity, of the iſland, or to the extenſion of the commerce, manufactures, navigation, and profits, of Great-Britain.

Conſiſtent with the preceding order, I ſhall now give a ſtate of this pariſh for 1768, proportioned to the other diviſion of St. James, from which it was ſo lately ſevered.

			Annual Produce.		
	Negroes.	Cattle.	Sugarsplantations.	Hogſheads.	Other Settlements.
1768,	11739	8130	40	7920	66

This

This is not to be deemed the preſent ſtate, becauſe the ſtock and produce may well be ſuppoſed to have been conſtantly increaſing ever ſince the year mentioned. I have therefore only ſubmitted this ſcheme for the ſake of preſerving uniformity, agreeably to my firſt deſign of bringing the progreſs of the ſeveral pariſhes down to 1768; beyond which, I have not been able to obtain any very exact calculation.

General State of the County of Cornwall.

County-town, Savannah la Mar, where the Aſſizes are held in the months of March, June, September, and December.

			Annual Produce.	
Negroes.	Cattle.	Sugar-plantations.	Hogſheads.	Other Settlements.
60616	54776	266	29100	383

Rectories and Stipends.

	£	s.	d.
St. Elizabeth,	200	0	0
Weſtmoreland,	250	0	0
Hanover,	200	0	0
St. James,	200	0	0
Trelawny,	200	0	0
	£ 1050	0	0

Churches, 2;—Chapels, 2;—Synagogue, 0.

From hence will appear, that this county, though poſſeſſing fewer Negroes and cattle than Middleſex, is nevertheleſs more productive. This may be aſcribed to the greater freſhneſs of the land in general; to the greater quantity of ſeaſonable rains, and of cane-land, ſituated more conveniently with reſpect to ſhipping-places. The North ſide pariſhes labour under the inconvenience of late crops, high inſurance, a voyage homewards in the moſt dangerous ſeaſon of the year, and a high freight to the Kingſton market. All theſe are attended with double charge in war-time. Notwithſtanding theſe obſtacles, we find that moſt of them are in a flouriſhing condition. The pariſhes of St. George and Portland ſeem to be the only exceptions. The quantity of ſugar produced in both of them together is not equal to the half of what is made in St. Mary's. There are natural difficulties with which the ſettlers in them have to ſtruggle. To theſe are added the others before-recited, to which the reſt are liable in common. Perhaps a bounty

of

of twenty ſhillings *per* hogſhead might be ſome encouragement to the feebler ſettlers; it would at leaſt enable them to carry their ſugars to the Kingſton market freight-free; for it is not the leaſt of the misfortunes attendant upon their ſituation, that they are obliged to pay nearly thrice as much, for the tranſport of a hogſhead of ſugar to that market, as a ſhipper at Old Harbour on the South ſide. But the preſſure of this tax will appear in a more conſpicuous light from the following table of

WATER-CARRIAGE from KINGSTON to the OUT-PORTS.

Out-ports.	Hhds. and Punch.		Tierces.		Barrels.		Firkins and Boxes.		Hoes and Bills.		Small Bundles.		Ginger *per* Cwt. or Bag.	
	s.	d.	s.	d.	s.	d.	s.	d.	s.	d.	s.	d.	s.	d.
Old Harbour and Peak Bay,	7	6	3	9	2	6	1	3		7½		7½	1	0
Withy Wood & Milk River,	8	9	3	9	2	6	1	3		7½		7½	1	0
Salt River, —— ——	8	9	3	9	2	6	1	3		7½		7½	1	0
Black River, —— ——	12	6	5	0	3	9	1	10½	1	3		7½	1	3
White-houſe, near Scot's Cove, St. Elizabeth,—	15	0	7	6	3	9	1	10½	1	10½		7½	1	3
The Hope, —— ——	16	3	8	9	5	0	2	6	1	10½		7½	1	10½
Weſtmoreland, —— ——	18	9	10	0	5	0	2	6	1	10½		7½	1	10½
Hanover and all North ſide,	20	0	10	0	5	0	2	6	2	6	1	3	3	9
Morant Bay, —— ——	8	9	5	0	3	9	1	10½	1	3		7½	1	0
Port Morant, —— ——	10	0	5	0	3	9	1	10½	1	10½		7½	1	0
Yallah's Bay, —— ——	8	9	4	4½	3	1½	1	3		7½		7½	1	0

WATER-CARRIAGE, as above, continued.

Out-ports.	Cotton *per* Cwt.		Pimento *per* Cwt.		Tobacco *per* Cwt.		Hoops, ſtaves, bricks, *per M.*		Oſnabrigs, *per* piece.		Large bundles.		Boards, and Planks.	
	s.	d.	s.	d.	s.	d.	s.	d.	s.	d.	s.	d.	s.	d.
Old Harbour and Peak Bay,	2	6	1	10½	1	10½	25	0	1	3	1	3	20	0
Withy Wood & Milk River,	3	9	2	6	2	6	25	0	1	3	1	3	23	1½
Salt River, —— ——	3	9	2	6	2	6	25	0	1	3	1	3	23	1½
Black River, —— ——	4	4½	3	1½	3	1½	30	0	1	10½	1	3	25	0
White-houſe, near Scot's Cove, St. Elizabeth,—	4	4½	3	1½	3	1½	33	9	1	10½	1	3	25	0
The Hope, —— ——	4	4½	3	1½	3	1½	33	9	1	10½	1	3	25	0
Weſtmoreland, —— ——	4	4½	3	1½	3	1½	35	0	1	10½	1	3	27	6
Hanover and all North ſide,	5	0	3	9	3	9	40	0	3	1½	2	6	35	0
Morant Bay, —— ——	3	9	1	10½	1	10½	25	0	1	3	1	3	23	1½
Port Morant, —— ——	3	9	1	10½	1	10½	25	0	1	3	1	3	23	1½
Yallah's Bay, —— ——	2	6	1	3	1	3	20	0	1	0	1	3	20	0

Theſe charges are advanced, by an act of aſſembly, fifty *per cent.* in time of war. From hence will appear the utility of eſtabliſhing Port Antonio as a place of trade; by which means the ſettlers in both pariſhes would be relieved from this heavy burthen, and put in a condition of meeting their fellow-planters of the richer diſtricts upon a more equal footing at the Britiſh market.

It remains only for me to ſay, that as the perfecting thoſe roads already ſtruck through the interior part of the country, and opening

others wherever ſuch a communication is wanting, appears to be the firſt great leading meaſure towards a more compleat ſettling and peopling of this iſland; ſo I can with pleaſure bear teſtimony to the laudable ſpirit which at preſent actuates the gentlemen reſident there, who, in a late ſeſſion of aſſembly, beſtowed no leſs than 5,000*l.*, by public grant, towards forming or compleating twenty very neceſſary roads in the following pariſhes; a munificence which, faithfully applied, will redound not more to the credit of their good ſenſe, than to the general benefit of the iſland.

Weſtmoreland, from Hamberſly's Penn, to Lenox Plantation.

Ditto, from Glaſgow Eſtate, to Lucea in Hanover.

Ditto, from Dean's Valley, to Great River in St. James.

Hanover, from Lucea along the mountains, to Moſquito Cove.

St. James, from Great River, through Seven-Rivers, to Montpelier.

Ditto, from Great River, through Montpelier, to the Bogue Eſtate.

St. Elizabeth, from Moroe's Craal, to Cheſterfield.

St. Anne, from Ocho Rios Bay, to Dun's River.

Ditto, from Dry Harbour, to the Cave in Clarendon.

St. Thomas in the Vale, to St. Mary.

Ditto, to St. Anne.

Ditto, over Monte Diablo.

St. Mary, from Guy's Hill, through Bagnal's, to Rio Nuevo-Bay.

St. George, from Kingſton, through Cold Spring, to Buff-Bay.

St. David, from the head of Yallah's River, to Roger's Corner, leading to the Barquadier at Yallah's Bay.

Ditto, and Port Royal, from the conflux of the Hope and Hoghole Rivers, to Yallah's River, near its junction with Green-River.

St. Andrew, from Moore's Eſtate, to Wagwater River.

St. Thomas in the Eaſt, from Port Morant Harbour, to the Bath.

Portland, from Bath, over Break-heart Hill, to Titchfield.

Ditto, from Titchfield, to Prieſtman's River, being part of the high road from Rio Grande.

In fact, the great improvements, made in many parts of the iſland of late years, are principally to be aſcribed to the meliorated ſtate of the roads; to the more general uſe of water-mills; to an improved

proved ſkill in every branch of plantation-œconomy; and (in the Weſtern diſtrict) to the importation of Negroes immediately into the ports of Savannah la Mar and Montego; as well as to the natural excellence of the cane-land in that diſtrict.

On reviſing what has been ſaid in reſpect to the ſhipping which load at this iſland, and their tonnage, I perceive I ſhall be thought to have greatly under-rated them. Errors on this head may very well happen, for want of an average-table, as no two ſucceſſive years are perhaps equal in the calculation, and as the number and quantity are yearly increaſing.

Mr. Leſlie, in his account publiſhed in the year 1739, ſuppoſed the annual produce of ſugar equal to ſeventy thouſand hogſheads, of fifteen hundred pounds weight each; which was certainly a miſtake. From this *poſtulatum* he endeavoured to ſhew, that five hundred ſail, weight fifty thouſand tons, and manned by at leaſt ſix thouſand ſeamen, were at that time loaded with the produce of the colony; and he deduces the advantages to Great-Britain in the following manner:

Seamen maintained, —— —— —— ——	6000
Perſons ſubſiſted in Britain by the building and outfit of this ſhipping, —— —— —— ——	14000
Maintained and enriched by the imports into Britain, ——	20000
Mouths fed by the return of Britiſh manufactures, merchandizes, and commodities, —— —— ——	40000
Ditto, by retailing theſe products, computed at —— ——	10000
In all (excluſive of inhabitants in the iſland), —— ——	90000

Whoever is well informed of the growth of Jamaica will readily diſcern, that this detail, inſtead of being conformable to the ſtate of it at that period, was, in fact, only an anticipation of what has ſince happened. But, to ſpeak of the preſent time, the produce in ſugar is augmented by many thouſand hogſheads; rum and melaſſes in proportion. Coffee makes a very capital article of export; and indigo begins to be conſpicuous. Several new ports are opened, whoſe trade is in a very promiſing way. The progreſs, in ſhort, ſince the time Mr. Leſlie wrote, has been aſtoniſhingly great; inſomuch that I do not know, whether the following computation is not ſtill rather too diminutive; viz.

Shipping employed (including Britiſh and North-American, and excluſive of coaſting veſſels), —— —— —— 700 ſail.
Tonnage, —— —— —— —— 90000 tons.
Seamen, —— —— —— —— —— —— 10000

From which it is eaſy to conceive (without minutely recapitulating the ſubject) how vaſtly profitable this iſland is to the mother-country in every view; whether by employing ſuch multitudes of her manufacturers and artificers of all kinds, or of Britiſh and American ſailors, ſhip-builders, and all the trades and occupations dependent upon them. Such is the value of this flouriſhing colony to Britain! Whence we may rightly conclude, how enormous and irreparable the loſs muſt be, ſhould it ever devolve into the hands of any other power. In reſpect to the quantity of ſugar which the iſland may be capable of producing, in addition to what it now yields, it is no eaſy matter to ſpeak with abſolute preciſion, on account of the unequal crops obtained from different ſoils, and the diverſity of ſituation; thoſe which are remote from the coaſt, or which have bad or indifferent roads for their carriage, or cannot have the conveniences of wind or water-mills, requiring a much greater tract of land for paſturage than others. But, in order to form ſome conjecture on this head, let us firſt conſider that the unplanted land, lying chiefly within the mountains, and diſtant from the ſea, muſt in general be ſubject, more or leſs, to the inconveniences I have enumerated; and therefore the allowance for paſture, or graſs-land, ſhould in general be rated accordingly. Let us ſuppoſe, then, a tract of three hundred acres compleatly ſettled, and duly apportioned in canes, proviſion, paſture and graſs, waſte, and wood for fire and repairs; and that this eſtate, in the ſituation before-repreſented, yields, *communibus annis*, one hundred hogſheads of ſugar, and about forty-two puncheons of rum. Admitting then, that here are only five hundred thouſand acres of cane-land unplanted; theſe, according to the eſtimate, are capable of producing one hundred and ſixty-five thouſand hogſheads, and ſeventy thouſand puncheons; the duties on which amount to 727,500 *l.* or upwards. The computation may be eaſily led on to the ſhipping, the ſeamen, the conſumption of manufactures, and other numerous appendages, which neceſſarily and invariably follow this augmented ſtate of cultivation. But all theſe are, by this time, ſo obvious to

the apprehenſion of every reader, that I need not proceed to elucidate them any further.

Having now gone through the ſeveral counties and pariſhes in a manner which, though diſcurſive and imperfect, I hope may be ſufficient to give a tolerable idea of their ſtate, in regard to ſettlements, ports, rivers, productions, advantages, and defects, it may not be improper to exhibit a general review of the whole.

Counties.	Negroes.	Cattle.	Sugar Plantations.	Annual Prod. Hhds.	Other Settlements.	Whites Towns.	Villages and Hamlets.	Free Negroe Towns.	Forts.	Churches	Chapels.	Rector's Stipends, *per ann.* £.	Synagogues.	Repreſentatives in Aſſembly.
Middleſex,	66746	59512	239	24050	763	3	10	1	3	7	2	1750	1	17
Surrey,	39542	21465	146	15010	314	4	4	2	5	5	0	1250	1	16
Cornwall,	60616	54776	266	29100	383	4	3	2	4	2	2	1050		10
Totals,	166904	135753	651	68160	1469	11	17	5	12	14	4	4050	2	43

A General Abstract of the State of the Island from the Time of Oliver Cromwell.

Anno	Negroes.	Cattle.	Sugar Plantations.	Annual Prod. Hhds.	Rum. Puncheons.	White Inhabitants.	
1658	1400					4500	
1670	8000		70	1333	650	7500	
1673						8564	
1734	86546	76011				7644	
1738	99239	84313	429	33000	13200	10080	
1745	112428	88036	455	35000	14000	11330	
1761	146000	122800	640	44800	22400	15330	By conjecture.
1768	166904	135753	651	68160	27200	17000	
Increaſe in about 110 years. —	165504					12500	—The other articles proportionably.

The

The following table may ſerve to ſhew the comparative ſtate of the pariſhes in regard to their contribution of public taxes, taking the firſt-mentioned as the largeſt contributor, and ſo deſcending in a ſeries of diminution to the loweſt, or Port Royal, whoſe proportion, compared with the firſt, is only as one to eighteen; and hence ſome idea may be formed of their comparative wealth:

1 St. James (including Trelawny),	11 St. Thomas in the Vale,
2 Clarendon,	12 Vere,
3 Weſtmoreland,	13 St. John,
4 St. Thomas in the Eaſt,	14 Kingſton,
5 Hanover,	15 St. Dorothy,
6 St. Elizabeth,	16 St. George,
7 St. Mary,	17 Portland,
8 St. Andrew,	18 St. David,
9 St. Catharine,	19 Port Royal.
10 St. Anne,	

A comparative table, intended to ſhew the traffic carried on by captains of ſhips, and other tranſient dealers, at the different outports: and the proportion which they ſeverally bear to Kingſton; from which ſome judgement may be formed of the number of ſhipping that reſort to each reſpectively:

Montego Bay,	One Fifth.
St. Anne, Savannah la Mar,	One Fifth.
Old Harbour,	One Ninth.
St. Lucea,	One Fifteenth.
Black River,	One Eighteenth.
Carliſle Bay,	One Twenty-ſecond.
The others,	Not computed.

An eſtimate of the number of coaches, and other wheel-carriages of pleaſure, kept in the ſeveral pariſhes:

Kingſton,	500
St. Catharine,	280
St. Andrew,	170
Clarendon,	114
Weſtmoreland,	88
Vere,	87
St. Elizabeth,	73

St. Dorothy,

St. Dorothy,	70
St. James,	65
St. Thomas in the Vale,	25
St. Anne,	14
St. David,	7
St. Thomas in the Eaſt,	4
Portland,	1
Total.	1498

The number of theſe carriages is not in exact proportion to the value of property; for it is to be conſidered, that, in regard to the richer pariſhes, ſome of the proprietors reſide more commonly in town; ſome, on account of bad or hilly roads, keep no carriage in the country; but many more are abſent from the iſland, and keep theirs in Great-Britain. They are by no means to be regarded as articles of luxury in Jamaica: they are neceſſary to the inhabitants for their conveniency in point of health, and in traveling from place to place; but, conſidering their haſty decay in this climate, and the coſtlineſs of their workmanſhip, they form no contemptible article in the liſt of Britiſh manufactures which this iſland conſumes; and, as the roads become more and more improved, the number of them will doubtleſs increaſe.

The general poſt-office for the iſland is kept in the town of Kingſton. This place is in the appointment of the poſt-maſter general of Great-Britain, and ſuppoſed worth about 1000 *l.* ſterling *per annum*. With reſpect to any convenience which the inhabitants at preſent derive from it, much cannot be ſaid; nor can, indeed, the deputy well afford to make it more uſeful to them, until the roads ſhall be further improved, and the country better peopled. The ſeveral mails are diſpatched from Kingſton but once a week; and, if a merchant there ſends a letter by this conveyance to his correſpondent at Savannah la Mar, he muſt wait twelve days before he can receive an anſwer. The preſent deputy, however, has had the credit of regulating the inland poſt upon a better plan than any of his predeceſſors.

The

The following are the distances computed at his office; agreeably to which the postage is demanded and paid.

South Side Post.

From — to		Miles comp.
Kingston —	Spanish Town, —	18
Spanish Town —	Old Harbour Market, —	12
Old Harbour Market	Clarendon Cross, —	12
Clarendon Cross —	Pepper St. Elizabeth, —	37
Pepper St. Elizabeth	Lacovia, —	13
Lacovia —	Black River, —	12
Black River —	Savannah la Mar, Westmoreland,	25
Savannah la Mar —	Lucea, —	25
		154

North Side Post.

From — to		Miles comp.
Kingston —	Spanish Town, —	18
Spanish Town —	Salt Gut, St. Mary's, —	40
Salt Gut, —	St. Anne's Port, —	20
St. Anne, —	Rio Bueno, —	20
Rio Bueno, —	Marthabrae, Trelawny, —	17
Marthabrae —	Montego Bay, St. James, —	25
		140
Kingston, —	Anotto Bay, St. Mary, —	30
Anotto Bay, —	Port Maria, —	15
		45

Windward Post.

From — to		Miles comp.
Kingston —	Æolus Valley, St. Thomas in the East,	20
Æolus Valley	Petersfield, ditto, —	6
Petersfield —	Morant Bay, ditto, —	5
Morant Bay —	Port Morant, ditto, —	7
Port Morant —	Bath, ditto, —	6
Bath —	Amity Hall, ditto, —	7
Amity Hall —	Manchineal, —	9
Manchineal —	Port Antonio, Portland, —	11
		71

Rates

Rates of the Inland-poſtage, for any Diſtance not exceeding ſixty Engliſh Miles.

	s.	d.			
Single,	0	7½	Jamaica currency,	or	1 Ryal.
Double,	1	3	——	—	2 ditto.
Treble,	1	3	——	—	2 ditto.
Ounce,	1	10½	——	—	3 ditto.

For any Diſtance upwards of ſixty, and not exceeding one hundred Engliſh Miles.

	s.	d.			
Single,	0	7½	Jamaica currency,	or	1 Ryal.
Double,	1	3	——	—	2 ditto.
Treble,	1	10½	——	—	3 ditto.
Ounce,	2	6	——	—	4 ditto.

For any Diſtance upwards of one hundred, and not exceeding two hundred miles.

	s.	d.			
Single,	1	3	Jamaica currency.	or	2 Ryals.
Double,	1	10½	——	—	3 ditto.
Treble,	2	6	——	—	4 ditto.
Ounce,	3	9	——	—	6 ditto.

And in Proportion for every Ounce Weight.

Rates of Poſtage from this Iſland to Great-Britain *per* Act 9 Anne, c. 10.

	s.	d.	Sterling.	s.	d.	Jamaica Currency.
Single,	——	——	1 6	——	2	1
Double,	——	——	3 0	——	3	4½
Treble,	——	——	4 6	——	6	3½
Ounce,	——	——	6 0	——	8	4½

Merchants accounts exceeding one ſheet of paper, bills of exchange, invoices, and bills of lading, are all to be rated and taxed as ſo many ſeveral letters, *per* 6 George I.

Conſidering the great and continual commerce which this iſland maintains with the mother-country, and the extenſive correſpondence carried on by letter with merchants, abſentees, and others; the frequent orders for inſurance and for goods, the tranſmiſſion-invoices, bills of lading, bills of exchange and accompts, with duplicates;

cates; we may ſuppoſe the revenue gains a conſiderable annual ſum from theſe articles; perhaps, the clear emolument, to ſpeak within compaſs, is not leſs than 6000*l.* ſterling, or upwards. The office was firſt erected in Jamaica in the year 1687, and one Mr. James Wade appointed poſt-maſter. This has been produced as one example, among others, of parliamentary ſupremacy in the levying of internal taxes within the colonies; but, as the conveniency ariſing from it to trade and commerce was undoubtedly the original ground of its inſtitution, ſo the ſenſe of this conveniency gave it an eaſy admiſſion into the colonies, ſtill indulges its exiſtence, and muſt continue to do ſo, unleſs the rates ſhould be increaſed to a degree of oppreſſion; in this event it muſt deſtroy itſelf, of which the revenue-officers are probably well ſatisfied.

CHAP. XI.

State of the Clergy.

THE Clergy of the eſtabliſhed church have had a footing in this iſland only ſince the Reſtoration of Charles II. Cromwell took care to furniſh the army with ſpiritual as well as carnal weapons. I think there were no leſs than ſeven allotted to this ſervice; but they were fanatical preachers; a ſort of irregulars, who ſoon made way for more orthodox divines. It has always been a rule, in our Weſt-India iſlands, to aſſimilate their religion, as well as laws, to thoſe of the mother-country. It is no wonder, therefore, that popery became the favourite ſyſtem in Jamaica during the reign of James II. And the character of this religion was perfectly well ſupported by the ſpirit of perſecution which was let looſe againſt all non-conformiſts. The Revolution under king William happily expelled or ſubdued theſe ſuperſtitions, and gave the inhabitants, at one and the ſame time, the enjoyment of religious and civil liberty. Recantations became frequent; induſtry revived; and the ſtubborn rage of bigotry was melted into peace and concord. Charles II, although ſecretly profeſſing the Roman faith, cannot be accuſed of having exerciſed ſeverity againſt its adverſaries. Good ſenſe taught him to diſcern the expediency of granting

granting toleration in theſe diſtant parts of his dominion; for I do not ſuſpect that he meant ſo much to favour men of the Roman Catholic perſuaſion, as to ſtock theſe infant-ſettlements with uſeful people. In his inſtructions to the governors, he directs, "for the "encouragement of perſons, of different judgements and opinions "in matters of religion, to tranſport themſelves, with their "effects, to Jamaica; and that they may not be obſtructed and "hindered under pretence of ſcruples in conſcience," to diſpenſe with the taking the oaths of allegiance and ſupremacy to thoſe that ſhould bear any part in the government (the members and officers of the privy council only excepted), and to find out ſome other way of ſecuring their allegiance; and in no caſe to let any man be moleſted or diſquieted in the exerciſe of his religion, provided he ſhould be content with a quiet, peaceable enjoyment of it; not giving therein any offence or ſcandal to the government. But the governors themſelves were ſtrictly enjoined, in their own houſe and family, to the profeſſion of the Proteſtant religion, as preached in England; and to recommend it to others as far as might be conſiſtent with the peace of the iſland. This toleration was afterwards much narrowed by the acts of parliament affecting papiſts; which are ſo far admitted in force here, as to preclude them from exerciſing any office, or place of truſt, the oaths of abjuration and ſupremacy being indiſpenſably required to be taken before admiſſion into any ſuch office or place, or a ſeat in the legiſlature. But men of all perſuaſions are ſtill received here as inhabitants; the naturalization-act, paſſed in Jamaica, only obliging aliens to take the oath of allegiance: nor is any man ever queſtioned here about his religious principles [g]. The biſhop of London claims this as a part of his dioceſe; but his juriſdiction is renounced, and barred by the laws of the iſland, in every caſe, except ſo far as relates or appertains to eccleſiaſtical regimen of the clergy; which imports no higher power than that of granting orders, and giving paſtoral

[g] In 1729, an act was paſſed "for preventing dangers that may ariſe from diſguiſed, as well "as declared, Papiſts." But, this not being found to anſwer the purpoſes for which it was intended, and, on the contrary, having only ſerved to diſcourage well-affected Proteſtants from coming over to ſettle in the iſland, it was repealed in the year following. It is ſaid to have been leveled againſt one particular gentleman, a member of the legiſlature, and a papiſt; who had made himſelf offenſive to a party which at that time exiſted in the houſe of aſſembly.

admonitions; for it is queſtioned, whether he can ſuſpend any clergyman here, either *ab officio*, or *a beneficio*; ſince it is expreſsly enacted, by act of aſſembly, "that no eccleſiaſtical law, or ju-"riſdiction, ſhall have power to enforce, confirm, or eſtabliſh, "any penal mulcts, or puniſhment, in any caſe whatſoever:" and, as the deprivation either of a living, or its emoluments, is virtually a mulct, and actually a puniſhment, the opinion is ſtrong againſt his right of interpoſition. The governor, as ſupreme head of the provincial church, and in virtue of the royal inſtructions, is veſted with a power of ſuſpending a clergyman here, of lewd and diſorderly life, *ab officio*, upon the petition of his pariſhioners; and I can remember one example of this ſort. The governor inducts into the ſeveral rectories within the iſland and its dependencies; the parties firſt producing before him the teſtimonials of their being regularly in orders, and taking the uſual oaths. The cuſtom of tythes has never been in uſe here: inſtead of them, the ſeveral ſtipends are eſtabliſhed by law, and levied by the juſtices and veſtries; who are likewiſe empowered to appoint and limit the fees for chriſtening, marriage, churching, and burial. No miniſter is to demand or take his ſtipend for any longer time than he ſhall actually officiate in his pariſh, ſickneſs only excepted; ſo that a ſuſpenſion *ab officio* is, in fact, a ſuſpenſion alſo *a beneficio*. They are required to regiſter births, chriſtenings, marriages, and burials. Theſe entries are declared authentic records, to be received as ſuch in any court of juſtice; and the ſtealing, razing, or embezzling of them is made felony. Every beneficed miniſter is, *ex officio*, a freeholder to all intents and purpoſes, and accordingly admitted to vote at elections of aſſembly-members. He is alſo to be conſtantly one of the veſtry; and no veſtry can make any order, without firſt giving timely notice to the miniſter, that he may attend if he thinks fit. The ordinance reſpecting non-officiating is but vaguely expreſſed; however, it has been thought ſtrong enough to juſtify the church-wardens and veſtry in refuſing to pay the ſtipend, in caſe their rector ſhould wilfully refuſe to perform the duties of his cure. It is ſuppoſed, that non-reſidence is implied, becauſe in the rector's abſence, the pariſhioners are left to bury their own dead; and a wilful neglect of the performance of any duty is much the ſame, in effect,

effect, as a poſitive denial. The ſtatute, 21 Henry VIII. excuſes from reſidence in three caſes; 1ſt, the want of a dwelling-houſe, or the inconvenience of one too ſmall, or mean, to receive and accommodate the rector's family: 2dly, ſickneſs, or where, by advice of a phyſician, a removal into another air is, *bonâ fide*, neceſſary for recovery of health; 3dly, employment in the king's ſervice. In Jamaica, the juſtices and veſtry of each pariſh, where there is no parſonage-houſe, are required, either to hire one of 50*l. per annum* rent, or to purchaſe or build one of 500*l.* value. Under this limitation, which is ſo unequal, it may be ſuppoſed that they cannot buy or build a very convenient habitation with ſuitable offices. The ſum allowed ought to have been 800*l.* which would have held a nearer proportion to the ſum allowed for hiring; 50*l.* being little more than the annual intereſt of 800*l.* In general, they are well lodged, except in thoſe pariſhes where the rector's immorality, or bad diſpoſition, has created him ſo many enemies, that his flock would rather he ſhould live any where than among them. The ſecond diſpenſation, in regard to ill health, and change of air for recovery, has always been readily indulged here in its full latitude. As to the third, the chaplains attending the governor, or the council, or aſſembly, are excuſed; the former at all times; the two latter, during the ſeſſions. But the ſame miniſter having uſually been chaplain both to the governor and council, and holding the living of Spaniſh Town, where the governor reſides, and the council meet, no inconvenience has hitherto reſulted. But pluralities are not allowed here; and, if ever they ſhould be attempted, the people will be greatly incenſed, having ſeverely felt the inconveniencies ariſing from the combination of many places in one perſon.

The teſtimonials required to be produced, before induction into any living here, are, that the candidate be qualified according to the canons of the church of England, by having taken deacon's and prieſt's orders; which teſtimonials muſt, after the governor's approbation, be recorded in the ſecretary's office. They are not to celebrate any marriage without banns have been three times publiſhed in the pariſh-church to which the parties belong, or without a licence from the governor, under penalty of 100*l.* By a rule

of

of the governor's court of ordinary, for better preventing ſurreptitious marriages of orphans, or minors; affidavits, in ſuch caſes, are required to be filed of the guardian's conſent; without which, the governor does not uſually grant a licence. Formerly, the cuſtom in theſe iſlands was, to be married by the juſtices of the peace; for in thoſe days a clergyman was not always at hand. The ſame practice ſtill ſubſiſts, as I am informed, at the Moſquito ſhore, and ſome of the other dependencies. And it is certain, that a marriage, celebrated in this manner in Jamaica, even now, if according to the form of words in our liturgy, would be valid in law, and ſupport the right to dower or thirds. The Jamaica law reſtrains none from performing the ceremony, except miniſters not qualified with the teſtimonials before-mentioned; and the penalty, impoſed upon others who ſolemnize without banns or licence, does not tend to declare ſuch marriages void. The chaplains of the council and aſſembly have a ſalary, of 100*l.* each, for reading prayers, every morning during ſeſſion, previous to entering upon buſineſs. They are not called upon, as in England, to preach anniverſary ſermons. Of the character of the clergy in this iſland I ſhall ſay but little. There have ſeldom been wanting ſome, who were equally reſpectable for their learning, piety, and exemplary good behaviour: others have been deteſtable for their addiction to lewdneſs, drinking, gambling, and iniquity; having no controul, but their own ſenſe of the dignity of their function, and the cenſures of the governor. The ſcandalous or irreproachable demeanour of many will chiefly depend on their own quality of heart, or that of the commander in chief. If the cloth has ſuffered diſgrace and contempt from the actions of a few; we muſt nevertheleſs conſider the major part, worthy the public eſteem and encouragement. Some labourers of the Lord's vineyard have at times been ſent, who were much better qualified to be retailers of ſalt-fiſh, or boatſwains to privateers, than miniſters of the Goſpel. It is recorded of a certain rector of one of the towns, that, having the bodies of three deceaſed ſeamen brought to him one day for interment, he thought to make quick work of it by only one reading of the burial-ſervice. The brother tars, who attended the ſolemnity, inſiſted upon three ſeveral readings, in honour of their comrades. The rector was obſtinate. Words

grew

grew high; and at length the diſpute came to blows. The parſon, the clerk, and all the congregation, engaged pell-mell. Nor long the battle raged; for divinity proved victorious, after hurling two or three of the combatants headlong into the very grave that had been prepared for their inanimate friends. Of another (a Frenchman) it is ſaid, that, preaching one day, in his uſual broken Engliſh, on the ſubject of the laſt day, he entertained his audience with the comparative condition of the good and the ſinful; informing them, "dat dey would be ſeparate, de goat on de left hond, de moutons "on de right." Ridiculous characters of this ſtamp ſhould bring no ſlander on the clergy in general; they reflect diſhonour alone upon thoſe patrons in England, who would make no ſcruple in ſending over their footmen, to benefit by any employment in the colonies, eccleſiaſtical or civil.

If the biſhop of London could legally exerciſe the right (which ſome ſay he claims) of inſpecting the conduct of the clergy here, and ſubjecting the ſame, when neceſſary, to eccleſiaſtical cenſures and puniſhment; yet his lordſhip's reſidence at ſo great a diſtance, and the engagements of his dioceſe at home, would be obſtacles to his working a thorough reformation in Jamaica. His cenſures, indeed, though but ſparingly inflicted, might nevertheleſs produce a good effect, provided all the clergy of the iſland had been regularly trained at one of our Engliſh univerſities, and early verſed in the knowledge of our religion. But, when perſons are ſent hither barely qualified according to the canons of the church, and the laws of the land, as to ordination, licence, &c. and thereby entitled to the very ſame privileges and favour, whether they have been bred at Cambridge, at Oxford, or St. Omer's, in an univerſity, or a cobler's ſhop; whether they have been initiated in the proteſtant, or in the popiſh religion; whether their language is Engliſh or French, or neither: I ſay, ſo long as the caſſock is ſuffered to be put on here with ſo little diſcrimination, not all the exhortations of all the biſhops in the world could poſſibly make the clergy of this iſland a reſpectable body of men. Let us, however, venture to aſſert in their favour, that, although ſome perhaps may be found, who, in their moral conduct, would diſgrace even the meaneſt of mankind, there are others, and in a much greater number, who, by their ex-

ample and their doctrine, would do honour to their profeſſion in any part of England.

CHAP. XI.

MINES.

THE firſt adventurers who reſorted to this iſland conceived very ſanguine expectations of finding gold and ſilver mines. They were told of a ſilver mine, that had been worked by the Spaniards, ſomewhere in the Healthſhire Hills, in St. Catharine; but they were not able to diſcover it. Still the flattering proſpect encouraged two or three principal gentlemen of the iſland to ſolicit for an excluſive patent for working ſuch mines. This they obtained, and made ſome attempts; which failed of ſucceſs, and brought ſuch heavy expences upon them, that they were glad to reliquiſh the project, and ſurrendered their patent. After all, the report of the Spaniſh ſilver mine was probably no other than a fiction. However, that the mountains contain both that metal and gold is very certain, as well as that the Spaniards obtained ſome of the latter from the river-courſes; in which method they were inſtructed by the Indians, who, in Hiſpaniola and this iſland, uſed to procure it in the ſame manner. The inhabitants of Peru and Mexico purſue the ſame method at this day. They dig in the angles of ſome ſmall brook, where by certain tokens they expect to find the grains, or particles, of gold. In order to carry off the mud, they admit a freſh ſtream upon it, and keep turning it up. As ſoon as they perceive the gold ſand, they divert the ſtream into another channel, and dig up the ſoil with hoes or pick-axes, and convey it upon mules to certain baſons, joined together by ſmall conduits. Into theſe baſons they let a ſmart ſtream of water, to looſen the earth, and clear away the groſſer parts; the Indians ſtanding all the time in the baſons, and throwing out the ſtones or rubbiſh. The gold ſtill remains in the ſediment, mixed with a black ſand, and ſcarcely viſible, till further depurated by more waſhings. In ſome of theſe collections are gold grains, as large as bird-ſhot; in others have been found lumps of it, from two or three ounces to a

pound weight: and this way of procuring gold is juſtly thought far more profitable than digging for it in the mines. In Popayan, the proceſs is very little different. They ſtir and dilute the maſs in the baſons till the moſt ponderous parts, as little ſtones, ſand, and gold, remain at the bottom. They then go into the baſon, with wooden buckets, made for the purpoſe, in which they take up the ſediment; then moving them circularly and uniformly, at the ſame time changing the waters, the leſs ponderous parts are ſeparated; and at laſt the gold remains at the bottom of the buckets, clear from all mixture. It is generally found in grains, as ſmall as thoſe of ſand, and, for that reaſon, called *oro en polvo*; though ſometimes *pepitas*, or ſeeds, are found amongſt it, of different ſizes; but generally they are ſmall. The water iſſuing from the firſt baſon is ſtopped in another, contrived a little beneath it, where it undergoes the like operation, in order to ſecure any minute particles, which, from their extreme tenuity, might be carried off by the current of water, mixed with earth and other ſubſtances: and, laſtly, this water is paſſed into a third baſon; but the ſavings here are generally inconſiderable. The labourers moſt commonly uſed are Negroe-ſlaves; and whilſt ſome are buſied in waſhing, others bring earth; ſo that the waſhers are kept in continual employment. The fineneſs of this gold is generally of twenty-two carats; ſometimes more, even to twenty-three; ſometimes indeed it is under, but very ſeldom below twenty-one [*b*].

There is no doubt but, by a long courſe of practice, the Spaniards have made ſeveral improvements upon the original Indian proceſs, which was more ſimple and tedious. The Rio Minho, in Clarendon pariſh, has by ſome been ſuppoſed to derive its name from the Minho in Portugal. Others imagine it was ſo called from ſome mine in its neighbourhood, known to the Spaniſh inhabitants; and I think there is ground for this conjecture; for, a few years ago, one of theſe lavaderos was diſcovered on its bank at Longville plantation, in that pariſh, which ſtill remains tolerably perfect. Here is a terraſſed platform, with ſeveral baſons chiſſeled out of rock; the interſtices being filled up, here and there, with a very hard cement, or mortar, to render the ſurface ſmooth. Joined to

[*b*] Ulloa.

this platform is a pretty large fragment of a gutter, made for conducting the river-water into the baſons. This ſeems to be a convincing teſtimony, that the bed of this river has afforded the gold ſand, waſhed down perhaps from ſome of the mountains among which its courſe lies; and a further proof is, that bits of gold have ſometimes been found after floods. The late Mr. Alderman Beckford poſſeſſed a plantation on the oppoſite ſide of the river. Many years ago, when he was in the iſland, the manager for this eſtate brought to him one day a ſmall piece of very fine gold, which had been picked up in the ſand of the river; and, at the ſame time, adviſed him to ſend for a ſkillful metallurgiſt, as he would probably diſcover a rich mine within his own land hereabouts. To this propoſal Mr. Beckford made no other reply, than "whilſt we "have got ſo profitable a mine above ground" (pointing to the cane-pieces), "we will not trouble ourſelves about hunting for any "under ground." And he was certainly to be commended for the prudence of his anſwer; ſince, not to mention only the many thouſand of Indians and Negroes deſtroyed by the Spaniards in Peru and Mexico in mining, and ſo little to the advantage either of individuals or their nation, how many great fortunes have there not been annihilated by undertakings of this ſort, which have rarely yielded a profit in the end commenſurate to the heavy expences that attended the conducting of them; and particularly in hot climates, where the ſubterraneous vapours are known to be of ſo malignant a nature, as to kill, or at leaſt diſable, very ſpeedily the ſtouteſt labourers! I am aware, that the manner of procuring gold by means of Javaderos is not liable to any ſuch objection. It is neither an expenſive nor unhealthy buſineſs; and therefore, if the art of diſcovering the river ſand, in which gold has generally been found, could be revived in Jamaica, by ſending for an Indian or Spaniard ſufficiently intelligent, there might be no harm in trying ſome experiments with the ſand of this river, where it has actually been found; as well as ſome others in the iſland, where it might reaſonably be expected.

The mountains abound with copper ore of various ſpecies; the green and livid ore; and the ſhining dark ore, or vitrious copper. Theſe two kinds are the richeſt as yet diſcovered here, and thought

equal

equal to ſome of thoſe that are eſteemed the of firſt claſs in Europe; the matrix in which they are engaged anſwering both to the hammer and fire with equal eaſe. Two mines were worked for ſome time in the Liguanea Mountains; but neither of them produced any thing correſpondent to the charges that attended them. The undertaking was too important for two private men of no very capital fortunes; and perhaps they required the management of perſons more experienced in the proceſs. It ſerved only to convince the curious, that ſuch metals were to be found here; and this, I apprehend, is all the advantage that accrued, either to the proprietors, or to the publick. Yet one of theſe mines was ſaid to have produced; no leſs than a ton *per* week; but perhaps this was only a bubble report, or the harveſt was ſoon at an end. Schemes of this kind are moſt ſucceſsfully carried on by large companies, or aſſociations; whoſe ſeveral ſtocks united would bear the contingent expence, till the work is brought to anſwer. But there has been ſuch a multitude of frauds and knaviſh practices committed, from time to time, in mining-adventures, that ſuch projects are not at preſent likely to meet with any countenance. It is, however, to be regretted, that the copper and lead mines in this iſland had not been more effectually proſecuted; becauſe, upon the computation that every ſugar eſtate, which produces one hundred hogſheads *per annum*, muſt be at a certain expence of 65 *l. per annum* for copper and lead alone, it will appear, that the iſland expends 45,000 *l.*, or thereabouts, every year, in theſe articles, which might be ſaved. The Spaniards certainly were more intelligent, or met with better ſucceſs; for the bells, which hung in the Great Church at St. Jago de la Vega when the Engliſh took poſſeſſion, were caſt of copper produced in the iſland. Lead ore likewiſe abounds here, richly impregnated with ſilver, which renders the ſolution of it in *aqua fortis* milky; but it is not found in any regular bodied veins, which, among other reaſons, obliged the gentlemen, who had been engaged in the lead-works of Liguanea, to drop the undertaking, after they had been at a great expence in building a very compleat ſet of works, and carried on the manufacture for ſome time. The ore, when in fermentation with *aqua fortis*, throws up a conſiderable quantity of ſulphur; and hence it has been conjectured, that

ſome of the ſulphureous ſprings in the iſland derive their qualities from this ſource. The varieties of the lead ore found here are the ſubgranulated, linked with ſilver; the lamellated, ſhining ore, in the ſame union; the black-gloſſy ore, linked with copper, and leſs impregnated with ſilver; and the black, lead ore, largely admixed with copper, and ſeldom rich; but the matrix is mellow, and eaſily fluxed [*i*]. Stibium has been frequently found in theſe lead mines.

Iron ore has been diſcovered in many parts of this iſland; but the very large quantities of black ſand, which are thrown on many parts of the South ſide coaſt, eſpecially near the mouths of rivers, having been hurried down by floods, are much more acceſſible, and with little pains. This ſand is obſervable almoſt every where in the roads and gullies after hard rains; ſo that the ſoil of the ſavannahs, as well as that of the mountains, is impregnated with it. The inhabitants uſe it in common, like what is called in England the black writing-ſand. It is freely attracted by the magnet; but does not anſwer, it is ſaid [*i*], with the acid, or fire. However, it muſt be referred to future experiment to diſcover, whether it be not endued with the ſame properties as the Virginia black ſand; particularly as, upon trial of the Virginia ſand ſome years ago (an account of which is given in Lowthorp's Abridgement of the Philoſophical Tranſactions, vol. II.), *aqua fortis* produced no ebullition, and fluxing obtained no *regulus*, nor any ſubſtance that would apply to the magnet, except a thin cruſt, that adhered to a piece of charcoal, which dropped into the crucible during the fuſion. For which reaſons, this ſand was imagined to be very ſlightly engaged with iron ore, and in ſuch a manner, as that the metallic particles could not be ſeparated and fixed by the uſual proceſs. But Mr. Horne, ſuſpecting theſe experiments not to be deciſive, conceived that the ſand was not altogether and ſimply iron; but that it was ſtrongly united with a very ſtubborn, fixed, and permanent earth, which could not be ſeparated from it without ſome extraordinary as well as powerful means. The ingenious artiſt, proceeding upon this ſuppoſition, ſpread about eight or nine ounces of the ſand, unmixed with any addition, upon an iron plate, over a ſtrong fire, and gave it a very powerful torrefaction, or roaſting, to try if by that means

[*i*] Browne.

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he could not relax and looſen the component parts to ſuch a degree, as to make the ſeparation and reduction of the metal more eaſy, when he ſhould bring it to the furnace. He then mixed it up with a flux of a very peculiar, but gentle nature, which he had before made uſe of for other purpoſes with great ſucceſs [k], and committed it to the furnace, where he urged it, by a very ſtrong fire, for about three hours, and upon taking it out found the event anſwerable to his moſt ſanguine expectations; for in the bottom of the crucible he found rather more than half of the ſand he had put in reduced to a very fine, malleable metal. Being now convinced that the ſand was a very rich iron ore, he acquainted ſome of his friends with the diſcovery; who being largely engaged in trade with the part of the American continent from whence it was brought, he hoped the gentlemen in that part of the world would, in conſequence, purſue experiments with it on a more extenſive plan. And he informs us, that Mr. G. Elliot having ſince made trial of it, the event proved encouraging much beyond his expectation; inſomuch that eighty-three pounds of the ſand were found to produce a bar of excellent iron, weighing fifty pounds. Mr. Elliot ſmelted this iron, in a common bloomary, in the ſame manner as other iron ore is ſmelted; excepting this difference, that the iron ſand is ſo pure, and ſo clean waſhed, that there is not a ſufficient quantity of cinder, or ſlagg, to perform the ſmelting; and he was therefore obliged to add either the ſlagg which iſſues from other iron ore, or elſe ſome bog-mine ore, which abounds with cinder. In this way, he ſays, it is capable of being wrought as bog-ore, or bog-mine. There is ſo much of this ſand in America, that he thinks there is more iron-ore in this form than any other. The ſpecimens of iron, ſent by Mr. Elliot from America, were tried by Mr. Horne, and found to poſſeſs all that agreeable toughneſs and ductility for which the Spaniſh iron is ſo deſervedly famous. And he concludes with giving his opinion, that, by this diſcovery, we may obtain a more pure and better kind of iron than any we have hitherto been poſſeſſed of [l].

If the experiments of theſe gentlemen are to be relied upon, the American ſand yields more in value than the richeſt and beſt ore

[k] This preparation he has not communicated. [l] Horne's Eſſays on Iron and Steel.

hitherto found in Europe; for the latter uſually produces no more than from ſixty to eighty pounds out of one hundred weight; and when the facility of collecting the American ſand, without the labour of much digging, is taken into account, together with the diſpatch and little expence of waſhing and preparing it for fuſion, it will ſurely juſtify this claim of ſuperiority. It may therefore merit enquiry, whether the Jamaica ſand does not contain the very ſame principles which there is every reaſon to believe it does; in which caſe, it may become an article of profitable export to Great-Britain, after having been too long neglected as of no value.

CHAP. XII.

SCHOOLS.

THE great importance of education, in forming the manners, enlightening the minds, and promoting the induſtry and happineſs of a people, is no where more obvious than in countries where it is not attainable. It at once excites our pity and regret, that Jamaica, an iſland more valuable and extenſive than any other of the Britiſh ſugar-colonies, ſhould at this day remain unprovided with a proper ſeminary for the young inhabitants to whom it gives birth. This unhappy defect may be looked upon as one of the principal impediments to its effectual ſettlement.

I would by no means have it underſtood, that I mean to diminiſh any emoluments which Great-Britain derives from this colony: I am ſenſible, that the education of the Jamaica youth is attended with an yearly gain to the mother-country. What I would ſuggeſt is, that the eſtabliſhment of one or more ſeminaries in Jamaica, upon a certain circumſcribed plan, would infallibly prove a means of augmenting the profits which Britain draws from thence (though not in the very ſame, yet in other channels); and, if ſhe is proved to gain more, it matters not in what line.

It has too long been the cuſtom for every father here, who has acquired a little property, to ſend his children, of whatever complexion, to Britain, for education. They go like a bale of dry goods, conſigned to ſome factor, who places them at the ſchool where he himſelf was bred, or any other that his inclination leads

him

him to prefer. The father, in the mean while, ſends remittance upon remittance, or directs a liberal allowance, that his ſon may learn the art of ſquandering from his very infancy; and, not unfrequently, to gratify a little pride of heart, that little maſter may appear the redoubted heir to an affluent fortune. But, alas! it ſometimes happens, that he ſends *no* remittances: by which unlucky omiſſion, his child is thrown upon the hands of the factor, who throws him upon the hands of the pedagogue; and, between both, the poor wretch undergoes as much neglect and ill uſage, as if he was a charity-boy; and, in either caſe, too often comes from the feet of Gamaliel ignorant, vicious, idle, and prodigal; a diſgrace to his friends, and a nuiſance to his country. If ſuffered to remain in England, under the notion of finiſhing his manners, we find him, in the other view, in general rolling on the wheels of money into every ſpecies of town-debauchery; laviſhing in one week what would maintain a poor family for a twelvemonth; the conſtant dupe of artifice; the fine gudgeon of every knave and impoſtor.

What a diſadvantage is it to young men, of naturally ſtrong paſſions and lively ſpirits, that they have not the watchful attention of a parent, to check their intemperate ſallies, to conduct them into the ways of prudence, and habituate them in the practice of ſelf-denial! How much to be regretted, that the fond father, whilſt his ſon thus remains unemployed in uſeful purſuits during the moſt headſtrong career of his life, is wearing himſelf out with inceſſant toil and anxiety, to no other effect than feeding the paſſions of an indolent or profligate ſpendthrift! Without a parent, or monitor, at his elbow, to hold him under due awe and ſubordination, and gratified with plentiful ſupplies of money, he ſoon acknowledges no other governor than his own inclination, and takes pleaſure for his preceptor. Few will venture to reſtrain him, who either doubt their authority to controul, or who ſuſpect that ſuch an interpoſition may either wear the appearance of too ſcrupulous a rigour, or prove detrimental, ſome time or other, to their intereſt in buſineſs.

The education of the youths *repaired* from this ſland is, in general, ſo miſmanaged, that, was it not for their innate good qualities, not one in ten would ever arrive at the age of diſcretion, or

return

return to his native country with any other acquiſition than the art of ſwearing, drinking, dreſſing, gaming, and wenching. It is, I own, a laudable zeal in a parent, who is ſolicitous to confer on his children the bleſſings of liberal education. But it is ſurely a palpable miſtake, that leads him to give their minds a wrong turn; and really pernicious to their welfare, that they ſhould be brought up in a manner totally unſuitable to their future ſtation. He ſhould learn to diſtinguiſh, that to train up his ſon to no profeſſion is, by no means, the way to make a gentleman of him; 2dly, that, if he intends him for a profeſſion, the ſyſtem of his education ſhould be particularly adapted to it; 3dly, that to aſſign him a profeſſion, and at the ſame time leave it in his own free choice to apply to the ſtudy of it or not, or to furniſh him with the inſtruments of idleneſs and diſſipation, when his mind ſhould be engaged in the purſuits of uſeful knowledge, is no more than enjoining him to perform a taſk, and bribing him at the ſame time to leave it unperformed; 4thly, that one uniform plan, or ſyſtem, of ſcholaſtic inſtruction cannot be indiſcriminately proper for all youths, however various their fortunes, capacities, or the reſpective walks of life into which they are afterwards to paſs.

Let me now aſk, what are the mighty advantages which Britain, or the colony, has gained by the many hundreds who have received their education in the former? The anſwer may be, they have ſpent their fortunes in Britain, and learned to renounce their native place, their parents, and friends. Would it not have been better for both countries, that three-fourths of them had never croſſed the Atlantic? Their induſtry is, in general, for ever loſt to the place where it might have been uſefully exerted; and they waſte their patrimony in a manner that redounds not in the leaſt to the national profit, having acquired a taſte for pleaſure and extravagance of every kind, far ſuperior to the ability of their fortunes. Surely this can be no public acquiſition, unleſs it be proved, that the kingdom is more enriched and benefited by a thoughtleſs prodigal, than by a thrifty, induſtrious citizen. The education they uſually receive in Great-Britain does not qualify them for uſeful employment in Jamaica, unleſs they are bred to ſome of the learned profeſſions; which nevertheleſs are not ſuitable to all, becauſe thoſe profeſſions would

would ſoon be overſtocked in the iſland, if every youth conſigned from thence was to be trained to phyſick, divinity, or law, and becauſe *ex quovis ligno non fit Mercurius.* They generally leave Britain at that critical age when the blood beats high. They regret their exile from the gay delights of London, from the connections of early friendſhip, and perhaps the ſofter attachments of love. The impreſſions of all theſe remain lively and forcible. With this riveted prejudice againſt a colony-life, it is not to be wondered at, that they embrace the firſt convenient opportunity of returning to their favourite purſuits and ſocial intimacies. Such is often the over-fond liberality of Weſt-India parents, in ordering a too large allowance for their ſons in Britain, that theſe youths are not only invited by this means to neglect their ſtudies, and commence men of pleaſure, but are readily elevated into a deſtructive opinion, that they have been ſent thither merely to paſs away their time agreeably, and that it is not meant they ſhould perplex themſelves with dry and abſtruſe literature, as their fortune will enable them to live independent of ſcience or buſineſs. Senſible therefore of their exemption from paternal reſtraint, they joyouſly adhere to this concluſion, and follow the ſeductions of levity, caprice, and vicious indulgence, without reflection. Of the many ſtudents at law, natives of Jamaica, who after compleating their terms in London have returned to aſſume the gown, I have not heard of one who ever gained 5*l.* a year by his practice. This iſſue we muſt not aſcribe to any defect of parts, but to a youth ſpent in foppery, licentiouſneſs, and prodigality, under a total renunciation of every other ſtudy. Many I have noted, who, arriving there after having (as it is called) *finiſhed their education* in England, appeared unpardonably illiterate, and poſſeſſed of few attainments beyond what I have already enumerated. Some I have obſerved, who, being endued with tolerable genius, acquired more real knowledge and gentlemanly accompliſhments, in one twelvemonth after their arrival, than they had gained by ſixteen years reſidence in London; and this from being led at once into a ſcene of public buſineſs, and the company and converſation of intelligent men. Having pointed out ſome principal ſources of that imperfect education which our young men in general receive, I ſhall add a few thoughts in reſpect

to the other ſex. If a ſeminary in this iſland is expedient for boys, it is ſtill more ſo for girls. The neceſſary branches of their inſtruction uſually lie within a ſmall compaſs. They require not the elements of Greek, Latin, or Hebrew; nor the precepts of the univerſity, nor the theory of the ſciences, mechanic arts, or learned profeſſions. Reading, writing, arithmetic, needlework, dancing, and muſic, will, with the additional helps of their own genius, prepare them for becoming good wives and mothers. There are many parents in this iſland, who, having a numerous family of children of both ſexes, and barely able to afford their ſons an education in Britain; they either ſend for a governante, to inſtruct their daughters, or keep them uninſtructed, except by ſuch caſual tuition as may be had from itinerant muſic or dancing maſters. The utility of a boarding-ſchool for theſe girls, where their number might admit of employing the ableſt teachers, where they might be weaned from the Negroe dialect, improved by emulation, and gradually habituated to a modeſt and polite behaviour, needs not, I think, any argument to prove it. Young ladies, ſo far accompliſhed as, I think, they might be on a well-conducted plan, would inſenſibly acquire, on their emerging into public life, the remaining graces and poliſh which are to be attained in genteel company and converſation. They would, by this means, become objects of love to the deſerving youths, whether natives or Europeans, and by the force of their pleaſing attractions ſoon draw them, from a looſe attachment to Blacks and Mulattoes, into the more rational and happy commerce of nuptial union.

Upon enquiry, in the year 1764, into the ſtate of the ſeveral foundations in this iſland, it appeared that conſiderable ſums had been given and bequeathed for the purpoſe of erecting free-ſchools; ſome of which remained unapplied; and others had been ſo ill-managed, that the public derived but very trivial advantage from them.

Theſe foundations are;

1ſt. Manning's, in Weſtmoreland, founded in 1710.

2d. One in Vere, by charitable donations, 1740.

3d. In Spaniſh Town, by deviſe of Peter Beckford, eſq; 1744.

4th. In Kingſton, by deviſe of John Woollmer, goldſmith, 1736.

5th. At Halfway-Tree, St. Andrew's, by deviſe of Sir Nicholas Laws, 1695. He gave two acres and a half of land, with a houſe for a free-ſchool; conditioning, that any pariſhioner, paying 5*l.* *per annum*, or 50*l.* down, towards advancement of the ſchool, might ſend his child thither for inſtruction. This donation, by a law paſſed in 1738, was eſtabliſhed, under the controul of governors, to make regulations, appoint teachers, &c.; but I do not find that it ſucceeded.

6th. At Old Woman's Savannah, in Clarendon, by a donation of three acres of land, and ſundry ſubſcriptions, 1756.

7th. About 1769, or 1770, Martin Ruſea, of the pariſh of Hanover, deviſed his eſtate, conſiſting chiefly of perſonalty, for erecting and eſtabliſhing a free-ſchool in that pariſh; but the particular value of this donation, does not yet appear. The aſſembly, however, have ſhewn a deſire to promote it, by granting 500*l.* towards its eſtabliſhment.

All theſe foundations, except that at Old Woman's Savannah, were limited to receive boys of the reſpective pariſh in which they lay; which, together with their bad regulation, has been a principal cauſe of their failing. None promiſed ſo well to anſwer, on a general plan, as that at Old Woman's Savannah, ſituated as it was in a very healthy climate, in the centre of the iſland, and in the midſt of ſeveral ſmall ſettlements. No leſs than 2000*l.* was raiſed by voluntary ſubſcription for carrying on the neceſſary buildings. About the year 1758, it was opened, and conducted ſucceſsfully for about ſeven years. The air was found ſo healthy, that, out of eighteen youths, the diſciples of the laſt preceptor, not one was afflicted with any fever or acute diſtemper during their reſidence in it. But, at the time when this academy was brought to a tolerable ſtate of maturity, it all on a ſudden fell into decline under ſeveral impediments. The firſt was the ſmall allotment of land, which was not ſufficient to enable the maſter to keep cows or ſheep, or rear poultry, for the neceſſary ſubſiſtence of his boarders; ſecondly, the great difficulty (under this circumſtance) of getting proviſions; thirdly, the total want of ſome certain eſtabliſhed fund, to afford a ſalary for the head-maſter, and keep the buildings in repair. The aſſembly, in 1764, taking into conſideration the means by which

this ſeminary might be rendered more effectual, propoſed to place it under the public ſanction, and appoint governors and truſtees by law. They likewiſe intended, that one hundred acres of land ſhould be purchaſed contiguous to the ſchool; and that twenty acres ſhould be cleared and fenced; and 500*l.* be granted to truſtees for this purpoſe; and, being of opinion that 50*l. per annum*, though as little as could be allowed for ſchooling, board, waſhing, and lodging, was too large a ſum for perſons of middling fortunes and numerous families to afford, they propoſed that the maſter ſhould give board, waſhing, and lodging, for 30*l.* a year, and education for 20*l.*, of which no more than 5*l.* to be paid by the reſpective parents, or guardians; and the remaining 15*l.* by the public. Such were their good intentions; which, if carried to effect, might have rendered this a very flouriſhing inſtitution. But, before any bill could be framed, the houſe became involved in a hot diſpute with the governor, which was followed with ſeveral diſſolutions, and an utter interruption of buſineſs for a year and half; after which, ſuch a variety of other matters called for preſent attention, that this affair was not reſumed. In the mean while, the maſter, for want of the public ſupport, of which he began to deſpair, found himſelf under neceſſity of quitting it, and of betaking himſelf to ſome other employment, that might yield him a better maintenance. In conſequence of his reſignation, the buildings, on which ſo much money had been expended, remained without a tenant: and, in 1767, the land and buildings were veſted, by act of aſſembly, in truſtees, with a power to ſell the ſame, and apply the money to the purchaſe of land and erection of a ſchool-houſe in ſome other part of the pariſh. The preamble of the act alledges, that the ſituation had been found improper: but this remains to be proved.

If the aſſembly ſhould hereafter be convinced of the very many benefits which this iſland might reap from a well-concerted plan of this nature; there is no part of it better calculated for a public ſchool than this Savannah.

The principal points reſpecting ſituation are;

1ſt, That it ſhould be retired, free from the contamination of thoſe vices which infeſt towns and places of much public reſort.

2dly, That it ſhould be on a dry, healthy ſpot, in an air entirely free

free from ſwampy and other noxious exhalations; and ſupplied with pure and wholeſome water, for drinking and culinary uſes.

3dly, That it ſhould be in the near neighbourhood of ſeveral minor ſettlements, for the convenience of procuring ſmall ſtock and other neceſſary proviſions.

4thly, That the roads leading to it ſhould be good and paſſable.

Every one of theſe requiſites are enjoyed at Old Woman's Savannah. Nor is it in any of them liable to objection, except that the road leading to Old Harbour is ſo long, as to render the carriage of goods from thence in general tedious. Yet this difficulty would eaſily be ſurmounted, if eſtabliſhed prices were formed for the carriage of goods, as there are ſeveral teams which conſtantly uſe this road; or a ſhorter carriage might be opened to St. Anne's Bay. I propoſe, therefore, that a ſquare ſhould be laid out here, about the ſize of the parade in Spaniſh Town. On one ſide of it ſhould ſtand the ſchool-houſe; oppoſite to this, a chapel, for the regular performance of divine ſervice. The Eaſtern ſide of the ſquare ſhould be occupied with the maſter's dwelling-houſe; and in each of its wings a convenient ſuite of apartments, for the accommodation of boarders. Facing this range of building, ſhould be diſpoſed ſome convenient offices.

One hundred acres of land contiguous ſhould be purchaſed by the public; and part of it cleared, fenced, and properly laid out for paſturage and other uſes. To which ſhould be added, ſix cows and a ſmall flock of ſheep. Eight or ten Negroes ſhould likewiſe be provided, to be under the care of a white overſeer, at 80 or 100 *l. per annum* wages, to clear the land, repair fences and roads, and do other neceſſary work.

The maſter ſhould be under the controul of a certain number of truſtees, the governor for the time being to be one; a quorum of whom ſhould annually meet at the ſchool, to examine the condition and management of it, with full power to rectify abuſes, diſcharge the maſter, and appoint in his room; and to lay a ſtate of their proceedings before the legiſlature at their annual ſeſſion.

For the better protection of the boys, and to guard againſt any calamity likely to happen from inſurrections among the Negroes,

a defenſible

a defenſible barrack ſhould be built at a convenient diſtance; where a party, either of ſoldiers or militia, ſhould always be kept on duty. This garriſon would anſwer a double purpoſe, by giving likewiſe a protection to this part of the country, which requires it; and would have the further advantage of being one of the healthieſt cantonments in the whole iſland.

For the better ſupply of this garriſon and the ſchool, a Negroe market ſhould be held here once a week, for poultry, hogs, and ſuch other proviſions as theſe people uſually deal in.

A certain number of white ſervants ſhould be conſtantly kept, in proportion to the number of boarders, that the latter might not, by a too early familiarity and intercourſe with the Negroes, adopt their vices and broken Engliſh.

The articles to be taught here ſhould be reſtricted to reading, writing, arithmetic (including book-keeping), the Spaniſh and French languages, ſurveying, mechanics, together perhaps with ſuch inſtructions in agriculture and botany as relate to the improvement of the vegetable productions of the iſland. The pupils might likewiſe be taught muſic, dancing, fencing, and the military manual exerciſe, to qualify them the better for a courſe of life which requires agility and ſtrength of body, and occaſionally the uſe of arms. The expences of boarding, waſhing, lodging, and tuition, ſhould be regulated by law upon juſt and equitable terms, ſuitable to the general price of neceſſaries, and the circumſtances of the middling inhabitants. Nor would it be a miſ-placed generoſity, if the public ſhould contribute a certain allowance towards the education of each boy; or at leaſt certain ſalaries to the maſter and his aſſiſtants, which would enable them to carry on the undertaking on terms better ſuited to the ability of parents.

Reſtricting the ſcheme of education to theſe limits, I purpoſely exclude all thoſe youths, whoſe fortunes qualifying them for the learned profeſſions, or to cultivate thoſe ſublimer degrees of erudition proper to their rank, ought to purſue ſuch ſtudies in Europe, or North-America, becauſe it were vain to expect that they could attain them to a due accompliſhment in this iſland.

I confine the plan to the children of perſons who do not look ſo high, and who would be content to ſee their ſons virtuouſly trained under

under their own eye, and at a moderate expence, to ſuch branches of knowledge, as may qualify them to be induſtrious planters, ſurveyors, book-keepers, mechanics, uſeful members of this community, rather than be ſhipped off to Britain; from whence it is a great chance, but they might return with a thorough averſion to, or incapacity for, theſe or any other laudable employments. And here let me remark a little on the ſelfiſh and illiberal ſentiments of thoſe men who, in the exuberance of their contrivances for enriching the mother-country, oppoſe every eſtabliſhment for education in the colonies, decry them as injurious to the intereſt of Britain, and would fain have the whole generation of infants regularly ſhipped home to learn their A, B, C. Theſe politicians are not fathers, or at leaſt have their boſoms ſo ſteeled with avarice, as to have loſt all feeling for their fellow-ſubjects in theſe remote parts. The gain, made by the paſſage of theſe poor infants, is, it is true, in favour of the balance ariſing to Great-Britain from her freight. But let this pitiful earning be weighed againſt the hazard of their lives, and the extreme agony which ſo many tender parents muſt ſuffer at parting, through a cruel neceſſity, from their beloved offspring, which perhaps they never may ſee again. Excluſive of humanity, this circumſtance muſt alſo be contemplated, in the view of ſocial policy, as a bitter grievance, which to avoid, many perſons have declined contracting marriage, leſt they ſhould thereby be driven into a diſtreſs ſo ſevere; and which has forced others, under the intolerance of ſuch a ſeparation, to leave the colony prematurely, inſtead of devoting themſelves, as otherwiſe they would have done, to the further improvement of their eſtates. So that, in conſequence of this local defect, the iſland is become far leſs populous and cultivated than we ſhould find it, if proviſion had been made for retaining both the parents and their children within it.

I ſhall now ſuppoſe a ſeminary properly founded in the iſland, and happily conducted on ſuch a plan, as that the middling families might think themſelves under no ſuch neceſſity of ſending their children to other countries for a decent education: and becauſe, for better illuſtrating the argument, we muſt endeavour to fix ſome certain number of them to be ſo retained in the iſland, let this

number

number be called two hundred. I ſhall be told, that theſe boys, if ſent to England, might probably expend there 30*l.* ſterling *per* head *per annum*, one with another, in cloathing, food, &c. to the amount of 6000*l.* But, on the other hand, if we ſuppoſe theſe boys to remain in Jamaica, will it not be found, that Great-Britain would gain full as much by them in ſimilar articles? The difference of climate will certainly require double at leaſt the quantity of articles for cloathing every year, and of a much more expenſive fabric; their books, and many *items* of food and accommodation, muſt be procured from Britain at an enhanced price: ſo that, if any thing near an exact eſtimate could be framed, it muſt, I think, appear very convincingly, that theſe children would conſume a much greater quantity, or value, of Britiſh manufactures and products by ſtaying in Jamaica, and conſequently conduce more to the national profit in this way, than if they had been tranſported into Britain. But it is to be further conſidered, that every one of theſe natives of the iſland will be equal to two unſeaſoned Europeans in ability to undergo the fatigues of buſineſs and laborious exerciſes here; be better qualified, by gradual initiation from their infancy, to underſtand and execute the uſeful plans of life for which they are deſigned; that they will, by habit and nature, prefer this country to every other, and therefore diligently ſettle themſelves in it. The iſland, it is evident, would, in the progreſs of one generation only, contain a far greater number of families than it now poſſeſſes; it would be much more extenſively ſettled; and Great-Britain would gain, in courſe, a proportional acceſs of profit, by their conſumption of manufactures, their ingenuity, and improvements. I am warranted in drawing this conſequence; ſince it is well known, that a family, reſiding in Jamaica, conſumes more of Britiſh manufactures, and gives employment to many more ſubjects in Great-Britain, than the ſame family would do, was it tranſplanted into that kingdom [*m*]. So much for the objections which

[*m*] We may apply, upon this occaſion, what a modern writer has ſaid on another. Let us ſuppoſe a tract of country that yields a rent of 50,000*l.* a year; the whole of which is enjoyed by one great man. In all probability, above 40 of the 50 is ſpent in the capital, in a profuſion of elegancies; flowing into the pockets of the induſtrious, it is true, but the induſtrious in what? why, the furniſhers of luxurious eatables, delicate cookery, and French wines; the exhibitors of public

which are to be expected from that quarter. Some of more weight may arise in the ſtand itſelf, by reaſon of the expence attending ſuch an eſtabliſhment; but, in ſome degree to obviate this, I would propoſe the conſolidating of all the foundations and charity-ſchools, whoſe incomes united would greatly contribute to ſupport the new inſtitution, although, in their preſent ſtate, they are of very little other uſe than the beſtowing ſo many annuities upon five or ſix perſons under the title of ſchoolmaſters.

The income of Spaniſh Town ſchool is about £.196 *per ann.* and has rarely extended to more at a time than 14 boys.

Woolmer's, in Kingſton,	300	15
Vere School,	300	6
Manning's (I ſuppoſe about the ſame),	300	6
Of the reſt I am not informed, but believe they are entirely dropped.		
£.	1090	41

Not therefore to ſpeak of the reſt, here are four ſchools, with as many different maſters; all of whom have regular ſalaries, although their pupils are, all together, not amounting to one half the number which one maſter in England is able enough to take charge of.

Theſe, and all other unexecuted benefactions of the like kind, being lumped into one fund, the propoſed ſchool ſhould be open to receive as many foundation-boys from each reſpective town, or pariſh, as they had been uſually known to have at their reſpective free-ſchool, one year with another; and upon the very ſame terms of board, maintenance, and inſtruction: by which equitable permiſſion, no injury would accrue to theſe pariſhes; but, at the ſame time, it is preſumed, that the good intentions of the ſeveral teſtators, and other benefactors, would be much better fulfilled.

public ſhews and entertainments; Italian ſingers, and French dancers; the induſtrious gentry of Newmarket and White's; in a word, in the encouragement of preciſely that ſpecies of induſtry which is pernicious to the welfare of a kingdom. Thus the income of this tract of land is expended very little to the benefit of the kingdom at large, or the ſpot in particular.

Adjoining to this ſpot lies another of the ſame rent, but belonging to a thouſand freeholders, of 50 *l. per ann.* each, living in their neat manſions on their rents in the midſt of as many, or perhaps more, tenants. What a population is here! and what a conſumption of neceſſary manufactures, and home-products! What a difference to the public between the ends of ſuch induſtry! the one is for ever exerted to the moſt beneficial purpoſes; the other, to the moſt pernicious ones. POLIT. ESS.

It is aſtoniſhing to obſerve the gentlemen of this iſland ſo laviſh in ſome reſpects of public money, and ſo inattentive at the ſame time, to a matter of this intereſting concern; for what can be more ſo, than to wean the inhabitants from that detrimental habit of emigration, that unhappy idea of conſidering this place a mere temporary abode, eſpecially as ſuch numbers are, from unexpected turns in life, laid under a neceſſity of remaining in it, and bringing up a race of children, whom, for want of a ſeminary, they no ſooner begin to take delight in, than they are forced to wiſh they could eraſe from their remembrance. Theſe very people have not heſitated to diſburſe near 70,000*l.* in the ſpace of nine years upon fortifying the iſland, who never thought of voting a ſeventieth part of that ſum towards rendering it much more eſſentially ſecure, and much better protected, by falling on eaſy means of making it populous. The condition of the North Americans would at this time have been deplorable indeed, if they had been equally improvident. But it is a proof of their wiſdom and regard for poſterity, that in every one of their townſhips, there is proviſion made for a ſchoolmaſter; ſo that the loweſt of their people are not left deſtitute of ſome education. For thoſe of more liberal fortune, there are colleges founded under able profeſſors; where philoſophy has already dawned with a luſtre that aſtoniſhes the oldeſt ſocieties of the learned in Europe, and commands their moſt reſpectful attention. It is ſhocking to think, that, through a defect of this generous ſpirit, or a want of ſteddineſs and reſolution, no ſuch meaſures have yet been eſpouſed in our iſland. But our hearts muſt bleed, when we reflect on the many unfortunate children who have periſhed; ſome by ſhipwreck; ſome by exploſion[*n*]; others by neglect after their arrival in England. To enumerate theſe fatalities, would be a melancholy recital, and perhaps only ſerve to revive paternal affliction. What bleſſings then will await that aſſembly, who ſhall patriotically reſolve to prevent this barbarous neceſſity, and theſe ſorrowful events, in future! They will, indeed, be juſtly ſtyled the fathers of their country, and merit immortal honour.

[*n*] Several were deſtroyed in this manner on ſhip-board, a few years ſince.

I have

I have chiefly confined my thoughts to a ſchool for boys. If another for girls ſhould likewiſe be approved, perhaps a ſituation nearer one of the towns, as at Halfway-tree, in St. Andrew, might be moſt proper, in order to accommodate them eaſier with the neceſſary maſters. This ſchool would be beſt regulated under a ſelect committee of the principal ladies in the iſland, the governor's lady being the patroneſs. Theſe ſuperintendants might annually be choſen by ballot; and the legiſlature no further interfere, than in ſupporting the foundation, and regulating the terms of admiſſion.

The expence annually attending the boys ſeminary cannot be exactly computed; nevertheleſs, as a calculation may not only convey ſome idea of what it will require, but ſerve as a groundwork for concerting a regular plan of ſuch an undertaking, I take the liberty to offer the following:

The head maſter, annual ſalary,	£. 280 to £. 300
An aſſiſtant,	140
A Botanical profeſſor,	140
A phyſician,	140
A teacher of muſick,	70
A ditto, of fencing and the manual exerciſe,	70
A dancing-maſter,	70
An overſeer,	80
Two white ſervants, at 35*l.* each,	70
	960
Neceſſaries for ten Negroes *per ann.* at 3*l.* each,	30
	990

A botanic garden, ſituated near the ſchool, might be laid out, and ſtocked with thoſe plants of the iſland, or of the Southern continent, moſt diſtinguiſhed for their virtues in medicine, or value for commercial purpoſes. It is certain, that nature has not only furniſhed this iſland with ſeveral vegetable productions uſeful in trade and manufactures, but likewiſe an unlimited variety of medicinal balms, barks, and roots, adapted to the cure of moſt diſtempers incident to the climate.

The perſon made choice of for miſtreſs ſhould not be allowed to follow any other avocation; which might engroſs too much of his time, and the neglect of his pupils; and for this reaſon any beneficed clergyman might be unfit, becauſe his parochial duties would probably claim a great part of that attention, the whole of which ought ſolely to be employed in the affairs of the ſchool.

My wiſh to render this iſland more flouriſhing far outſtrips my ability to propound the means. In this caſe, the ſincerity of an honeſt intention muſt atone for the imperfections of argument. The rectitude of a meaſure is one thing; the means of accompliſhing it, another. Many perſons are able to diſcern the former, who ſearch for the other with heſitation. But, as the aſſembly poſſeſſes happily the power of conducting moſt uſeful plans to effect, I cannot but indulge the hope, that it may hold a ſubject of this importance not unworthy its moſt ſerious deliberation.

CHAP. XIII.

Of the Inhabitants.

SECT. I.

THE inhabitants of this iſland may be diſtinguiſhed under the following claſſes: Creoles, or natives; Whites, Blacks, Indians, and their varieties; European and other Whites; and imported or African Blacks.

The intermixture of Whites, Blacks, and Indians, has generated ſeveral different caſts, which have all their proper denominations, invented by the Spaniards, who make this a kind of ſcience among them. Perhaps they will be better underſtood by the following table.

Direct lineal Aſcent from the Negroe Woman.

White Man, = Negroe Woman.
|
White Man, = Mulatto.
|
White Man, = Terceron.
|
White Man, = Quateron.
|
White Man, = Quinteron.
|
White.

MEDIATE

MEDIATE or STATIONARY, neither advancing nor receding.

Quateron, = Terceron.
|
Tchte-enel-ayre.

RETROGRADE.

Mulatto, = Terceron. Negroe, = Mulatta. Indian, = Mulatta. Negroe, = Indian.
| | | |
Saltatras. Sambo de Mulatta, } = Negroe. Meſtize. Sambo de Indian, } = Sambo de Mulatta.
| |
NEGROE. Givero [o].

In the Spaniſh colonies, it is accounted moſt creditable to mend the breed by aſcending or growing whiter; inſomuch that a Quateron will hardly keep company with a Mulatto; and a Meſtize values himſelf very highly in compariſon with a Sambo. The Giveros lie under the imputation of having the worſt inclinations and principles; and, if the caſt is known, they are baniſhed. Theſe diſtinctions, however, do not prevail in Jamaica; for here the Terceron is confounded with the Quateron; and the laws permit all, that are above three degrees removed in lineal deſcent from the Negro anceſtor, to vote at elections, and enjoy all the privileges and immunities of his majeſty's white ſubjects of the iſland. The Dutch, I am informed, tranſcend the Spaniards very far in their refinement of theſe complexions. They add drops of pure water to a ſingle drop of duſky liquor, until it becomes tolerably pellucid. But this needs the appoſition of ſuch a multitude of drops, that, to apply the experiment by analogy to the human race, twenty or thirty generations, perhaps, would hardly be ſufficient to diſcharge the ſtain.

The native white men, or Creoles, of Jamaica are in general tall and well-ſhaped; and ſome of them rather inclined to corpulence. Their cheeks are remarkably high-boned, and the ſockets of their eyes deeper than is commonly obſerved among the natives of England; by this conformation, they are guarded from thoſe ill effects which an almoſt continual ſtrong glare of ſun-ſhine might otherwiſe produce. Their ſight is keen and penetrating; which renders them excellent markſmen: a light-grey, and black, or deep hazel, are the more common colours of the pupil. The effect of climate is not only remarkable in the ſtructure of their eyes, but likewiſe

[o] Perhaps from *Gifero*, a butcher.

in

in the extraordinary freedom and ſuppleneſs of their joints, which enable them to move with eaſe, and give them a ſurpriſing agility, as well as gracefulneſs in dancing. Although deſcended from Britiſh anceſtors, they are ſtamped with theſe characteriſtic deviations. Climate, perhaps, has had ſome ſhare in producing the variety of feature which we behold among the different ſocieties of mankind, ſcattered over the globe: ſo that, were an Engliſhman and woman to remove to China, and there abide, it may be queſtioned, whether their deſcendants, in the courſe of a few generations, conſtantly reſiding there, would not acquire ſomewhat of the Chineſe caſt of countenance and perſon? I do not indeed ſuppoſe, that, by living in Guiney, they would exchange hair for wool, or a white cuticle for a black: change of complexion muſt be referred to ſome other cauſe. I have ſpoken only of thoſe Creoles who never have quitted the iſland; for they, who leave it in their infancy, and paſs into Britain for education, where they remain until their growth is pretty well compleated, are not ſo remarkably diſtinguiſhed either in their features or limbs. Confining myſelf to the permanent natives, or Creole men, I have this idea of their qualities; that they are in general ſenſible, of quick apprehenſion, brave, good-natured, affable, generous, temperate, and ſober; unſuſpicious, lovers of freedom, fond of ſocial enjoyments, tender fathers, humane and indulgent maſters; firm and ſincere friends, where they once repoſe a confidence; their tables are covered with plenty of good cheer, and they pique themſelves on regaling their gueſts with a profuſion of viands; their hoſpitality is unlimited; they have lodging and entertainment always at the ſervice of tranſient ſtrangers and travelers; and receive in the moſt friendly manner thoſe, with whoſe character and circumſtances they are often utterly unacquainted [*p*]; they affect gaiety and diverſions, which in general are cards, billiards, backgammon, cheſs, horſe-racing, hog-hunting, ſhooting, fiſhing, dancing, and muſic; the latter in particular they are formed to enjoy with the niceſt feelings; and their ear for melody is, for the moſt part, exceedingly correct. This, indeed, has alſo been remarked of the Creole Blacks, who, without being able to read a

[*p*] One obvious proof of this is, that there is ſcarcely one tolerable inn throughout the whole iſland, except at a great diſtance from any ſettlement.

ſingle

ſingle note, are known to play twenty or thirty tunes, country-dances, minuets, airs, and even ſonatas, on the violin; and catch, with an aſtoniſhing readineſs, whatever they hear played or ſung, eſpecially if it is lively and ſtriking.

There are no people in the world that exceed the gentlemen of this iſland in a noble and diſintereſted munificence. Such a diſpoſition deſerves to be commemorated; and I ſhall therefore think it incumbent on me to give ſome examples of it. After the deceaſe of the duke of Portland, it was well known that he died in very indifferent circumſtances. From the time of his death, the dutcheſs and her family were provided with a regular and ſplendid table, ſuitable to her rank, at the public charge; and, as ſhe could not have the convenience of returning home in a man of war, the aſſembly cauſed a ſhip to be equipped for her with every proper accommodation, and added to this mark of reſpect a very conſiderable preſent in money. They have been often accuſed, and very unjuſtly, of wilfully ſeeking occaſions to quarrel with their governors. On the contrary, they have never failed in liberality and a juſt deference to thoſe governors who have deſerved well by the mildneſs and equity of their adminiſtration.

They made an augmentation of 2500*l.* *per annum* to the governor's uſual ſalary; erected a magnificent houſe for his reſidence; and purchaſed lands, for his better convenience, at no leſs expence than 12,000. Their gratitude to their governors would have been manifeſted more frequently, if more occaſions had been given for exciting it. Among other inſtances of this ſenſe they have of good uſage, let me mention, that, upon the death of the late worthy governor Sir William Trelawny, the aſſembly paid no trivial compliment to his merit, by giving his remains an honourable interment at the public charge; the expence amounted to 1000*l.* ſterling. But, what was a more conſpicuous indication of their regret for the loſs of ſo eſteemed a man, there was not a perſon of any conſideration, in the county where he died, who did not attend him to the grave, and with looks that beſpoke the the ſincerity of their affliction. But this natural propenſity to ſuch actions of benevolence as do honour to mankind cannot ſhew itſelf ſo often in a public manner, as in the more ſilent walks of private life.

An

An officer died here, leaving his wife and ſeveral children in very great diſtreſs. No ſooner was their unfortunate condition made known, than relieved by private contributions amounting to a very large ſum. Another officer's widow, in ſomewhat ſimilar circumſtances, except that ſhe was left unincumbered with a family, met with the like generous ſupport. And here I muſt not paſs over a ſtill more ſtriking anecdote of this amiable diſpoſition. I ſhall relate it faithfully as near as I can recollect. A certain planter, having taken offence at the behaviour of his ſon, reſolved to diſinherit him. He accordingly deviſed away the whole of his eſtate to a gentleman of diſtinction in the country, for whom he entertained a particular eſteem; and ſoon afterwards died. The deviſee was ſurprized and ſhocked when the will was ſhewn to him. He ſent for the young man; and, upon his arrival, delivered into his hands a deed which he had juſt executed, reconveying to him all his paternal eſtate, adding to this effect; "Your father meant to "be my friend; it is my duty to be yours. I give you back his "eſtate; it is now yours by juſt inheritance: go and enjoy it; and "be aſſured that you may always depend on my beſt ſervices and "advice ſo long as your future conduct ſhall entitle you to claim "them." An admirable example this of refined virtue and principle, untainted with ſelfiſh or mercenary baſeneſs. Though ſimply no more than the effuſion of a mind controuled by juſtice, humanity, and moral rectitude; yet, in this age of callous venality, it deſerves to be applauded as an act of ſelf-denial, not very commonly met with in other parts of the world. Without multiplying ſuch narratives, I ſhall only declare, that I know but very few natives of the iſland, among the claſs of gentlemen, who, in the like caſe, would not have acted in the ſame truly noble manner.

Some years ago, ſeveral new ſettlers, who had arrived in conſequence of different acts paſſed for their encouragement, were bound, by an expreſs condition, that, after the expiration of the firſt ſeven years, they ſhould be obliged to re-imburſe the treaſury for the expence of their paſſage, and a twelvemonth's ſubſiſtence advanced upon their firſt coming over. In 1749, there were fifty of them found indebted to the public, on this account, no leſs

than 7479*l.* This ſum the aſſembly readily remitted, and diſcharged them entirely from the obligation [*q*].

This will be ſuppoſed an act of political generoſity, and of a different nature from the examples before given; for which reaſon I have placed it laſt in my catalogue, as it is conſidered perhaps more referable to the ſpirit of patriotiſm, than the impulſes of humanity; though to have acted otherwiſe would have betrayed, I confeſs, but a ſmall ſhare of either.

With all theſe praiſe-worthy qualities, the Creoles have ſome foibles in their diſpoſition. They are ſubject to frailties in common with the reſt of mankind. They are poſſeſſed with a degree of ſupineneſs and indolence in their affairs, which renders them bad œconomiſts, and too frequently hurts their fortune and family. With a ſtrong natural propenſity to the other ſex, they are not always the moſt chaſte and faithful of huſbands. They are liable to ſudden tranſports of anger; but theſe fits, like hurricanes, though violent while they laſt, are ſoon over and ſubſide into a calm: yet they are not apt to forget or forgive ſubſtantial injuries. A lively imagination brings every circumſtance preſent to their remembrance, and agitates them almoſt as much as if it had occurred but immediately before. They are fickle and deſultory in their purſuits; though unſhaken in their friendſhips. From this cauſe perhaps it is, that various ſchemes, both in pleaſure and buſineſs, have been eagerly ſtarted, and then ſuddenly dropped, and forgotten as if they had never exiſted. They have ſome tincture of vanity, and occaſionally of haughtineſs; though much leſs of the latter than formerly. That diſtant carriage, which was gained here inſenſibly by habit, when the planters employed ſix times the number of white ſervants, whom, together with their Negroes, they might think it prudent to keep under a due awe and ſubordination to authority, has worn away in courſe of time with the cauſes of it. They are too much addicted to expenſive living, coſtly entertainments, dreſs, and equipage. Were they but more abſtemious in theſe reſpects, and more attentive to good huſbandry on their plantations, there

[*q*] In 1758, was a ſimilar act of remiſſion of 6301*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* to ſixty ſettlers. I have not the leaſt doubt, for my own part, but that theſe remiſſions were the pure effects of compaſſionate ſentiments, and not the offspring of a political liberality.

are few who would not amaſs conſiderable fortunes, and render their poſterity opulent. But they are fond alſo of monopolizing large tracts of land, buying up all around them, and attempting to ſettle new eſtates before the old one is cleared of debts. By this means, and impoſing on themſelves by a ſpecious mode of payment, in giving their own bonds, and taking upon them the debts of other men, they become harraſſed and unhappy ever after. Finding themſelves unable to depoſite when the day of payment arrives, they are either reduced to be ſlaves for life, in hopes to redeem, or ſuſtain, the whole of a large territory thus acquired; or to plunge deeper and deeper in debt and diſtreſs, by ſubmitting to every ſpecies of fraud and extortion that may gain them a little reſpite; till perhaps, after a tedious conflict, they leave at their deceaſe their whole fortune to be torn piece-meal, and their family turned adrift, to make room for ſome worthleſs upſtart, who has poſſeſſed cunning and villainy enough to accumulate money, or obtain credit, ſufficient for becoming the proprietor. It is a ſettled maxim, "that "you are not diſtinguiſhed, or of any note, unleſs you are in debt." In other words, you are no body, unleſs you make yourſelf literally ſo. But what ſort of a levee is to attend ſuch pre-eminence? A banditti of creditors and deputy marſhals, who, for their own ſakes, not the planter's, wiſh him well for a while, that they may be the better; as a flight of vultures would rather make their repaſt on a fat carcaſe, than a lean one; and will pick either the one or the other to the very bones before they quit it.

Moſt of the old Creole families are allied, by the inter-marriages among their anceſtors before the iſland was populouſly ſettled. The ſame remark may be made on many other communities in the world, which have ſprung from a few families; for example, the Welſh and Scotch. The natives in general prefer pure water to any other beverage. Punch ſeems almoſt proſcribed from the politer tables; though, when it is made with rum of due age, ripe fruit, and not too ſtrong, it is a very pleaſant, refreſhing, and wholeſome drink, and one of the beſt appropriated to a hot climate. Madeira wine is in more eſteem than claret, not only becauſe it is cheaper, but as the greateſt heat of the air only ſerves to improve its flavour, and as it is not apt to ferment in the ſtomach. It is generally

nerally drank here diluted with water; and in this ſtate it may be regarded as a very powerful antiſeptic. They are exceſſively fond of chocolate, which ſome drink morning and afternoon in preference to tea. Formerly the men uſed to indulge in a *ſieſto* in their hammocks every day after dinner. They dreſſed in waiſtcoats and caps; never wearing coats nor wigs, except at church, or on public occaſions. Theſe modes, copied from the Spaniards, have long been diſuſed; and at preſent they follow the Engliſh faſhions, only ſtudying coolneſs and eaſe. They indulge in the fruits of the country, particularly ſuch as are moſt nutritious; and ſwallow pepper without moderation, which is alſo the principal ingredient in their olios or pepper-pots, a compoſition highly eſteemed here even by the Europeans.

The planters of this iſland have been very unjuſtly ſtigmatized with an accuſation of treating their Negroes with barbarity. Some alledge, that theſe ſlave-holders (as they are pleaſed to call them, in contempt) are lawleſs baſhaws, Weſt-India tyrants, inhuman oppreſſors, bloody inquiſitors, and a long, &c. of ſuch pretty names. The planter, in reply to theſe bitter invectives, will think it ſufficient to urge, in the firſt place, that *he* did not make them ſlaves, but ſucceeded to the inheritance of their ſervices in the ſame manner as an Engliſh 'ſquire ſucceeds to the eſtate of his anceſtors; and that, as to his Africans, he buys their ſervices from thoſe who have all along pretended a very good right to ſell; that it cannot be for his intereſt to treat his Negroes in the manner repreſented; but that it is ſo to uſe them well, and preſerve their vigour and exiſtence as long as he is able. The antagoniſts, though willing to allow that he is ſelf-intereſted in all he does, can hardly admit this plea; although it is evident, that the more mercenary a planter's diſpoſition is, the ſtronger muſt the obligation grow upon him to treat his labourers well, ſince his own profit, which he is ſuppoſed alone to conſult, muſt neceſſarily prompt him to it. In proving him therefore to be ſuch a mercenary wretch, they effectually confute the charge of cruel uſage; ſince the one is utterly incompatible with the other [*r*]. "But," ſays Mr. Sharpe, brandiſhing his two-edged

[*r*] Eſquemeling, who was himſelf an indented ſervant to the French Weſt-India company about the year 1664, has deſcribed very feelingly the difference between the condition of a Negroe-

edged weapon, "the planter makes no ſcruple to gain by wearing "out his ſlaves with continual labour, and a ſcanty allowance, "before they have lived out half their natural days;" and he compares this exceſs of conſtrained labour to "the mercileſs uſage practiſed in England over poſt-horſes, ſand-aſſes, &c." Soon after this declamation, he tells us, "that the allowance of food is not "given to a ſlave for his own ſake, but merely for the intereſt of "his maſter; to enable the ſlave to continue his daily labour in the "ſame manner as the foddering a horſe, or fattening of cattle for "ſlaughter, becauſe the food is given on no other conſideration "than for the profit of the owner." Then he gives us a quotation from the learned and reverend Mr. Godwyn, "that the planter "conſiders this allowance of proviſion as expedient and fit, in "order to enable his Negroes to undergo their labour, without "which, himſelf cannot get riches and great eſtates; but nothing "for the wretch's health and preſervation!" Now, with all ſubmiſſion to this profound advocate and his co-adjutor, I preſume, groe-ſlave and that of a white contract-ſervant, in his time, and aſſigned the true cauſe of it. Speaking, firſt, of his countrymen at Hiſpaniola, he ſays, "the ſervants commonly bind themſelves to their maſters for three years; but their maſters, having no conſcience, traffic with "their bodies as with cattle at a fair, ſelling them to other maſters as they do Negroes. Yet, to "advance this trade, ſome perſons go purpoſely into France, and likewiſe to England and other "countries, to pick up young men and boys, whom they inveigle and tranſport; and, having "once got them into the iſlands, they work them like horſes; the toil impoſed upon them being "much harder than what they enjoin the Negroes, their ſlaves; for theſe they endeavour to preſerve, being their perpetual bond-men; but, for their white ſervants, they care not whether "they live or die, ſeeing they are to ſerve them no longer than three years.

"The planters of the Caribbee Iſles" (he aſſerts) "were ſtill more cruel to their white ſervants." And he names a Frenchman, at St. Chriſtopher's, "who had killed above a hundred with "ſtripes and blows. In regard to the Engliſh" (he ſays), "they did the ſame with theirs; and "that the mildeſt cruelty they exerciſed towards their ſervants was, that, when they had ſerved ſix "years of their time (the uſual term of their contracts being ſeven), they uſed them ſo ill, as "forced them to beg their maſters to ſell them to others, though it were to begin another ſervitude of ſeven years; and that he had known many who had thus ſerved fifteen or twenty "years."

The low price at which theſe ſervants were furniſhed by the French company to the planters, being no more than from 4*l.* 10*s.* to 6*l.* 15*s.* ſterling *per* head, was another cauſe of their ill uſage; ſince the loſs ſuſtained by their death was conſidered, by the purchaſer, as very trifling, and eaſily to be replaced.

At preſent, it requires no argument to prove, that the enormous price of Negroe-ſlaves muſt procure them an indulgent and careful treatment even from owners of an inhuman diſpoſition; and with ſuch men, however ſelfiſh the motive is, ſtill the effect may be no leſs favourable to the ſlave.

that,

that, if the enabling his Negroes to undergo their labour, by allowing them expedient food, be the true motive, as they affirm it is, for the planter's care of his Negroes; the ſame motive muſt neceſſarily induce him to be equally aſſiduous for the preſervation of their lives and health. This, indeed, is implied; ſince, if they are abandoned to ſickneſs, or ſuffered to periſh for want of his care, he muſt of courſe be deprived of the benefit of their labour, which alone (as they rightly obſerve) is the foundation of his riches. Thus the planter is affirmed to take care of the life and health of his Negroes, that he may profit by their labour; and yet to let them die through barbarity and neglect; by which he muſt eventually be a loſer of all that benefit. In one paragraph he is made to ſtarve and wear them out before they have half finiſhed their term of life; in the next he is ſaid to allow them plenty of food, to ſupport them in the continuance of their labour. How they can be hacked and ſtarved to death, like poſt-horſes, or ſand-aſſes, and yet fattened like oxen for Leadenhall-market, at one and the ſame time, is ſo far beyond the humble limits of a planter's comprehenſion, that it muſt be left to be further reconciled and explained by theſe two ſagacious writers; and the perplexing enigma, they are deſired to ſolve, is, by what means it comes to paſs, that the planter gains equally, whether he ſtarves and deſtroys them, or whether he feeds and takes care of them?

I will aſſert, in my turn, and I hope without inconſiſtency or untruth, that there are no men, nor orders of men, in Great-Britain, poſſeſſed of more diſintereſted charity, philanthropy, and clemency, than the Creole gentlemen of this iſland. I have never known, and rarely heard, of any cruelty either practiſed or tolerated by them over their Negroes. If cruelties are practiſed, they happen without their knowledge or conſent. Some few of their Britiſh overſeers have given proofs of a ſavage diſpoſition; but inſtances are not wanting to ſhew, that, upon juſt complaint and information of inhuman uſage, the planters have puniſhed the actor as far they were able, by turning him out of their employ, and frequently refuſing a certificate that might introduce him into any other perſon's. Theſe barbarians are imported from among the liberty-loving inhabitants of Britain and Ireland. Let the reproach

then

then fall on the guilty, and not on the planter. He is to thank his mother-country for diſgorging upon him ſuch wretches as ſometimes undertake the management of Weſt-India properties; and, by wanton torture inflicted on the ſlaves confided to their charge (the reſult of their own unprincipled hearts and abominable tempers), bring an unmerited cenſure on the gentlemen proprietors, who are no further culpable than in too often giving this employment to the outcaſts of ſociety, becauſe, it may happen, they can get none better.

America has long been made the very common ſewer and dung-yard to Britain. Is it not therefore rather ungenerous and unmanly, that the planter ſhould be vilified, by Britiſh men, for the crimes and execrable miſdeeds of Britiſh refugees! It is hard upon him to ſuffer this two-fold injury, firſt by the waſte of his fortune in the hands of a worthleſs ſervant, and next by ſuch unfair imputations upon his character. There is, I allow, no country exiſting without ſome inhuman miſcreants to diſhonour it. England gives birth to ſuch, as well as other ſtates; but I would not, from this reaſon, argue that every Engliſhman is (according to Voltaire) a ſavage.

The planters do not want to be told, that their Negroes are human creatures. If they believe them to be of human kind, they cannot regard them (which Mr. Sharpe inſiſts they do) as no better than dogs or horſes. But how many poor wretches, even in England, are treated with far leſs care and humanity than theſe brute animals! I could wiſh the planters had not too much reaſon on their ſide to retort the obloquy, and charge multitudes in that kingdom with neglecting the juſt reſpect which they owe to their own ſpecies, when they ſuffer many around them to be perſecuted with unrelenting tyranny in various ſhapes, and others to periſh in gaols, for want of common neceſſaries; whilſt no expence is thought too great to beſtow on the well-being of their dogs and horſes. But, to have done with theſe odious compariſons, I ſhall only add, that a planter ſmiles with diſdain to hear himſelf calumniated for tyrannical behaviour to his Negroes. He would wiſh the defamer might be preſent, to obſerve with what freedom and confidence they addreſs him; not with the abject proſtration of real ſlaves, but as

their common friend and father. His authority over them is like that of an antient patriarch: conciliating affection by the mildneſs of its exertion, and claiming reſpect by the juſtice and propriety of its deciſions and diſcipline, it attracts the love of the honeſt and good; while it awes the worthleſs into reformation. Amongſt three or four hundred Blacks, there muſt be ſome who are not to be reclaimed from a ſavage, intractable humour, and acts of violence, without the coercion of puniſhment. So, among the whole body of planters, ſome may be found of naturally auſtere and inhuman tempers. Yet they, who act up to the dignity of man, ought not to be confounded with others, whoſe odious depravity of heart has degraded them beneath the rank of human beings. To caſt general reflections on any body of men is certainly illiberal; but much more ſo, when applied to thoſe, who, if their conduct and characters were fully known to the world, would appear ſo little to deſerve them.

The French treat the gentlemen of their Weſt-India ſettlements in a very different manner. "It is with great juſtice," ſays Boſſu, "that we reckon the Creoles *noble* in France. Their ſentiments "are ſo noble and delicate in every ſtation of life, that they per-"fectly well merit that appellation."

I ſhould implore pardon of the ladies, for not having given them the precedence which is their due: but I diſpatched the gentlemen firſt, that I might pay the more attention to the lovelier ſex. Feminine beauties and virtues are to be found in every clime, the growth of every ſoil. The Creole women are perfectly well-ſhaped; and many of them remarkably handſome. In general, they have exceedingly good teeth; which ſome have imputed to the pains they conſtantly take in cleaning them with the chaw-ſtick [s], which guards them from the ſcurvy. They prefer chocolate to tea; and do not drink any liquor ſo hot as is cuſtomary with women in England. It ſeems to be a vulgar error, that ſugar cauſes the teeth to decay. It is certainly an anti-ſeptic, and un-

[s] A ſpecies of rhamnus. It is of a bitter taſte, and contains a great quantity of fixed air; both of which qualities render it a very proper corrector of any putrid ſlough that may happen to lodge between the interſtices of the teeth. It is cut into ſmall junks, of three or four inches in length; one extremity of which, being firſt ſoaked a little while in warm water, is ſoon formed into a ſoft bruſh by chawing; from whence it derives its popular name.

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juſtly bears that blame; which, for the moſt part, ſhould rather be thrown on the neglect of cleanlineſs. The ladies of this iſland eat large quantities of it in ſugar-cakes, or what is called *pan-ſugar* [*t*], and confectionary. I knew a man here, who was exceſſively fond of ſugar and its preparations. During the crop-ſeaſon, he not only uſed to eat plentifully of it, but mixed ſyrup and water for his common beverage at meals. At the age of about eighty years, he had his teeth ſtill compleat, perfectly white and ſound. He informed me, that he never was afflicted with the tooth-ach in his life. His head was covered with good black hair, without any viſible intermixture of grey, or the leaſt ſymptom of baldneſs; and he was ſtrong, hale, and lively. He imputed the ſoundneſs of his teeth, his unchanged hair, and activity, to his never having drunk malt-liquors, wine, or ſpirits of any kind; his only drink being plain water, the pureſt he could get, or mixed with ſugar. He would probably have attained to a much greater age, if it had not been for an accident, occaſioned by his own temerity.

Kalm, accounting for the bad teeth of the ladies in Pennſylvania and other North-American provinces, oppoſes the vulgar notion of bad qualities in ſugar upon very probable grounds. He obſerves, that women, who uſed no ſugar in their tea, had equally bad teeth as the reſt; that the men in general were leſs liable to this misfortune; and that the Indians, living in the ſame air and country, were remarkable for good teeth. He aſcribes the decay of them to their drinking tea too often, ſometimes no leſs than thrice a day, and too hot. Some females may titter at the good Dr. Hales's experiment with a pig's tail, which being dipped into a cup of tea, heated to the degree in which it is uſually drank (viz. thirty degrees above the blood-heat), the ſkin was ſcalded in a minute, ſo as to make the hair come off eaſily. But he juſtly concludes from hence, that the frequent drinking of ſuch hot liquor is hurtful, agreeably to the general aſſertion of phyſicians. And I may add, that the ableſt dentiſts have concurred in their teſtimony, that it is particu-

[*t*] The ſyrup in the tache, or laſt clarifier, adheres in a thick cruſt to the rim, ſomewhat reſembling brown ſugar-candy. This is taken off, and paſſes under the name of pan-ſugar. Cakes are alſo made by mixing a little powdered ginger and cinnamon with the clarified ſyrup; and, after pouring it on a plate, it hardens, and is ſliced into little ſquares.

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larly deſtructive of the enamel of the teeth. No people in the world have finer teeth than the native Blacks of Jamaica; and none devour greater quantities of ſugar. Few of the Creole ladies ſip their tea till it cools to about milk-warmth, nor oftener than once, or at the utmoſt twice, a day. But they, who have been brought up in England, where they were accuſtomed to drink it almoſt boiling hot, and to debauch in it too freely, are many of them ſo much addicted to, and confirmed in this practice, that they cannot break themſelves of it here without much reluctance. And hence perhaps it happens, that the natives of England, and thoſe Creoles who have been educated in England, have not in general ſuch good teeth, as others who have never been out of the iſland [*u*].

A crooked or deformed Creole man or woman, unleſs ſuch at the time of their birth, or diſtorted by ſome miſchance, would here be a rarity to be gazed at.

The method uſed here in rearing children ſecures the graceful form of their perſons, and is a certain proof of maternal good ſenſe. From the time their infants are a month old, they are allowed no other bed than a hard matraſs, laid upon the floor; and, inſtead of a ſheet, they repoſe on a ſmooth ſheep-ſkin, which is occaſionally ſhifted, for the ſake of cleanlineſs. They are clad looſe and light, go without the incumbrance of ſtockings, are bathed regularly in water every day, and expoſed freely to the air; ſo that no part of the world can ſhew more beautiful children. The girls are not ſuffered to wear ſtays (thoſe abominable machines for the deſtruction of ſhape and health); but, as well as the boys, are indulged in ſuch a cool and unconfined attire, as admits the free extenſion of their limbs and muſcles.

[*u*] Some reſtrict the bad effects of ſugar entirely to what is refined, which is ſuppoſed to be impregnated with lime, uſed in the proceſs; and the corroſive power of this ſubſtance upon bones is well known. But it is ſcarcely probable, that even a ſtrong ſolution of lime in water could produce this eroſion of the teeth, unleſs they were daily rubbed with it; and even then it is far from being certain. But combine this alkali with an acid (as it is in ſugar), and ſurely its effect muſt be greatly altered. We may remark, however, the inconſiſtence of writers; ſome of whom blame the acid in the ſugar; others, the alkali of the lime; thus imputing the effect to two contrary principles. The very ſmall quantity of lime, that can remain intermixed, is certainly not anſwerable to the ſuſpicion; but, if it even ſhould be thought to deſerve it, the muſcovado, or unrefined, will ſtand clear of it.

Many of the good folks in England have entertained the ſtrange opinion, that the children born in Jamaica of white parents turn ſwarthy, through the effect of the climate; nay, ſome have not ſcrupled to ſuppoſe, that they are converted into black-a-moors. The truth is, that the children born in England have not, in general, lovelier or more tranſparent ſkins, than the offspring of white parents in Jamaica. In the Southern parts of the iſland, they have none of that beautiful *vermeille*, ſo much admired in England; but, though expoſed, as lively children neceſſarily muſt be, very much to the influence of ſun-ſhine, their ſkins do not acquire the Engliſh tan, but in general grow pale, and of a fainter white. The genuine tan of the ſun here, on faces of healthy grown perſons, who are a good deal in the open air, is a ſuffuſion of red. The natives of both ſexes are very remarkable for this kind of complexion; and it gives them the appearance of ſanguine habits, and vigorous health. The brunettes, or thoſe of a naturally thick and unperſpiring ſkin, frequently become browner, as they advance in years, and ſeem to be tinged with a bilious ſecretion, which, circulates with the blood, and lurks in the ſmaller veſſels, inſtead of paſſing off, as it does in other habits, by the outlets of perſpiration. The many Mulatto, Quateron, and other illegitimate children ſent over to England for education, have probably given riſe to the opinion before-mentioned; for, as theſe children are often ſent to the moſt expenſive public ſchools, where the hiſtory of their birth and parentage is entirely unknown, they paſs under the general name of Weſt-Indians; and the bronze of their complexion is ignorantly aſcribed to the fervour of the ſun in the torrid zone. But the genuine Engliſh breed, untainted with theſe heterogeneous mixtures, is obſerved to be equally pure and delicate in Jamaica as the mother country.

The practice of inoculation, according to the modern improvements, has been very ſucceſsfully uſed here. I ſhall be forgiven, I am ſure, by the ladies, for a ſhort digreſſion on this ſubject, and for introducing the following ſenſible remarks upon it:

"Of thoſe who take the ſmall-pox caſually, one in ſeven is "found to die. But, of fifteen hundred patients inoculated in "England by the ſurgeons Ranby, Hawkins, and Middleton, three

"only

"only miſcarried, *i. e.* one in five hundred. Now, not to men-
"tion that the hazard is, by a long experience ſince, reduced al-
"moſt to nothing, according to this computation, which has never
"been invalidated; in every five hundred perſons inoculated, ſe-
"venty lives are preſerved to ſociety! Let the computation be
"extended to the probable number inoculated every year, from the
"time when the practice began to obtain generally, and to theſe
"add the poſterity derived from the marriage of theſe redeemed
"perſons, as they advance to maturity; and we ſhall find a poſi-
"tive and happy increaſe of people, continually riſing up, and
"ſtaring out of countenance all declaimers againſt the prac-
"tice [*w*]."

I thought I might, without impropriety, give this quotation at large, becauſe I have obſerved ſome tender mothers in the iſland led away by vain terrors, or influenced by predeſtinarian ſcruples; not conſidering, that the hand of the Almighty has pointed out this eaſy method of preſerving his creatures from the horrid ravages of this diſeaſe, the ſeeds of which are probably congenial to our very frame, and from whoſe infection very few are exempted; nor perceiving the force of poſitive evidence, which, through a long courſe of experience, has demonſtrated, that inoculation is almoſt an infallible means of rendering it harmleſs. Nothing can be more mild than the diſorder in Jamaica, received in this manner. Infants, of one month old, have gone through it very ſafely. The working ſlaves followed their uſual occupations with the puſtules upon their bodies, without inconvenience; and even bathed themſelves in the rivers, without any ill conſequence. When a preparation was uſed, they either had no puſtules, or at leaſt ſuch as never came to a ſuppuration. Two very moderate doſes of the mercurial medicines, and as many gentle purgatives, with an interval of three or four days between them, were found ſufficient. With reſpect to children at the breaſt, care was only taken to keep their bodies gently lax during the continuance of the eruptive ſymptoms; and, after the eruption, to correct any gripings with daily doſes of teſtaceous powder, and a few drops of *tinct. thebaic.* at night. The eruption generally appeared, on theſe young ſubjects, about the ſixth day;

[*w*] Critical Review.

and, in grown perſons, about the eighth or ninth. They were conſtantly in a free air in the ſhade, and ſuffered no confinement; being reſtrained only, in diet, from animal food, ſalt, and ſpirituous liquors.

Of fifteen hundred Negroes, of all ages and habits of body, who were inoculated here by *one practitioner*, not one died. Such plain facts ſhould weigh more than argument in ſuppreſſing groundleſs apprehenſions; and teach every mother, that the wilful conſignment of her helpleſs little ones to almoſt certain death, when ſhe might exert the probable means of ſaving them, is abſolute murder in effect, and little ſhort of it in guilt. The infant is incapable of judging for itſelf, or of exerciſing a freedom of choice. But to the parents God has imparted reaſon ſufficient to conduct their uninſtructed charge, and protect it from impending evils. In uſing their beſt endeavours for this purpoſe, they manifeſt a truly religious obedience to their Maker, a due affection for their offſpring, and a ſubmiſſion to the rules of good ſenſe. And, whatever the event may prove, they are conſcious of having acted with the beſt intentions, which will ſurely be moſt acceptable to that Being, who

"Preferreth the upright Heart, and pure."

Whilſt I render all due praiſe to the Creole ladies for their many amiable qualities, impartiality forbids me to ſuppreſs what is highly to their diſcredit; I mean, their diſdaining to ſuckle their own helpleſs offſpring! they give them up to a Negroe or Mulatto wet nurſe, without reflecting that her blood may be corrupted, or conſidering the influence which the milk may have with reſpect to the diſpoſition, as well as health, of their little ones. This ſhameful and ſavage cuſtom they borrowed from England; and, finding it relieve them from a little trouble, it has gained their general ſanction. How barbarous the uſage, which, to purchaſe a reſpite from that endearing employment ſo agreeable to the humanity of their ſex, ſo conſonant to the laws of nature, at once ſo honourable and delightful to a real parent, thus ſacrifices the well-being of a child! Notwithſtanding every precaution they take to examine the nurſe of their choice, it is a million to one but ſhe harbours in her blood the ſeeds of many terrible diſtempers. There is ſcarcely one of

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theſe nurſes who is not a common proſtitute, or at leaſt who has not commerce with more than one man; or who has not ſome latent taint of the venereal diſtemper, or *ſcrofa*, either hereditary, or acquired, and ill-cured. The place of a nurſe is anxiouſly coveted by all of them, as it is uſually productive of various emoluments to them; and on this account they are ſure to keep ſecret any ailment they labour under, however detrimental to the child, rather than be turned off. The mothers in England are at leaſt able to find ſome healthy labourer's wife; and none of them, I venture to believe, would ſend their infants to be ſuckled in any of the brothels of London. It is true, the Creole ladies have not the ſame advantage; they can meet with none other than unchaſte nurſes; and this is another unanſwerable argument to prove the neceſſity of their adminiſtering their own breaſt, in preference to one that they are under ſo many reaſons to ſuſpect is not equally proper.

Numberleſs have been the poor little victims to this pernicious cuſtom. Many innocents have thus been murdered; and many more have ſucked in diſeaſes, which rendered their life miſerable, or ſuddenly cut ſhort the thread of it.

A misfortune attending moſt of theſe children is, that they are extremely ſubject to worm-diſorders imbibed with the milk; for I have frequently ſeen theſe vermin diſcharged from babes of three months age. But it is more uſual to ſee them looking healthy and well till they reach the third year; when they frequently decline all at once, and from this cauſe. They are often too much crammed with the fruits and roots of the country, which at this tender age are apt to generate a large quantity of viſcid ſlime in their bowels, that affords a *nidus* for the worms to depoſite their eggs. The more common kinds which infeſt them are the *aſcarides*, and *tænia* or tape worm: both theſe ſorts are effectually expelled with a decoction of the *anthelmenthia*, or worm-graſs, which grows naturally in the South parts of Jamaica; and ſometimes the *oleum ricini*, or nut oil, is adminiſtered in ſmall and frequent doſes with ſucceſs.

The down of the cow-itch pods, given in the proportion of one part to three parts of honey or ſyrup, to the quantity of one teaſpoonful morning and evening, for a week, has been found, by repeated

repeated trials and long experience, to be equally deſtructive to them; care being only taken to give a proper doſe of rhubarb, or other mild purgative, in order to carry off the dead worms.

An old woman here formerly performed ſeveral wonderful cures of this kind, with no other remedy than fat pork, with which ſhe fed her little patients; and, no doubt, it acted upon the worms in the like manner as the oily compoſitions frequently preſcribed, which are found to deſtroy theſe animalcules by ſtopping up their pores.

Another misfortune is, the conſtant intercourſe from their birth with Negroe domeſtics, whoſe drawling, diſſonant gibberiſh they inſenſibly adopt, and with it no ſmall tincture of their aukward carriage and vulgar manners; all which they do not eaſily get rid of, even after an Engliſh education, unleſs ſent away extremely young.

A planter of this iſland, who had ſeveral daughters, being apprehenſive of theſe conſequences, ſent to England, and procured a tutoreſs for them. After her arrival, they were never ſuffered to converſe with the Blacks. In ſhort, he uſed all his vigilance to preſerve their language and manners from this infection. He ſucceeded happily in the deſign; and theſe young ladies proved ſome of the moſt agreeable and well-behaved in the iſland: nor could it be diſtinguiſhed from their accent, but that they had been brought up at ſome genteel boarding-ſchool in England; inſomuch that they were frequently aſked, by ſtrangers, how long they had reſided in that kingdom. Until a proper ſeminary can be eſtabliſhed, every maſter of a family here might purſue the like method, at leaſt with his daughters, who are generally kept more at home than boys. But a mother, who has been trained in the accuſtomed mode among a herd of Negroe-domeſtics, adopts the ſame plan, for the moſt part, with her own children, having no idea of the impropriety of it, becauſe ſhe does not diſcern thoſe ſingularities, in ſpeech or deportment, which are ſo apt to ſtrike the ears and eyes of well-educated perſons on a firſt introduction to them.

The ladies, however, who live in and about the towns, being often in company with Europeans, and others brought up in Great-Britain, copy imperceptibly their manners and addreſs; and become

better

better qualified to fill the honourable ſtation of a wife, and to head their table with grace and propriety. Thoſe, who have been bred up entirely in the ſequeſtered country parts, and had no opportunity of forming themſelves either by example or tuition, are truly to be pitied. We may ſee, in ſome of theſe places, a very fine young woman awkwardly dangling her arms with the air of a Negroe-ſervant, lolling almoſt the whole day upon beds or ſettees, her head muffled up with two or three handkerchiefs, her dreſs looſe, and without ſtays. At noon, we find her employed in gobbling pepper-pot, ſeated on the floor, with her ſable hand-maids around her. In the afternoon, ſhe takes her *ſieſto* as uſual; while two of theſe damſels refreſh her face with the gentle breathings of the fan; and a third provokes the drowſy powers of Morpheus by delicious ſcratchings on the ſole of either foot. When ſhe rouzes from ſlumber, her ſpeech is whining, languid, and childiſh. When arrived at maturer years, the conſciouſneſs of her ignorance makes her abſcond from the ſight or converſation of every rational creature. Her ideas are narrowed to the ordinary ſubjects that paſs before her, the buſineſs of the plantation, the tittle-tattle of the pariſh; the tricks, ſuperſtitions, diverſions, and profligate diſcourſes, of black ſervants, equally illiterate and unpoliſhed.

Who is there, that does not ſincerely deplore the lot of this unhappy *tramontane*, and blame the inattention of the legiſlature to that important article, Education! To this defect we muſt attribute all that cruel ridicule and ſarcaſm, ſo frequently laviſhed upon theſe unfortunate females by others of their ſex, who, having experienced the bleſſings of a regular courſe of inſtruction at ſchool, are too oſtentatiouſly fond of holding in deriſion what they ought to look upon with candour and concern. What ornaments to ſociety might not theſe neglected women have proved, if they could have received the ſame degree of liberal poliſh! On the other hand, deprived thus of the means of culture and refinement, ill-furniſhed as they are with capacity for undertaking the province of managing domeſtic concerns, uninformed of what pertains to œconomy, order, and decency; how unfit are they to be the companions of ſenſible men, or the patterns of imitation to their daughters! how incapable of regulating their manners, enlightening

their

their underſtanding, or improving their morals! Can the wiſdom of legiſlature be more uſefully applied, than to the attainment of theſe ends; which, by making the women more deſirable partners in marriage, would render the iſland more populous, and reſidence in it more eligible; which would baniſh ignorance from the riſing generation, reſtrain numbers from ſeeking theſe improvements, at the hazard of life, in other countries; and from unnaturally reviling a place which they would love and prefer, if they could enjoy in it that neceſſary culture, without which life and property loſe their reliſh to thoſe who are born, not only to inherit, but to adorn, a fortune.

The women of this iſland are lively, of good natural genius, frank, affable, polite, generous, humane, and charitable; cleanly in their perſons even to exceſs; inſomuch that they frequently bring on very dangerous complaints by the too free uſe of bathing at improper periods. They are faithful in their attachments; hearty in their friendſhips; and fond, to a fault, of their children, except in the ſingle inſtance which I am grieved to have been obliged to expatiate upon. They are temperate and abſtemious in their diet, rarely drinking any other liquor than water. They are remarkably expert at their needle, and indeed every other female occupation taught them; religious in their lives and ſentiments; and chaſte without prudery in their converſation. In horſemanſhip, dancing, and muſic, they are in general very accompliſhed: in theſe acquired qualifications they excell, more or leſs, according to the opportunities that have fallen in their way of cultivating their natural talents, which are very good, and ſuſceptible of extenſive improvements. As a foil to the brilliant part of their character, I muſt acknowledge, although with great reluctance, that they yield too much to the influence of a warm climate in their liſtleſs indolence of life. But it is chiefly the fault of the men, if they do not aſſemble till dinner is ſerved up, or retire from it with the cloth, to doze away an hour or two, or enjoy a ſeparate *tete a tete* in ſome adjoining chamber, leaving the men to their bottle. I have heard it reported of the maſter of a family, that, regularly after dinner and one circulation of the bottle, he uſed to throw out broad hints that it was time for all females in company to with-

draw; and, when this ſignal was diſregarded, gave ſo indecent a toaſt, as drove them immediately out of the room; a practice ſo brutal, that it would merit the baſtinadoe even among Hottentots. This unſocial cuſtom, however, loſes ground, as the men are leſs attached than formerly to the pleaſures of getting drunk. In the genteeler families, converſation between the two parties is kept up for a conſiderable time after dinner. Tea, coffee, and cards, ſupply the *paſſetemps* of jovial ſongs and voluptuous bumpers. They now contrive, for the moſt part, to have a ſelect apartment, or drawing room, for rejoining the ladies after a ſhort ſeparation; and the cuſtomary intermixture in large companies, of placing the beaus and belles alternately, tends much to promote this polite intercourſe between the two ſexes. Formerly the married men and bachelors uſed to carouze together almoſt every day at taverns; the ſpirit of gaming then prevailed to a great exceſs; and the name of a *family man* was held in the utmoſt deriſion.

That irregular courſe of life was accompanied with innumerable evils. Many gentlemen of rank in the country impaired their fortunes, and reduced their families to the brink of ruin. It was not at all unuſual to ſee one of them, after loſing all his money, proceed to ſtake his carriage and horſes that were waiting to carry him home; and, after loſing theſe, obliged to return on foot. Drunken quarrels happened continually between intimate friends; which generally ended in duelling. And there were very few who did not ſhorten their lives by intemperance, or violence.

The preſent ſtate of reformation therefore is a very happy change; which, by re-uniting the ſexes, has promoted temperance, urbanity, and concord. A want of proper education and good maternal examples has rendered ſome women here extravagant in their expences, and very indifferent œconomiſts in their houſehold affairs. They employ too numerous a tribe of domeſtic ſervants, and are apt to truſt too far their fidelity, which is not always proof againſt ſtrong temptations. From twenty to forty ſervants is nothing unuſual. Perhaps it may not be unpleaſant to the reader, to ſee a liſt of one of theſe houſehold eſtabliſhments. I ſhall therefore preſent him with the following:

1 Butler, 2 Footmen, or waiting-men,

1 Coachman,	1 Key, or ſtore-keeper,
1 Poſtillion,	1 Waiting-maid,
1 Helper,	3 Houſe-cleaners,
1 Cook,	3 Waſher-women,
1 Aſſiſtant,	4 Sempſtreſſes.

Theſe amount all together to twenty. If there are children in the family, each child has its nurſe; and each nurſe, her aſſiſtant boy or girl; who make a large addition to the number. Moſt of theſe are on board-wages, from three to four rials *per* week, beſides their cloathing; with which they ſeem to live very comfortably. A ſpeculative writer ſuppoſes it very feaſible, in order to increaſe the number of white inhabitants, that every family ſhould employ white domeſtics inſtead of Negroes. But he did not reflect, that even in Britain there is no one claſs of the people more inſolent and unmanageable than the houſe-ſervants. Their wages are enormous; the charge of maintaining them, their wilful waſte, idleneſs, profligacy, ingratitude of diſpoſition, and ill behaviour in general, are ſo univerſally, and (I believe) with good reaſon, complained of, that moſt families conſider them as neceſſary evils, and would gladly have nothing to do with ſuch plagues, if their rank or ſtation in life, or their own imbecillities, could poſſibly admit of their keeping none. What then muſt be the caſe in Jamaica, if theſe gentry are found ſo ungovernable and troubleſome in Great Britain? None of them would leave home, to ſerve in the colony, except for very extravagant wages: even thoſe that might paſs over would ſoon diſcover, that, by the policy of the country, there ſubſiſts a material diſtinction between them and the Negroes. If they ſhould chance to meet with any black ſervants in the ſame family, they would impoſe every part of the drudgery of ſervice upon theſe poor creatures, and commence ladies and gentlemen. The females would attend to no work, except pinning their lady's handkerchief; and the men, to no other than laying the cloth for dinner, and powdering their maſter's hair. The governors uſually bring over white ſervants with them; but are very glad to get quit of them, and fall into the modes of the country. The Negroes are certainly much better ſervants here, becauſe they are more orderly and obedient, and conceive an attachment to the families they ſerve, far

ſtronger

ſtronger than may be expected from the ordinary white domeſtics: at leaſt, the inhabitants of the iſland ſeem to be of this opinion; for thoſe gentlemen, whoſe ample fortunes admit their affording the expence of importing and maintaining white ſervants, incline univerſally to prefer the Blacks; nor will they, I believe, ever wiſh to increaſe population, and ſtrengthen their ſecurity, by the introduction of Engliſh valets and friſſeurs into their families; the debauched morals, and diſſolute practices of this race of men, would do more hurt among the Blacks by the force of example, than their ability for defending the country could do good. The ſort of men, beſt qualified for increaſing the number of Whites, are the ſober, frugal, and induſtrious artificers; together with the poorer farmers and graziers, a hardy uſeful people, and moſt fit for occupying the unſettled deſarts, and changing the woods and wilderneſſes into flouriſhing paſtures and plantations.

But to return to what concerns the ladies. Scandal and goſſiping are in vogue here as well as in other countries. A natural vivacity and openneſs of temper are apt to betray the unguarded into little indiſcretions, which are ſometimes diligently aggravated and blackened with the tongue of malevolence and envy. Yet few are more irreproachable in their actions than the Creole women: they err more in trivial follies, and caprices unreſtrained, than in the guilt of real vice. And, if we conſider how forcibly the warmth of this climate muſt co-operate with natural inſtinct to rouze the paſſions, we ought to regard chaſtity here as no mean effort of female fortitude; or, at leaſt, judge not too rigidly of thoſe lapſes which happen through the venial frailty and weakneſs of human nature. They have not yet learned thoſe artifices and diſguiſes which women of the world can aſſume when they pleaſe to veil their ſentiments and conduct. Their gaiety inclines them to be fond of dreſs, balls, and company; and, conſidering the ſmall circle of public diverſions in this iſland, it is not ſurpriſing that they ſhould ſeek to gratify their inclinations by every lively amuſement of this ſort that preſents itſelf. I muſt add, that they poſſeſs ſome ſhare of vanity and pride; and that ſome few join to the latter an high and over-bearing ſpirit, which, not having been duly checked in their infancy, is apt to vent itſelf in turbulent fits of rage and

clamour, to the unſpeakable diſturbance of the poor animal, whoſe misfortune it may be to be linked in the nuptial bonds with ſuch a temper. Fain would I wiſh to relate, that the more gentle and eſteemable fair-ones apply themſelves to repair the deficiencies of an imperfect education, by giving ſome leiſure hours to the moſt approved authors, by whoſe help they might add the delights of a rational converſation to thoſe abundant graces which nature has beſtowed upon them. It is a pity that ſuch excellent talents ſhould lie waſte, or miſemployed, which require only cultivation to make them ſhine out with dignity and elegance. To pleaſe the eye, requires only the ſkill of a common mercenary harlot; but to captivate the heart, and charm the mind, a woman muſt diveſt herſelf, as ſoon as poſſible, of groſs ignorance (that foſter-mother of pride), filly prattle, and conceited airs; ſhe muſt endeavour, by diligent reading and obſervation, to enlarge her notions, baniſh her prejudices, and ſtock her intellect with ſuch improvements, as may enable her to bear her part in a ſenſible converſation. By theſe eaſy means, ſhe may ſave many a bluſh, when common ſubjects are diſcuſſed, of which ſhe ought not to be ignorant; ſhe will entertain her company in a rational manner, and with correct language, and not expoſe her huſband to be hooted at, for his folly in tying himſelf for life to a pretty idiot. That audacious ſlanderer, Dr. Browne, accuſes ſome of the ladies here of flaying their faces with the cauſtic oil of the caſhew-nut, in order to acquire a new ſkin. "The proceſs" (he ſays) "continues fourteen or fifteen days; du-"ring which they ſuffer the moſt exquiſite torture, which their "vanity enables them to ſupport with Chriſtian patience." And yet it ſeems to be to very little purpoſe; "for" (he adds) "all "this bliſtering leaves the countenance much more deformed, than "any ſpots or freckles could have made it. Happy," (quoth he) "had they been equally attentive to the improvement of their "mind, which they too frequently neglect; while they bear ſo "much pain, to caſt their ſkins, in imitation of ſnakes and "adders."

The doctor, like many other old batchelors, had ſtrange fancies about the operations of the toilet, or (to believe the beſt of him) took a hint, from ſome girliſh freak of this kind, which might have

have come to his knowledge in the courſe of his medical practice, to inſinuate that this coſmetic was in general uſe. But the women here ſo univerſally underſtand the cauſtic nature of this oil, that they never attempt to open the nuts with their own fingers, for fear of burning them. All families have the kernels ſerved up at their table in a variety of different preparations. And hence I judge it impoſſible, that any woman, poſſeſſing two grains of ſenſe, could think of beſmearing her whole face with ſuch a liniment, which erodes like *aqua fortis*, though ſhe might uſe the kernels in emulſion. I rather ſuſpect the doctor's credulity was impoſed upon by ſome wag; and that he ſeized this occaſion to have a fling at the ladies, who are therefore much obliged to him for ſo ingenious a tale, as well as for the ſting at the end of it.

It is remarked here, that the women attain earlier to maturity, and ſooner decline, than in the Northern climates: they often marry very young, and are mothers at twelve years of age. They conſole themſelves, however, that they can enjoy more of real exiſtence here in one hour, than the fair inhabitants of the frozen, foggy regions do in two. The temperance of their life carries them on, notwithſtanding, to a good old age; it being no uncommon thing to ſee women here of eighty or ninety years, and upwards. A few years ſince, a venerable matron died at the age of one hundred and eight; and I remember one of ninety-ſix, who enjoyed all her faculties unimpaired, excepting her ſight, which truly was ſomewhat the worſe for wear. Many of the other ſex too, who, by conſtitution or from prudence, avoid ſtrong liquors and hurtful exceſſes, arrive at the ſame periods of longevity with fewer infirmities than accompany the ſame ages in England, where old folks are generally ſhriveled with cold, and overwhelmed with catarrhous defluxions, the natural fruits of a raw, wet atmoſphere. In Jamaica, the warmth and equable ſtate of the air is friendly to age; and the nutritious quality of its foods preſerves vigour and a lively flow of ſpirits.

Intemperance and ſenſuality are the fatal inſtruments which, in this iſland, have committed ſuch havoc, and ſent their heedleſs votaries, in the prime of manhood, to an untimely grave. It is owing to thoſe deſtructive cauſes, that we perceive here ſuch a

number

number of young widows, who are greedily ſnapped up by diſtreſſed bachelors, or rapacious widowers, as ſoon as the weeds are laid aſide. Sir Nicholas Lawes, formerly governor of the iſland, uſed to ſay, that the female art of growing rich here in a ſhort time was comprized in two ſignificant words, "*marry* and *bury*."

To ſum up the character of the Jamaica ladies, I ſhall conclude with this remark; that, conſidering the very great defects in their education, and other local diſadvantages, their virtues and merits ſeem juſtly entitled to our higheſt encomium; and their frailties and failings to our mildeſt cenſure.

SECT. II.

THE natives of Scotland and Ireland ſeem to thrive here much better than the European Engliſh. They bring ſounder conſtitutions with them in general, and are much ſooner provided for. The national partiality, which is made an accuſation againſt the gentlemen of the two former parts of the Britiſh empire, is ſo far attended here with very good conſequences; for their young countrymen, who come over to ſeek their fortunes, are often beholden to the benevolence of theſe patrons, who do not ſuffer them to languiſh and fall into deſpondence for want of employment, but take them under friendly protection; and, if they are well diſpoſed, they are ſoon put into a way of doing ſomething for themſelves. The gentlemen are therefore, in my opinion, very often unjuſtly cenſured for doing what humanity requires. This hoſpitable alacrity to aſſiſt and befriend their countrymen, in a place where they might otherwiſe become deſtitute of ſupport, and ſick of life, produces likewiſe an event very favourable to the colony, by inviting into it frequent recruits of very able hands, who add not a little to its population and ſtrength. The offspring of this part of Britain are extremely numerous and flouriſhing in Jamaica. I have heard a computation made of no fewer than one hundred of the name of Campbel only actually reſident in it, all claiming alliance with the Argyle family. There are likewiſe numbers, who, though related to other noble ſtocks of the North, deſerve much more reſpect from their own intrinſic worth, than from their illuſtrious conſanguinity. Jamaica, indeed,

indeed, is greatly indebted to North-Britain, as very near one third of the inhabitants are either natives of that country, or deſcendants from thoſe who were. Many have come from the ſame quarter every year, leſs in queſt of fame, than of fortunes; and ſuch is their induſtry and addreſs, that few of them have been diſappointed in their aim. To ſay the truth, they are ſo clever and prudent in general, as, by an obliging behaviour, good ſenſe, and zealous ſervices, to gain eſteem, and make their way through every obſtacle. The Engliſh were never charged with a want of benevolence; but, in the exerciſe of it, they reſemble the blind goddeſs Fortune, who ſcatters her favours with her eyes ſhut before all that happen in the way to ſcramble for them. Abſtracted from the line I have drawn, the extenſion of friendſhip to an undeſerving man, for no other reaſon but becauſe it was his lot to have been born in the ſame pariſh, and in preference to one of far greater merit who chanced to be born two or three hundred miles further diſtant, is illiberal and unmanly, and betrays a mind enſlaved, in the moſt contemptible degree, to meanneſs and ignorance. In this iſland no diſtinctions ought to ſubſiſt, but of good or bad citizens. They who would ſeem to maintain any other by their conduct, however they may affect to diſdain them with their lips, are of narrow ſouls, and no true friends to the intereſt and peace of the iſland.

The lower order of white people (as they are called here) are, for the moſt part, compoſed of artificers, indented ſervants, and refugees.

The firſt live well here, and get high prices for their work [x]. Of the ſecond claſs, great numbers uſed formerly to be brought from

[x] I ſelect a few articles, from which ſome idea may be formed of the expence of building in this iſland; and, for better compariſon with the London prices, the ſums are all reduced to ſterling.

	l.	*s.*	*d.*		*l.*	*s.*	*d.*
Maſonry, *per* perch,	0	4	5¼				
Reduced brick-work, *per* rod,	16	1	5				
Bricks, *per mill.* with carriage,	2	2	10				
Laying ditto, *per mill.*	0	14	3½				
Paving ditto on edge, *per* yard,	0	3	6¾				
Ditto ditto flat, ditto,	0	1	9¼				
Lime, *per* hogſhead,	0	3	2½	to	0	3	6¾
Scantling, plank, and board, *per mill.* feet,	8	11	5				

Hard

from Scotland, where they were actually kidnapped by ſome *man-traders*, in or near Glaſgow, and ſhipped for this iſland, to be ſold for four or five years term of ſervice. On their arrival, they uſed to be ranged in a line, like new Negroes, for the planters to pick and chuſe. But this traffic has ceaſed for ſome years, ſince the deſpotiſm of clanſhip was ſubdued, and trade and induſtry drove out lazineſs and tyranny from the North of Scotland. The artificers, particularly ſtone-maſons and mill-wrights, from that part of Britain, are remarkably expert, and in general are ſober, frugal, and civil; the good education, which the pooreſt of them receive, having great influence on their morals and behaviour. I do not know whether the overſeers of plantations ſhould be conſidered in a ſeparate claſs: they are, for the moſt part, ſuch as have paſſed through a regular courſe of ſervice in the agriculture of this country; and, if they are ſenſible and thrifty, they enjoy very comfortable lives, and ſave enough out of their ſalaries to buy a ſettlement of their own: ſome of them have even become poſſeſſors, in time, of very large properties, and made a very reſpectable figure here. Subordinate to the overſeers are the plantation book-keepers, warehouſe or ſtore-keepers, diſtillers, tradeſmen, and drivers, or ſub-overſeers; but for this laſt office Negroes are moſtly employed.

The crimp's office has ſupplied no ſmall number of inferior ſervants. This office has the ſingular faculty of qualifying any man whatever for any art or myſtery he inclines to follow in the colonies, and by no other magic than a common indenture; carpenters, who never handled a tool; bricklayers, who ſcarcely know a brick from a ſtone; and book-keepers, who can neither

	l.	*s.*	*d.*		*l.*	*s.*	*d.*
Hard timber, *per* hundred feet,	1	12	1½	to	1	15	8½
Beſt Carolina ſhingles, *per mill.* about	2	17	1½		3	11	5½
Roofing, boarding, and ſhingling, *per* ſquare,	3	4	3½				
Door-frames, each,	2	17	1¾				
Window ditto,	1	15	8½				
Framing, lathing, and ſhingling roofs, *per* ſquare,	2	17	1¾				
Iron work, *per* pound,	0	0	8½				
Flat and ſquare bars, *per* pound,	0	0	8½				
Twenty-penny nails, *per mill.*	0	17	0				
Ten-penny nails, ditto,	0	10	3				
Six-penny nails, ditto,	0	5	4½				
Spike nails, *per* pound,	0	0	10½				

write

write nor read. Many of theſe menial ſervants, who are retained for the ſake of ſaving a deficiency, are the very dregs of the three kingdoms. They have commonly more vices, and much fewer good qualities, than the ſlaves over whom they are ſet in authority; the better ſort of which heartily deſpiſe them, perceiving little or no difference from themſelves, except in ſkin, and blacker depravity. By their baſe familiarity with the worſt diſpoſed among the ſlaves, thay do a very great injury to the plantations; cauſing diſturbances, by ſeducing the Negroes wives, and bringing an *odium* upon the white people in general, by their drunkenueſs and profligate actions. In fact, the better ſort of Creole Blacks diſdain to aſſociate with them, holding them in too much contempt, or abhorrence.

Although the gaol-delivery of Newgate is not poured in upon this iſland; yet it is an occaſional aſylum for many who have deſerved the gallows. Theſe fellows are no ſooner arrived, than they cheat away to the right and left, and off again they ſtart; carrying all away with them, except the infamy of their proceedings, which they leave behind, as a *memento*, to ſhew the impropriety of admitting any other than honeſt men to be members of an induſtrious colony.

Formerly convict-felons were tranſported hither; but the inconvenience attending the admiſſion of ſuch miſcreants obtained the inhabitants a relief from them. While the traffic for Scotch ſervants laſted, the legiſlature of the iſland lent their helping hand to give it encouragement; and, in 1703, it was enacted, that a maſter of any ſhip, importing thirty white men ſervants at one time, ſhould be for that voyage exempted from paying all port-charges. If any of the ſervants ſo brought in ſhould happen to remain undiſpoſed of at the expiration of thirteen days after their arrival, the receiver-general was directed to take charge of them, upon paying to the importer a certain ſum *per* head. He was then to ſend them to the *cuſtos* of that pariſh, where the greateſt deficiencies were; and the treaſury was reimburſed by the perſon, or planter, on whom they were quartered. It is curious to remark the prices which at that time were ſet upon theſe ſervants, and to compare them with what are paid at preſent.

Every ſervant, Engliſh, Scotch, Welſh, or of the iſlands of Jerſey, Guernſey, or Man, if in time of war, *per* head, ___ ___ ___ ___ Currency, £ 18
If in time of peace, ___ ___ ___ ___ 14
Iriſh ſervants, in time of war, ___ ___ ___ 15
Ditto, in time of peace, ___ ___ ___ 12

Convicts are excepted out of this act; and none have of late years been ſent over, unleſs to the regiments, whoſe ſervice here is not much advanced by ſuch recruits. The cauſe of this depreciation of the Iriſh I am not informed of; but poſſibly they were more turbulent, or leſs ſkillful in work, than the others. They are in very different eſtimation in South Carolina; where what are denominated bog-trotters, or ſuch as have been accuſtomed to the boggy grounds of Ireland, are in great requeſt for cultivating their rice-ſwamps, for which work they are particularly excellent, and generally turn out very induſtrious.

But to compare the different expence of indented ſervants in 1703 and now. At that time they were obliged, by a law of the iſland, to ſerve ſeven years, if under eighteen years of age; and, if above that age, the term of four.

The ſervice therefore of a man, above eighteen years old, might then be purchaſed for a term of four years, in time of peace, for ___ ___ £ 14
Such a ſervant, at the preſent time, would contract only for four years, at from 35*l.* to 40*l.* *per annum*, beſides his paſſage. He therefore coſts the importer, for his paſſage, ___ ___ £ 14
His wages for four years, at the loweſt rate of 35*l. per annum*, ___ ___ ___ 140 154
The difference is, ___ ___ ___ 140

A planter therefore could, at that time, hire eleven ſervants at no greater charge, for importation and ſervice, than is now given for one. The proportion of deficiency will ſtand as follows:

1703, A proprietor of 300 Negroes, 120 head of ſtock, quota of ſervants 17; charge, ___ ___ ___ £ 238
1770, A proprietor of 300 Negroes, 120 head of ſtock, quota of ſervants 11; charge, ___ ___ ___ 1694

It is no wonder, therefore, that the planters do not ſupply their deficiencies as formerly, by importing indented ſervants, but rather pay the penalty, which was fixed, in the year 1715, at 18*l.* *per annum*, and rarely exceeds that ſum now, it being ſeldom doubled; or elſe pick up any tranſient vagabonds that chance to fall in their way, and will ſerve for 15*l.* or 20*l.* a year.

The firſt deficiency-law, paſſed in 1681, required a greater proportion. According to this, the ſame proprietor muſt have kept thirty-three. This may account for the greater proportion of white inhabitants in thoſe days, when ſuch ſervants were to be procured at the moſt trifling expence, and maintained at a very cheap rate. In their condition, they were little better than ſlaves during their term of ſervice. They were allowed yearly three ſhirts, as many pair of drawers, ſhoes and ſtockings, and a hat or cap; which were probably of very wretched ſtuff, as the penalty for not making ſuch an allowance was no more than forty ſhillings. Their ſubſiſtence was directed to be four pound weight of good fleſh or fiſh *per* week, with a ſufficient quantity of plantation proviſion, ſuch as yams, &c.; and they were ſubjected to various penalties for miſdemeanour; viz.

For laying violent hands on their employer; a twelvemonth's *extra* ſervice.—Embezzling or waſting goods, of above 40*s.* value; two years *extra* ſervice.—Getting a fellow-ſervant with child; a ſervice of double the time the woman had to ſerve.—Marrying without the conſent of their maſter or miſtreſs; two years *extra* ſervice.—Abſenting from ſervice without leave; one week's ſervice for every day's abſence.—*Wilfully* catching the venereal, or other diſeaſe; or *wilfully* getting broken bones, bruiſes, &c.; to ſerve double the time thereby loſt, and for all charges thereby occaſioned, at 10*s.* a month, after the expiration of their indentures.—Concealing a ſervant, or ſlave; one year's ſervice, or a whipping of thirty-nine laſhes, at the option of the injured party, on conviction before a juſtice.—Stealing timber, or tanning-bark; 3*l.* penalty, upon conviction.—Forging a certificate of freedom; on conviction, to be pilloried, and loſe both ears.

The only material proviſions in their favour were, that they ſhould not be whipped *naked*, without order of a juſtice of the

peace; nor be turned off, when grown infirm, under pretence of giving them freedom; nor be buried until the body had been viewed by a juſtice of the peace, conſtable, tything man, or two neighbours.

But the penal clauſes of theſe acts have long ſince been extinct; and at preſent the white indented ſervants are laid under few reſtrictions, except ſo far as reſpects their ſerving out their term. And by a later law, paſſed in 1736, the miſbehaviour of ſervants during their contract, and all differences between them and their maſters (overſeers of ſugar-plantations excepted) are to be heard and determined before two juſtices of the peace, according to the nature of the caſe, and without appeal; ſave that they are to inflict no puniſhment extending to life or limb. Where they have not freſh meat, they are allowed four barrels of beef *per annum*, with flour, or bread-kind in proportion; but, in general, their allowance is not limited; and the tradeſmen and better ſort meſs with the overſeer of the reſpective plantations, unleſs he thinks proper to keep a ſeparate table for them, which is ſometimes the cuſtom on very large eſtates, where they rarely eat any ſalt-meat, except for a forenoon luncheon.

Any maſter of a ſhip attempting to carry off the iſland, or run away with another perſon's white indented ſervant, without a diſcharge from the employer, is, on conviction, to be adjudged guilty of felony, without benefit of clergy, and to ſuffer accordingly.

Many of the artificers who have come under theſe contracts, if they were ſober and diligent, have ſettled afterwards in the iſland, and acquired very handſome fortunes, particularly the Scotch. That part of Britain has likewiſe furniſhed ſome of the ableſt ſurveyors known here. There are generally twelve of theſe, who are commiſſioned by the governor, give bond in 300*l.* for the faithful execution of their office, and are put under ſeveral regulations by law. This buſineſs was formerly very profitable; and ſtill is ſo in the hands of able draughtſmen, the charges of making plans being extremely high: beſides, the ignorance and knavery of ſurveyors, formerly employed to run out the wood-lands, have cauſed ſuch errors as to breed numberleſs diſputes concerning the true fixings and boundaries even to this day; and the adjuſtment

of

of theſe contentions is a perpetual fund for employing and ſupporting the profeſſors of the geometric art.'

The Jews were very early ſettled in this iſland, attracted no leſs by the quantity of gold and ſilver brought into circulation here, than the mild diſpoſition of the government towards them. In ſome of the other ſugar-iſlands they were proſcribed, by admitting the evidence of pagan ſlaves againſt them in the courts of juſtice. Yet, although this government was comparatively lenient, they were oppreſſed, in ſome inſtances, conformably to that perſecuting ſpirit which zealous Chriſtians uſed antiently to manifeſt towards all thoſe who differed from them in matters of faith, particularly Jews, Turks, and Infidels. But it muſt be owned, that the raſcally tricks, for which both antient and modern Jews have always been diſtinguiſhed, may have ſerved not a little to embitter the popular hatred againſt them. In 1681, a law paſſed in Jamaica to prevent clipping and falſifying of coin, and debaſing of gold and ſilver wares. The Jews were, at that time, the principal workers in gold and ſilver. Their fondneſs for this craft in all ages is remarkable, and proves the gainfulneſs of it; and it is ſtill more ſo, that perhaps there ſeldom has been ſuch a law enacted in any country, which did not abound with theſe Jewiſh artiſts.

I think it was in the reign of William III, that the council of this iſland addreſſed the crown to expel all the Jews from this part of the Britiſh dominions, not for the ſubſtantial reaſon above aſſigned, but for a very whimſical one, viz. becauſe "they were de-"ſcended from the crucifiers of the bleſſed Jeſus." I need not mention, that his majeſty did not think fit to comply with their requeſt. The gentlemen were not deep enough read in hiſtory to diſcover, that the Romans, and not the Jews, puniſhed by crucifixion. But, if they ſuppoſed the Jews of Jamaica to be the lineal deſcendents from that part of the Jeruſalem mob which accuſed our Saviour before the Roman governor, and, by importuning for his execution, became *participes criminis*, and ſo tranſmitted the guilt down to their third and fourth generations; we muſt admire their ſkill in pedigrees, who could thus trace the line of deſcent through a courſe of near ſeventeen centuries. In theſe days of ignorance, and long after, they were not taxed like other ſubjects, but

but obliged to raiſe among them a certain annual tribute, which the aſſembly varied at pleaſure. During the government of Sir Thomas Lynch, they were aſſeſſed the annual ſum of 750*l.*, beſides one ſhilling in the pound on their rents. In governor Moleſworth's time, they began to make a conſiderable figure, and were permitted to erect ſynagogues, and perform divine worſhip according to their own ritual. And from this period we begin to date their deliverance out of bondage in the iſland.

It is uncertain, whether at the ſame period they purchaſed the intereſt of a commander in chief to obtain the royal inſtruction, forbidding the governor for the time being to give aſſent to any bill impoſing this partial taxation; but it was probable from this origin their cuſtom began of preſenting every new governor, upon his arrival, with a peace-offering, conſiſting of a purſe of doubloons. I have heard, that the firſt oblation of this ſort was, for decency-ſake, conveyed in a *pye*; whence it has obtained this nick-name. The ſmaller douceur, preſented to a lieutenant-governor, is ſtyled a *tart*; and the ſtill ſmaller perquiſite, to the ſecretary, a *tartlet* [*y*]. Oppreſſion had taught them, that no argument was ſo powerful as this in ſoliciting for protection. It muſt be acknowledged, however, that theſe people have ſhewn themſelves very good and uſeful ſubjects upon many occaſions. When the French invaded

	Piſtoles.
[*y*] Their preſent to a new governor in chief has generally been, as I am told, about	200
To a lieutenant-governor,	150
To a preſident, I ſuppoſe the ſame.	
To the governor's, &c. ſecretary,	50

I ſhall take the opportunity of mentioning here, what I omitted in the proper place, that the governor's ſecretary has no fixed ſalary; nor any fees allowed by law, except a trifling ſum on certificates of freedom taken out, which are renewable only once in ſeven years: but his income is rated by ſome at about 1000*l.* ſterling *per annum*; and by others much higher. It ariſes from the gratuities he receives on all civil and military commiſſions and warrants iſſued by the governor, eſpecially upon entrance of the latter into office; at which time it has been often the practice to renew ſuch commiſſions, &c. merely to put money into the ſecretary's pocket. And ſome governors have condeſcended to take a ſhare in the profits; for they are ſometimes conſiderable, fifty piſtoles having often been given for an honorary poſt in the militia. Other emoluments accrue from let-paſſes, granted to foreign veſſels entering Port Royal harbour (which may be reckoned among the number of impolitic reſtrictions laid upon the trade of the iſland); likewiſe from orders for ſurveying crown-lands, and *fiats*; and, in ſhort, from every other inſtrument veſting any office, preferment, or commiſſion, within the governor's gift or appointment. But the principal harveſt is gleaned, in time of war, from the grant of letters of marque, and flags of truce.

this

this iſland during the government of Sir William Beeſton, they oppoſed the enemy with great courage. Their knowledge of foreign languages, and intercourſe with their brethren, diſperſed over the Spaniſh and other Weſt-India colonies, have contributed greatly to extend the trade, and increaſe the wealth, of the iſland; for they have always been the chief importers of bullion; and the riches they acquire to themſelves are expanded in effect to the public welfare; for they are not mere brokers and money-holders that may remove *ad libitum*; they are allowed to purchaſe lands and tenements, and actually poſſeſs a large ſhare of both. This gives them a ſolid attachment to the intereſt and ſecurity of Jamaica; which they conſider as their home. Their affection is ſtill further ſtrengthened by the aſſurance, that, under other governments, they would not be indulged with the enjoyment of the ſame rights, privileges, and immunities, which they now hold undiſturbed. The provincial laws, it is true, lay them under ſome few reſtrictions (if they can be properly called ſuch, for they rather ſeem exemptions from burthen, than privations of any benefit).

They may not officiate, nor write, in any of the public offices. They muſt ſupply their deficiencies out of their own nation, and not by indented Chriſtian ſervants; but they are allowed to hire Chriſtians for this purpoſe.

Their religion neceſſarily excludes them from exerciſing any poſt under the government above the rank of conſtable; but the policy of the iſland requires all of them, without diſtinction, to bear arms in the militia. If they cannot, on account of their religion, hold poſts of profit, they are nevertheleſs excuſed, for the ſame reaſon, from troubleſome offices, that have no profit annexed to them, which are here exceedingly numerous: ſo that the balance, upon the whole, ſeems much in their favour. The lenity of the laws, which tolerate them in the free exerciſe of their religion and cuſtoms, permit them to hold landed property, protect them equally with other ſubjects in the poſſeſſion and enjoyment of it, and load them with no partial or oppreſſive taxations, altogether forms a very ample compenſation for the want of a voice in the legiſlature, or courts of juſtice. They are conſequently contented and happy under this government; and would be more ſo, if it was not for

their

their own little ſchiſms in religious matters; for they are divided into two factions, or ſects; one of which, called the *Smouſe Jews*, are not acknowledged orthodox by the reſt, on account of their having, through the rigours of the inquiſition in the Portugueſe and Spaniſh dominions, relaxed in ſome indiſpenſable rituals, or intermarried with Chriſtians; by which abomination, they have polluted the pure Iſraelitiſh blood with the corrupt ſtream of the Gentiles. The *Smouſes* have therefore a diſtinct conventicle, or meeting, of their own, at a private houſe, where they vociferate, to the great diſturbance of the neighbourhood.

The chief men among the Jews are very worthy perſons, and ought not to be reproached for the vices and villainies of the lower rabble, ſince they ſtrive all in their power to put them in the way of earning their livelihood honeſtly: and, although ſome fraudulent bankruptcies now and then happen among the poorer and more knaviſh tribe; yet there are no common beggars of their nation, the elders having an eſtabliſhed fund for the relief of all their poor. They traffic among the Negroes chiefly in ſalt-fiſh, butter, and a ſort of cheap pedlary wares, manufactured by their brethren in England. But among the chief men are ſeveral very opulent planters, and capital merchants, who are connected with great houſes in the city of London. It has been a very ſtriking remark, that the multitude of them ſettled in this iſland, the purchaſes they are continually making both of houſes and lands, and the vaſt wealth they collectively have ſtaked here, are ſure indications that they are delighted with the mildneſs and equity of the government, and reſt ſatisfied, that their property is entirely ſafe, and ſecurely held; from a conviction, "that a place of ſuch "great importance to the mother-country will never be neglected, "nor fail of receiving all due care and protection." Some perſons have affirmed, that the Jews of this iſland are not ſuch rigid obſervers of the Moſaic ritual as their brethren of other countries. Many of them have been charged with the heavy accuſation of gratifying their appetites now and then with a pork dinner without licence; and others are ſaid to purchaſe a diſpenſation for it of the rabbi, after the manner of Roman catholic epicures in the Lent ſeaſon. Indeed, the Weſt-India pork is of ſo exquiſite a flavour, that,

that, if Moſes had ever taſted it, he certainly would not have been ſo unkind towards his followers as to include it in his catalogue of non-eatables; for I do not know any thing more likely to convert a Jew who wavers in faith in this part of the world, than the temptation of this delicious food; and it may be owing to the juſt conſideration of human frailty, that the rabbis here are too politic to interdict abſolutely the moderate uſe of it to the members of their congregation, or perhaps to abſtain wholly from it themſelves. In regard to other ſects, ſome quakers were formerly ſettled here, who came principally from Barbadoes. They had a meeting-houſe in Kingſton and a burial ground, ſituate Weſt from the town, the walls of which are ſtill remaining. They afterwards diſperſed, and the greater part retired to New-England and Philadelphia. Very few here at this time openly profeſs themſelves of this order. The chief inducement for their quitting Jamaica probably was no other than the indiſpenſable obligation impoſed by its laws, on every man in the iſland, to bear *carnal weapons* in the militia. This ordinance was incompatible with their non-reſiſting tenets; and all ſuch as adhere to them ſo rigidly, are doubtleſs very unfit inhabitants for a ſugar-colony, which cannot be defended either from foreign or inteſtine enemies by a flock of ſheep. In 1732, there appears to have been a remnant of them in the iſland; for a law, paſſed in that year, entitles them to vote at elections, proving their qualification by affirmation, inſtead of oath.

A party of Moravians are ſettled here, who in ſome particulars ſeem to hold reſemblance to the quakers. They are chiefly, I believe, confined to an eſtate in the pariſh of St. Elizabeth. In the year 1763, the freeholders of that pariſh preſented a petition to the aſſembly, ſetting forth, "that, for ſome years paſt, many perſons, who called themſelves Moravians, had arrived there; that they always refuſed to do military duty, pleading an exemption by act of parliament, of which they had particularly availed themſelves during the late rebellions; that it was conceived ſuch a pretext entirely fruſtrated the ends of the deficiency-law, and prevented a number of white perſons, capable of bearing arms, from being employed upon the eſtates where theſe drones had met with encouragement." It does not appear that the aſſembly

interfered at all in this matter. It was thought ſufficient, perhaps, that they ſhould be left to thoſe penalties and articles of war, to which men of every perſuaſion are liable in this iſland during martial law. The evaſion of theſe ſchiſmatics is not founded on indiſputable grounds; for the act of parliament (22 George II, cap. 30 [x]), which they ſet up to ſkreen themſelves, ſeems reſtricted to the congregation of *unitas fratrum*, or Moravians, ſettled in the North-American provinces. This act admits them to the privilege of making ſolemn affirmation, inſtead of oaths or affidavits, in civil caſes; and diſcharges them from perſonal ſervice in a military capacity, provided they pay ſuch ſum of money as may be aſſeſſed or rated on them, in lieu of perſonal ſervice: and, to prevent all doubt of their being of the congregation, they muſt produce a certificate of their being members of it, ſigned by ſome biſhop of their church, or paſtor, neareſt to the place of their reſidence; and muſt likewiſe ſolemnly affirm, that they are members as before mentioned; otherwiſe they are not entitled to the benefit of the act. It ſeems pretty evident from hence, that this act does not extend to Jamaica, becauſe the laws here exempt no man from military ſervice, except the council and ſuperannuated perſons; and admit no fine or aſſeſſment in lieu of any man's perſonal duty. Every proprietor of landed eſtate here holds under expreſs conditions contained in his patent, that he ſhall perſonally bear arms to repel invaſions, and ſuppreſs inſurrections; and his refuſal to do ſo would make his patent voidable. It is true, the owners of theſe Moravian properties, being non-reſident, eſcape from perſonal ſervice; but they ought to employ ſuch agents, or ſervants, in the management, who will yield due obedience to the laws of the colony. That exemption cannot poſſibly be legal, or juſtifiable, which, if it extended to all, would endanger the ruin of the colony. What, for example, would become of it, if the ſeduction of their example ſhould make converts of all the militia in the iſland, ſo that every man of them might turn Moravian, and ſet up the plea of conſcience to excuſe himſelf from his proper ſhare of the general duty and ſervice, which the very being of the iſland

[x] N. B. This act prohibits them from ſerving on juries, or being evidences in criminal caſes.

has rendered indiſpenſable to all? The conſequence is evident. In order, therefore, that this ſect may quietly enjoy their religious ſcruples, but at the ſame time make them inoffenſive to the public weal, every Moravian proprietor ought to compound for the perſonal ſervice of himſelf, his ſubſtitutes, and ſervants, who are members of the ſame church, by being ſubjected to a double deficiency-tax; which is the only fair compenſation, becauſe it leaves them the alternative of providing an equal number of ſervants who *will* fight, in the room of thoſe whoſe hands are tied up by conſcience. Nor is this repugnant to their principles; for although they refuſe carrying arms, yet they profeſs willingneſs to contribute towards the pecuniary charge of war; which the quakers refuſe. Of the two ſects the Moravians are therefore the better citizens, ſince nothing can be more hateful in the preſent ſtate of the world than the puſillanimous doctrine of non-reſiſtance againſt an invading enemy.

The Moravians poſſeſs a large tract of land in the province of Philadelphia, where they have a ſettlement called Bethlem, and are very zealous in converting the Indians. They publiſh no creed, nor confeſſion of faith; uſe muſical inſtruments in their worſhip; and preach in an enthuſiaſtical ſtrain. The ſtyle of their hymns has ſuch a pruriency and wantonneſs in it, as can ſcarcely be reconciled with the chaſte fervour of a truly pious mind. They are ſaid to encourage marriage among their young people, but in a ſtrange way; for they are obliged to caſt lots, in order to preſerve an equality among themſelves. Whether their doctrines are ſtrictly conſiſtent with good morality, or not, we are not particularly informed. Kalm mentions, that at Philadelphia, where they have a large meeting-houſe, they uſed to perform ſervice, not only twice or three times every Sunday, but likewiſe every night after it grew dark, till they were interrupted by ſome wicked young fellows, who accompanied every line and ſtanza of their hymns with the ſymphony of an inſtrument which ſounded like the note of a cuckoo. And, upon repeated ſerenadings of this kind, they diſcontinued their nocturnal conventions. We are to ſuppoſe, that nothing paſſed among theſe godly people in the dark but what was extremely decent and proper; yet the convenience which this veil

might adminiſter to the practical performance of thoſe rapturous careſſes, raviſhing extaſies, thrilling tranſports, with all the kiſſings, pantings, ſighings, dyings, which fill up the luſcious meaſure of their pſalmody, might doubtleſs be apt to ſtrike the imaginations of the prophane, and incline them to ſuſpect, that the ſaints behind the curtain voluptuouſly mingle a little of the ſenſual with their ſpiritual feelings.

Theſe which I have mentioned are all the ſchiſmatics publickly avowed in Jamaica: not but there are many Roman catholics, and diſſenters, who enjoy their reſpective opinions in private, without ſeeking to form themſelves into diſtinct congregations, or to put themſelves to the expence of maintaining preachers or paſtors.

The laws of the iſland are favourable to the admiſſion of foreigners. They empower the governor, by inſtrument under the broad ſeal, to naturalize any alien who may come to ſettle in the iſland, having firſt taken the oath of allegiance: but they are required, within thirty days after their arrival, to give in their names, trades, vocations, &c. to any *cuſtos*, or chief magiſtrate, and apply for their letter of naturalization.

They are then declared entitled to the ſame immunities, rights, laws, and privileges, of the iſland, and in as full and ample manner, as any of the king's natural-born ſubjects, or as if they themſelves had been born within any of his majeſty's realms or dominions. And, in order that ſuch patents may be obtained at little charge, the governor is to receive five pounds currency, and his ſecretary ten ſhillings, each, and no more, for paſſing them.

This matter is further regulated by act of parliament, paſſed 13 George II.; the object whereof ſeems to be, that aliens, tranſporting themſelves into any of the Britiſh colonies, ſhould become entitled to the rights of natural-born ſubjects, on condition that they remain and reſide therein for a certain term of years: for a multitude of tranſient perſons, transferring their effects, perhaps for the ſake of traffic, and having no fixed abode, nor making any ſettlement, would add nothing to the ſecurity of a colony; but, on the contrary, might do it hurt, by carrying off the profits, gained on their trade, to be ſpent in a foreign dominion, and by excluding many real Britiſh merchants and traders, who would otherwiſe

otherwiſe have ſettled in the colony. It enacts, that all perſons, born out of his majeſty's liegeance, who ſhall reſide for the ſpace of ſeven years, or more, in any of his American colonies; and that ſhall not have been abſent from thence above two months at any one time; and that ſhall take and ſubſcribe the oaths of allegiance; or, if quakers, ſubſcribe the declaration; or, if Jews, with the omiſſion of ſome Chriſtian expreſſions); and ſhall alſo ſubſcribe the profeſſion of their Chriſtian belief (Jews excepted), as directed by the ſtatute, 1 William and Mary, before any judge of the colony they ſhall reſide in; and ſhall have received the ſacrament of the Lord's-ſupper in ſome proteſtant or reformed congregation in Great-Britain, or in the ſaid colonies (quakers and Jews excepted), within three months of his or her ſo qualifying, and producing a certificate thereof, ſigned by the miniſter of the congregation, and atteſted by two witneſſes; a certificate of all theſe preliminaries, having been complied with under the reſpective colony ſeal, ſhall be a ſufficient proof of his or her being thereby become a natural-born ſubject of Great-Britain to all intents and purpoſes whatſoever: and the ſecretary of the colony ſhall annually tranſmit, to the board of trade and plantations, liſts of the ſaid perſons ſo naturalized, to be regiſtered in their office: provided that ſuch perſons ſhall not thereby be enabled to be a privy-counſellor, or a member of either houſe of parliament, or capable of taking, having, or enjoying, any office, or place of truſt, within the kingdoms of Great-Britain or Ireland, either civil or military; or taking any grant from the crown of any lands, tenements, &c. within the ſaid kingdoms.

In the conſtruction of this act, I do not apprehend, that the abſence of two months implies any thing more than a removal to ſome other dominion, or territory, of ſome foreign prince. An alien, qualified as the law directs, may have his *domicile*, or fixed habitation, in one of the Britiſh colonies, and nevertheleſs, by reaſon of his vocation, either of a merchant or ſeaman, be obliged, from time to time, to paſs to and fro between that and ſome other Britiſh colony, ſo as to be abſent neceſſarily above two months at one time. But, where his freehold and family are located, there is (properly ſpeaking) his *domicile*, or home. And it would be inconſiſtent:

conſiſtent with the liberal ſpirit and meaning of the act to ſay, that an alien, having qualified in Jamaica, and purchaſed a ſettlement in that iſland, but making a voyage every year to the North-American continent, in the way of trade, or for health, which might cauſe him to be abſent from Jamaica ſomewhat more than two months, ſhould therefore forfeit his acquired right of a natural-born ſubject. It is more reaſonable to conclude, that a reſidence in any of the Britiſh American colonies for the term of ſeven years, without having been abſent above two months from Britiſh territory during that ſpace, effectually meets the intention of the act.

Foreign proteſtants, naturalized under the Jamaica law, poſſeſs all the rights of natural-born ſubjects *quoad* that iſland. They may purchaſe lands, or inherit, or take grants from the crown; have a right to repreſent, and be repreſented, in the aſſembly, if they enjoy the neceſſary qualification in eſtate; and may hold and exerciſe places of truſt in the military and civil departments; for ſome of them have acted under commiſſion as field-officers in the militia, judges in the ſupreme court and common-pleas, juſtices of the peace, &c.; and the late ſecretary, Mr. Ballaguire, was a naturalized German. But I do not remember any in the privy-council.

The clauſe, 7 and 8 William III. § 12, enacting, "that all "places of truſt, or what relates to the treaſury of the Britiſh "Weſt-India iſlands, ſhall be in the hands of native-born ſubjects "of England or Ireland, or of the ſaid iſlands," ſeems not to exclude thoſe who by naturalization are made natural-born.

The foreigners, who have taken the benefit of theſe acts, are not very numerous in Jamaica; but, if any townſhips ſhould be formed in the central parts of the iſland, perhaps none would be fitter for the purpoſe of inhabiting them than French proteſtants.

I ſhall next conſider the ſtate of the ſoldiers quartered here. The iſland ſtood but little in need of regular forces, for its defence, till about the year 1730; when the depredations and outrages, committed by the Maroons (or wild Negroes, as they were called) had gone on to ſuch a length, that the ſettlements were in many parts deſerted, and the inhabitants thrown under the oppreſſion of very heavy taxes, for ſupporting a continual inteſtine war, which greatly interrupted the buſineſs of their plantations. Theſe motives

tives engaged governor Hunter to ſolicit the duke of Newcaſtle (then at the head of the miniſtry) for two regiments of foot; which were accordingly detached from the garriſon of Gibraltar to their aſſiſtance. The people were told, that theſe troops would be no burthen to them, for that they were to be victualed and paid at the national expence, as they had before been at Gibraltar. However, the victualers not arriving in due time, the aſſembly were called upon to make ſome proviſion for them in the *interim*; to which they conſented, and paſſed a bill for this purpoſe, to have a duration for ſix months only. The governor had aſſured them, that, ſo ſoon as the victualers ſhould arrive, the proviſions they brought ſhould be diſtributed inſtantly among the troops, that the iſland might not be unneceſſarily put to any further expence for their ſubſiſtence. But no ſooner were they arrived, than he cauſed the proviſions to be ſold, and retained the proceeds in his own hands, meanly taking advantage of the preſſing neceſſity which the inhabitants were under of keeping the regiments, at any rate, for their defence. This proceeding, ſo diſhonourable on the governor's part, firſt gave riſe to the country-pay, or allowance, which is now granted by annual bill. Theſe troops were, ſoon afterwards, diſbanded here; and ſuch of the men as inclined to ſtay were formed into eight independent companies, and kept in pay by the iſland until the Negroes were brought to ſubmiſſion; which happened in the adminiſtration of governor Trelawny, about the year 1739. In the year 1745, they were incorporated into a regiment, and the command given to that governor. They then became intitled to receive pay from the crown; but, nevertheleſs, the aſſembly made an additional proviſion of twenty ſhillings *per* week to each officer, and five ſhillings to each private. This pay has ſince received conſiderable augmentation; and it is at preſent upon the following eſtabliſhment:

	Per Week.			*Per Ann.*						
	£	*s.*	*d.*	£	*s.*	*d.*	£	*s.*	*d.*	
To every lieutenant-colonel, major, captain, lieutenant, or enſign,	1	0	0	52	0	0	116	0	0	Married officer.
Captain's lodging,				25						
His wife,	10	0		26						
Child,	5	0		13						
Serjeant, corporal, drum, or private,	5	0		13			29	5	0	Non-commiſſioned and private.
Wife,	3	9		9	15	0				
Child,	2	6		6	10	0				

For

For Lodgings.				Per Annum.
Lieutenant-colonel,				£ 50
Major				50
Lieutenant, enſign, or ſurgeon,				20

They are likewiſe allowed to buy their rum free of the iſland duty, which is a ſaving of from 1*s.* to 1*s.* 6*d. per* gallon; an advantage purpoſely given them by the legiſlature, that they might be enabled to buy it of the beſt quality, inſtead of debauching with the balderdaſh liquor, ſold under the name of rum by the keepers of retail ſhops.

The ſubſiſtence is, in the three towns of St. Jago, Kingſton, and Port Royal, paid into the hands of the men; but, in the country-quarters, to their commanding officers, for the uſe of the ſoldiers. A diverſity of opinion has prevailed in regard to this mode of payment; as the ſoldiers in ſome of the country quarters have, in one or two inſtances, appeared to have been defrauded of their dues, or ſupplied with putrid and unwholeſome proviſions, which were ſold to them much above their prime-coſt. It was argued, that, with money in their hands, the men might purchaſe much better in quality, and more in quantity, of freſh meat and wholeſome victuals; and that every country-barrack would attract a market for the ſale of hogs, poultry, freſh fiſh, fruits, and roots, which are articles produced and vended by almoſt all the Negroes.

On the other hand, it was alledged, that, by paying the allowance in money to the common ſoldiers, they would become, in ſome degree, independent of their officers; that they would diſſipate it in ſpirituous liquors, grow enervated with tipling, relaxed in their diſcipline, and impaired in their vigour and health.

I do not take upon me to reconcile theſe different opinions; but certain it is, that all the men are not prone to drunkenneſs, in particular thoſe who have wives and children; that they prefer freſh meat to ſalt, and the many excellent roots, pulſe, and herbs, of the iſland produce, to biſcuit, which will not keep any long time undecayed in this climate; that a pound of freſh meat is far more nutritive, and will go much further in ſatisfying hunger, than a pound of beef hardened with ſalt; that ſalt-beef creates an artificial thirſt; and that this produces a conſtant appetite for drink,

and

and therefore moſt likely, either to make ſots of thoſe men who were not ſuch before, or to confirm others more inveterately, in their drunken habits; and, laſtly, that money and a demand are the only things requiſite to procure a regular and well-ſupplied market in a country which abounds with proviſion. There is, moreover, a very great difference in the air and ſituation of the different barracks; ſo that, in ſome of them, a diet on ſalt proviſion, concurring with any local depravity of the atmoſphere, may diſpoſe the body to very malignant diſtempers; while, in other barracks, the ſame diet may prove much leſs injurious to a ſoldier's health. Thus, of fifty unſeaſoned men, quartered at an inland barrack for three years, not one died of any diſtemper; though other companies of the ſame regiment, quartered on unhealthy ſpots near the coaſt, were ſickly, and buried ſeveral of their men. I would not mean to inſinuate any thing to the diſadvantage of ſo reſpectable a body as the officers in general are; but ſome among them are not immaculate; nor is it to be ſuppoſed but they are ſubject, like other men, to human frailties. The worthier part of them, I am convinced, upon a due conſideration of the ſubject, might fall on ſome plan of regulation, to the end that theſe benevolent aids, which the inhabitants grant to the poor ſoldiers and their families, may not be miſapplied; that their health ſhould be effectually conſulted, as well by feeding them with wholeſome proviſions, as by reſtraining them from the immoderate uſe of ſpirituous liquors.

An officer, who attends ſtrictly to the health of his men in both caſes, certainly renders the moſt eſſential ſervice to the king and to the public, and makes the beſt return to the good intentions of the people, by thus ſupporting the ability of the troops, to give that protection in time of need, which, I conceive, is the chief deſign of their being ſtationed in this iſland.

By the encouragements given to the troops, the ſervice here is become far leſs diſagreeable than in moſt other parts of the Weſt-Indies. The private men, who are married, are, by living in a regular manner, more healthy than the unmarried. The children are very little burthenſome to their parents; and, when a woman has the misfortune of loſing her huſband, ſhe continues but a ſhort

time in a ſtate of viduity: the ſame reaſon, which in England might deter any ſuitors from addreſſing her, namely a crowd of children, is here the certain recommendation to a number of candidates for the honour of her hand; and happy is he, who ſucceeds, and gains her in marriage; for he enters into preſent poſſeſſion of her children's pay, which continues even though ſome of them may be capable of earning an income with their own hands. And from this ſource, for every able-bodied ſoldier thus ſent abroad from Great-Britain, that kingdom may poſſibly receive back, at the time the forces are recalled, a large ſtock of young recruits, to ſupply the loſſes occaſioned by death during the abode of the regiments in Jamaica. But, if any ſtay behind, they probably acquire more riches to the nation by exerting their induſtry in the colony, than they could have done had they returned to the mother country.

The author of a pamphlet, entitled, "Conſiderations upon the "Military Eſtabliſhments of Great-Britain and her Colonies," recommends to government, "that the troops, intended for garri-"ſoning the Weſt-Indies, ſhould, after paſſing three years at New-"York, be removed to the Weſt-Indies; and, after three years "longer ſtay to garriſon thoſe parts, ſhould be recalled home, "being firſt compleated to their full numbers before their return to "Britain; and ſuch numbers to be ſupplied by the reſpective iſlands "and colonies." The former part of this ſcheme ſeems plauſible enough, becauſe the vicinity of New-York to the Weſt-Indies may admit of ſuch a remove with great expedition and facility; and becauſe the troops, after enduring three North-American ſummers, which are even hotter than the ſame ſeaſon of the year in our Weſt-India iſlands, may be ſuppoſed tolerably well ſeaſoned to the change. But their cloathing ſhould be very different for the Weſt-India ſervice from what might be thought neceſſary in North-America; and they ought to arrive at their Weſt-India deſtination in December, January, February, or March, that they might not, in ſeparating to their country-quarters, be expoſed to either the inclemency of the rainy ſeaſons, or the great heats of the ſummer months. The author's propoſition about recruiting the regiments on the ſpot is by no means admiſſible with reſpect to the Weſt-India

dia iſlands; for, if it was practicable to make ſuch drains from theſe iſlands, already in want of white men, for ſuch a purpoſe, they would occaſion a very great inſecurity, by waſting the ſubſtantial ſtrength of every colony every third year, and by that means endanger our ſettlements in them, without effecting any collateral benefit either to the army or nation; for ſuch recruits would be of very little ſervice after their emigration to Europe; the change to a damp, cold climate, and hard duty, would ſoon render them invalids. Beſides, their inliſting of hired and indented ſervants (for none other are likely to offer) would inevitably obſtruct the planting buſineſs, and occaſion continual quarrels and law-ſuits between the planters and the military; which, in their conſequences, might prove extremely embarraſſing to government both abroad and at home.

The laws, for inſtance, of Jamaica inflict a penalty of 200*l.* on any captain, or commander, of any ſhip, attempting to carry away a hired or indented ſervant as a ſailor or paſſenger. They make the carrying off any ſuch ſervant, by any perſon, felony, without benefit of clergy; and impoſe a penalty likewiſe of 20*l.* on every perſon hiding, hiring, or employing, a hired or indented ſervant without a diſcharge from his laſt maſter or employer, atteſted by a juſtice of the peace. The parliament, no leſs attentive to the ſecurity and welfare of the Weſt-India iſlands, in 1746, paſſed an act to prevent the impreſſing of mariners in thoſe parts; and, in 1756, when the defence of the North-American provinces required that indented ſervants ſhould be inliſted, they took care to reſtrain the permiſſion, by the moſt expreſs words, to "the Britiſh colo-"nies upon the *continent* of America;" which evinces their caution, that no pretence might be made for extending this act to the Weſt-India colonies.

The North-American recruits are, in general, unfit for the Weſt-India ſervice; for which reaſon (unleſs there appears any invincible neceſſity to juſtify ſuch an expedient), it might be more adviſeable to recruit from Europe than from that continent; for the North-Americans are far leſs hardy than the Europeans, and, during the laſt and former war, died in numbers whenever they were removed to a diſtance from home. It is very difficult for

them to inure themſelves to a climate different from their own; nor do they bear tranſplanting into the Southern colonies ſo well as the Britiſh, Iriſh, Germans, or Swiſs. I cannot therefore but ſurmiſe, that ſuch a project, if carried into execution, would prove in the iſſue no better than a plan for ſacrificing triennially ſo many hundred poor victims, and eſſentially diſtreſſing the ſervice. In the expectation of two thouſand effective ſoldiers to be conſtantly kept here, the inhabitants expended near 100,000*l.* in building barracks for their accommodation; which are ſo diſpoſed among the different pariſhes, that they are calculated to afford a general protection to the internal parts, and capable of holding more than that number of men, beſides their officers. But, in 1764, when the 49th and 74th regiments were relieved, the people had the mortification to find, that, inſtead of two regiments of one thouſand men each, they were to be protected by two of four hundred and fifty each; which was leſs than one half the complement they expected; and conſequently their barracks, on which they had laid out ſuch large ſums of money, raiſed by taxes, which fell very heavily on the planters, for three years, were left to moulder into decay, for want of being tenanted.

The ſmalleſt number that ought be cantoned here, for the internal ſecurity of the iſland in time of peace, is an eſtabliſhment of one thouſand and thirty-five effectives, to be diſtributed according to the plan hereafter deſcribed; by which, every one of the new barracks would be garriſoned, and kept from going to decay; and the guard ſo well balanced in the reſpective counties and pariſhes, in proportion to the danger they may ſeverally be expoſed to from ſudden inſurrections, as would probably be an effectual curb upon the mutinous and diſaffected. But, to form a body for this eſtabliſhment, either two reduced regiments ſhould be raiſed to five hundred and twenty-five men each; or one regiment, under the name of the Royal American, be compleated to one thouſand and thirty-five men. In time of war, if government ſhould judge two regiments neceſſary for the better defence of the iſland againſt foreign enemies, it will appear from the following ſtate of the barracks, that they are in a condition to accommodate between two and three thouſand men excluſive of their officers.

Preſent State of the different Barracks:

County.	Pariſhes.	Situation of Barracks.	Number of Troops they can receive, exclusive of Officers.
Middleſex,	St. Catharine,	St. Jago de la Vega,	300
	Ditto,	Fort Auguſta,	300
	St. Dorothy,	Old Harbour,	70
	St. John,	Point Hill,	70
	St. Mary,	Bagnals,	70
	Ditto,	Port Maria,	60
	Ditto,	Auracabeſſa,	60
	Ditto,	Anotto Bay,	70
	St. Anne,	Port St. Anne,	70
	Clarendon,	Chapel,	100
	Vere,	Carliſle Bay,	50
			1220
Surry,	Port Royal,	Fort Charles,	300
	Kingſton,	Kingſton,	200
	Ditto,	Rock Fort,	70
	St. Andrew,	Stony Hill,	120
	St. Thomas in the Eaſt,	Morant Bay,	25
	Ditto,	Port Morant,	25
	Ditto,	Bath,	25
	Portland,	Fort George,	70
	St. George,	Gibraltar Point,	70
			905
Cornwall,	St. Elizabeth,	Black River,	30
	Weſtmoreland,	Savannah la Mar,	70
	Ditto,	Delve,	100
	Hanover,	St. Lucia,	47
	St. James,	Montego Bay,	100
		Marthabrae,	100
			447
		Total in the three counties,	2572

Beſides theſe, there are ſeveral old barracks, which were built during the war with the Marons, and are ſtill kept in repair; viz. in Middleſex ſix; Surry two; Cornwall three; in all, eleven; which are capable of holding a conſiderable body of men, if occaſion ſhould ever require their being garriſoned [a]. A governor once replied, when he was ſolicited for a party to be quartered at one of the inland barracks, "that his majeſty's troops were ſent "hither to guard the coaſts, not to protect the internal diſtricts "from Negroe inſurgents." But it is hoped that every adminiſtration will not be guided by ſo abſurd a policy. The men of property in this iſland pay an ample contribution, in order that it may be protected, not ſo much from French or Spaniards, as againſt the machinations of the many thouſand ſlaves, which, in proportion as the ſettlements advance further and further into the heart of the

[a] Theſe would be moſt convenient for receiving the corps of rangers propoſed, under the head of "Militia."

country,

country, grow the more formidable from their multitude: I ſpeak chiefly of imported Africans, who are the moſt to be feared. Men muſt firſt believe their life and fortune tolerably ſecure, before they will venture to ſettle. But if the troops, inſtead of being garriſoned in the internal parts, where the greateſt danger lies, where the ſettlements are few and ſcattered, and incapable of defending themſelves, are ranged along the coaſts, which in time of peace require no ſuch guards, and at any time are leaſt healthy, and too remote from the centre to afford a ſeaſonable relief; can the inhabitants be ſaid to receive that degree of protection from them, to which they are entitled? It may perhaps be never prudent to leave the maritime forts without ſome garriſon, to prevent ſurprizes; and the larger towns require a ſufficiently ſtrong guard, for many obvious reaſons. To anſwer therefore every one of theſe purpoſes, we may ſuppoſe the following eſtabliſhment of a corps, for this ſervice, to conſiſt of

Twenty companies, of fifty privates each,		1000
Two field-officers,		
Twenty captains,		
Twenty lieutenants,		
Thirty ſurgeons mates,		
Two ſurgeons in chief,		
Forty ſerjeants,		
Twenty corporals,		134
	The complement total,	1034

The offices of barrack-maſters and adjutants might be executed by ſome of the *cour* of officers.

For their cantonment in time of peace, I propoſe the following ſcheme; by which it will appear, that the principal towns and port are well guarded, and the moſt unſettled diſtricts as well defended, as the number can admit on the ſcale of an equal protection.

Head-

Head-quarters, St. Jago de la Vega.

County.	Parish.	Situation.	No of each Garrison.	Total in each County.
Middlesex,	St. Catharine,	St. Jago,	100	
	Ditto,	Fort Augusta,	125	
	St. Dorothy,	Old Harbour,	25	
	St. John,	Point Hill,	50	
	St. Mary,	Port Maria,	25	
	Ditto,	Auracabessa,	12	
	Ditto,	Anotto Bay,	12	
	St. Anne,	Port St. Anne,	25	
	Clarendon,	Chapel,	50	
	Vere,	Carlisle Bay,	12	
				436
Surry,	Port Royal,	Port Royal,	150	
	Kingston,	Kingston and Rock Fort,	75	
	St. Andrew,	Stony Hill,	50	
	St. Thomas in the East,	Morant Bay,	12	
	Ditto,	Port Morant,	12	
	Ditto,	Bath,	25	
	Portland,	Fort George,	50	
	St. George,	Gibraltar,	50	
				424
Cornwall,	St. Elizabeth,	Black River,	25	
	Westmoreland,	Savannah la Mar,	25	
	Ditto,	Delve,	25	
	Hanover,	Lucea,	25	
	St. James,	Montego Bay,	50	
		Marthabrae,	25	
				175
		Total,		1035

The additional expence to the island for their maintenance would (by the best calculation I can make) not exceed the present annual supply more than 7000*l.*, even allowing one third of men and officers to be married, and to have one child each at an average, which is certainly a very large reckoning; so that the island, if it be thought necessary, is capable of supporting such an augmentation; much more so (it may be imagined) at this time than some years ago, when the assembly petitioned for a constant establishment of two thousand men, which would have brought upon them an additional charge, of at least 18,000*l. per annum.*

In regard to the state of health of the soldiers here, the following table will convey some idea of it. I have already noticed several causes of their ill health in particular cantonments, which may admit of some fit regulations for their remedy. The complement of the two regiments, landed here in June, 1764, and lately relieved, consisted, as I am informed (at four hundred and fifty each reduced establishment), of nine hundred effectives; and it is proper to

to remark, that the 36th was kept at head-quarters and neighbourhood; and the 66th at the out-posts.

	Deaths, Regiment 36th.	Regiment 66th.
1764,	30	102
5,	53	32
6,	30	30
7,	22	30
8,	27	41
9,	29	32
1770,	42	43
1771,	28	23
Totals,	261	333
Average, *per annum*,	$32\frac{1}{9}$	$41\frac{5}{8}$

According to this table, of the 36th there died, *per annum*, one in every fourteen; and, of the 66th, one in every eleven. The ſmalleſt loſs of the 36th was about one in twenty; and, of the 66th, about one in nineteen. The havoc among the 66th, on the firſt year of their arrival, I have accounted for, in ſpeaking of the quarters of Black River and ſome other out-poſts. In that year a detachment was ſent on the Havannah ſervice; and the ſtate of the troops appeared, from the return then laid before the aſſembly, as follows; viz.

Detachment,	500 Men
Effectives remaining,	301
In the hoſpital,	104
	905

Of thoſe in hoſpital, the governor mentioned that ſeveral were recovered fit for duty ſince the laſt returns had been made; and that others were in a fair way.

The calculations, which Dr. Price has made, are; Deaths, — 1 in $20\frac{1}{4}$, London; — 1 in $19\frac{1}{2}$, Vienna; — *per annum*.

Now, it is worthy experiment, whether, by proper diet of freſh meat, a moderate allowance of the beſt rum, and care in removing all nuiſances, and ſources of putrid diſtempers, from the ſeveral barracks in this iſland, the deaths might not be reduced to the

the ſtandard of London or Vienna. Let us however compare the above account (bad as it may ſeem) with two examples, one taken from the Eaſt, and the other from the Weſt-Indies. It was not long ſince given in evidence, before the Houſe of Commons, that the climate of the Eaſt-Indies deſtroyed 700 out of 1000 men, in one campaign after their arrival. On the expedition to St. Vincent, one regiment buried 122 in one year, and 309 in three; the average of which is about 1 in every 4. The truth is, as Dr. Lind has well obſerved, that every iſland in the Weſt-Indies, and other parts of the world, has its healthy and unhealthy ſpots. The nature and exigencies of the ſervice prevent the troops, ſent over to garriſon our larger iſlands, from being kept on any one particular ſpot, which might be ſelected on account of its good air; in ſome caſes neceſſity, in others inattention to the important evils, which originate from ſeemingly trifling cauſes, have occaſioned the erection of barracks in very improper ſituations; near ſwamps, the oozy banks of rivers, and ſtinking lagoon waters. Sometimes an injudicious poſition of the ſick wards and offices, has thrown a conſtant annoyance of an impure air upon the healthy; and ſometimes a tendency to ſickneſs, and bad fevers, has ariſen from the very materials with which the barracks have been built. Thus, the barracks in Clarendon and at Bath, being of ſtone, were found inſalutary to the men lodged in them, until the walls were lined with plaiſter. Some ſpecies of ſtone are extremely porous, imbibing and tranſuding moiſture freely; others are ſo firm and compact in their texture, that they condenſe the watery particles in dampweather upon their ſurface, which trickle down the ſides of walls, or paſs off again in a reek. Stone buildings, without ſome precautions, are not wholeſome habitations in the Weſt-Indies. They ought to be ſurrounded with a ſhed, or piazza, to keep off the beating of heavy ſhowers; the walls within ſhould either be lined with a facing of brickwork, plaiſtered, or of boards, ſet off about 1 or 2 inches, leaving a ſpace behind for the free circulation of air between, in order to prevent their becoming damp. The ill contrivance of the barrack at Lucea, I have noticed in the account of Hanover pariſh; if the hoſpital there, the ſtercorary, and kitchen, were changed to leeward of the dwelling, this barrack is in other reſpects not ill ſituated for health. The ſame

remark may be applied likewiſe, to ſome other barracks in the iſland, which require more windows for admitting the air, proper remedies for damp walls, the draining away of ſtagnant water, and removal of the ſick wards and offenſive ſmells, to a quarter where they may not incommode the men who are in health.

Reaſon and experience point out, that men, coming from a cold into a hot climate, ſhould make the change at that ſeaſon of the year, when the degree of heat is leaſt at the place of their deſtination; by which means, the tranſition will be more gradual, and therefore productive of a leſs violent ſhock to the conſtitution. On their firſt arrival, the change of climate moſt commonly brings on a diarrhœa. If the men at this time, and during the ſucceeding twelve months, are not hindered from beſotting themſelves with new rum, or from dieting too conſtantly upon ſalt fiſh, ſalt beef or pork, and rancid butter; they will probably be ſeized with violent fevers of the putrid claſs, and it may be expected that many of them will die.

The moſt wholeſome beverage for them would be ſugar and water, with or without a moderate allowance of old rum; what is ſtill preferable, is the *cool drink*, prepared here by many of the free Negroe and Mulatta women, who vend it cheap to the ſoldiers. It is made with a mixture of ſugar, guaicum chips, and ginger, infuſed together in hot water, and afterwards worked into a ferment with a piece of freſh gathered chaw-ſtick; which, by the quantity of fixed air contained in it, ſoon excites a conſiderable froth, and imparts a ſlight bitter, of a very agreeable flavour. This drink, when cool and depurated, is racy and pleaſant, extremely wholeſome, and, if taken in too large quantities, intoxicates in ſome degree, but without cauſing any ill effect to the conſtitution. This liquor might eaſily be brewed twice or oftener in the week, at the barracks, and drank by way of a change. The plantains, yams, and caſſava bread, are nutritious, wholeſome, and, after a little uſe, preferred by moſt of the ſoldiers to flour bread or biſcuit at their principal meal, and are far cheaper. The potatoes and cocos are not leſs nouriſhing. Half a pound of what is called in England *make-weight* beef, conſiſting of the coarſer parts, with ſome of theſe roots, the eſculent herbs of the country, ſuch as the

colálu,

colalu, ocra, &c. every where to be had in abundance, with a ſmall ſeaſoning of the country pepper to correct their flatulence, would make a moſt wholeſome and ſtrengthening meſs for one or two men, and at no greater charge than about 6*d.* or at moſt 7½*d.* currency.

Particular attention ought likewiſe to be given to the quality of the water, with which the men are ſupplied. The barracks at Port Royal and Fort Auguſta are ſerved from the Rio Cobre, a perſon being paid about 400 *l. per annum* for this purpoſe: it would properly be the ſurgeon's duty to examine this water from time to time, leſt, to ſave a little trouble, it ſhould be taken up too near the mouth of the river, and ſo be impregnated with the ſalt water in the harbour: it ought likewiſe to be ſuffered to ſettle for ſome time in caſks or jars, that it may not be drank in a turbid ſtate, which would probably occaſion fluxes.

It was intended, ſome time ſince, to form a ciſtern at Port Royal, to be lined with lead, for holding water for the uſe of the troops quartered there: but it may not be improper to remark here, by the way, that water, ſtanding for any time in a leaded veſſel, becomes impregnated with the poiſonous qualities of that metal; and from late diſcoveries, and many well-atteſted facts, has been found to produce obſtinate conſtipations, and cholicky diſorders in the bowels, and not unfrequently paralytic complaints. The water at Rock Fort is brackiſh and unwholeſome; but the officer commanding there, being allowed a boat, and ſix Negroes to navigate it, might eaſily ſupply that ſmall garriſon from Kingſton. At thoſe places (if any ſuch there are in this iſland) where none other than brackiſh water can poſſibly be procured, it may be rendered potable and wholeſome by diſtillation [*b*]; or by ſuffering it to percolate through ſand, with which ſeveral puncheons, open at one end, might be filled to one third of their depth.

Coolneſs of dreſs is another eſſential article, whenever they are on a march in the country. When lieutenant colonel Spragge

[*b*] Captain Wallis, of his majeſty's ſhip Dolphin, mentions, that in 5 hours and a quarter's diſtillation, he obtained from 56 gallons of ſea water ſix and thirty gallons of freſh, at an expence of nine pounds weight of wood, and ſixty-nine pounds weight of coals. Thirteen gallons and two quarts remained in the ſtill; and that which came off, had no ill taſte, nor (as he had often experienced) any hurtful quality. Voyage round the World, vol. I. p. 515.

commanded a party of the forty-ninth regiment, againſt the Maron Negroes, he provided his men with flannel jackets lined with linen; this was their only covering overthe ſhirt. In the day-time, they wore the linen next their bodies, and at night the woollen: in this dreſs, they were cool by day, ſufficiently warm at night, and went through an aſtoniſhing courſe of fatigue, without injury to their healths; not one of the party having fallen ſick during the whole time of their being on that ſervice.

The laws of the iſland contain very few particulars relative to the regular troops. The hiring, concealing, employing, entertaining, or carrying off any ſoldier belonging to any regiment quartered here, or ſeaman belonging to any of his majeſty's ſhips on this ſtation, without a diſcharge from their commanding officer, ſubjects the offender, upon conviction, to the penalty of 50 *l.*; and the perſon ſo hired, *&c.* is admitted an evidence, and entitled to one half the fine for informing.

A ſoldier, maimed or wounded in any publick ſervice, is to be cured and maintained at the publick charge [*c*].

A lot of land at Bath is reſerved for erecting an infirmary for ſick ſoldiers, labouring under complaints remediable by the waters; and another lot for a burial-ground.

Contiguous to all the old country barracks, one hundred acres are allotted for the uſe of the ſoldiers, who may be poſted in them; but as they have received no garriſons ſince the pacification with the Marons, the moſt part of theſe lands have been given up to the gentlemen poſſeſſed of plantations near them, on condition of keeping the buildings in conſtant good repair.

I ſhall cloſe this account of the white inhabitants, by obſerving on the very capital errors which ſeem to have been committed by different writers in reſpect of their number; for ſome have not ſcrupled to aſſert that, in 1720, the iſland contained 60,000 Whites; and that, in 1740, the number was but little reduced. It is impoſſible to reconcile theſe accounts with the repreſentation made by the board of trade to the houſe of lords in 1734, when 7,644 was ſtated as the whole number of Whites at that time upon the iſland. I have ſuppoſed the preſent number (in the preceding parts of this

[*c*] 1681.

work)

work) about 17,000 excluſive, of tranſients, ſoldiers, and ſeamen. At the very loweſt I could not deduct more than 1000 from this calculation; for the towns, villages, and hamlets certainly contain altogether not leſs than 9000; and 7000 will not be thought too many to allow for the ſugar plantations, penns, and ſmaller ſettlements. In 1750, a gentleman of ability in the iſland made the computation, that it contained 10,000 planters, merchants, ſhopkeepers, hired and indentured ſervants, and artificers; or upwards. To ſuppoſe therefore an advance of ſix thouſand or more, ſince that period, conſidering the vaſt multiplication of houſes and ſettlements, both in the towns and country parts, ſeems not at all extravagant. The account of its population about the time of the great earthquake at Port Royal, as cited by Dr. Browne, and put at 17,307, is evidently erroneous, having been copied from the eſtimate taken when Sir Thomas Modiford was governor, about the year 1670; which confounds the Whites with the Blacks, and claſſes the whole under the general title of the inhabitants. A more accurate liſt was given, during the government of Sir Thomas Lynch, in 1673, which I have quoted at length. This makes the Whites 8,564, and the whole number of inhabitants, of all complexions, 18,068. We find by Sir William Beeſton's paper (in the firſt book,) that in 1664 the number of regimented Whites was no more than about 3000; which, being ſuppoſed one half of the whole, makes 6000, beſides thoſe employed in privateering, which may be reckoned about 800; total 6,800.

In 1670 they muſtered for the militia,		2,720
And on board privateers,	——	2,500
		5,200
Allowing two fourths of that number for women and children, or	—	2,600
The whole ſtock of Whites amounted to		7,800,

or only 764 leſs than in the year 1673, which gives an increaſe of about 250 *per annum*.

In the year 1678, according to the ſame account, the militia muſtered	——	4,526
Allowance for ſeamen, who were reduced very much in number in conſequence of the American treaty;		

treaty; and betook themſelves, ſome to planting, and ſo incorporated with the land-men; and ſome to piracy in other parts of the Weſt-Indies, — 500

5,026

Women and children — 2,513

and the whole number appears to have been about — 7,539; by ſome, computed 10,000. Several deſertions happened about this time and afterwards, in conſequence of ſome arbitrary meaſures of government; which doubtleſs reduced the number, and retarded the increaſe of the colony: the number which left the iſland was computed at five hundred or upwards.

About the year 1702, the Negroes imported were 843, exported 327; ſo that no more than 516 remained to ſupply all the plantations in the iſland. Even in 1720, their conſumption amounted to no more than 2,249; and in 1734, to 2,904. If therefore we conſider the demand for Negroes, as one ſure teſt to judge of the increaſing population of a Weſt-India colony, which it manifeſtly is; and that the inhabitants were all this while kept almoſt perpetually in arms, to oppoſe the Marons, who deſtroyed many infant ſettlements, and hindered others from being formed; I do not think, that the number of Whites can be ſuppoſed to have riſen at any time much above 8, or 9,000, until the pacification with thoſe diſturbers.

The author of an ingenious tract (entitled "Account of the European ſettlements in America") allots 25,000 Whites to Jamaica. If he had meant all the reſident Whites, and thoſe of white extraction, he would not probably have been very wide of the true ſtate; but, if his eſtimate includes none other than the unmixed Whites, I judge it much too high an allowance, and the rather, as he has not favoured us with any *data*, or grounds whereby we might examine how far it ſhould be relied on.

For a general rule of looſe calculation, perhaps allowing nine Whites to every one hundred Blacks, will come neareſt to exactneſs. To take one example, the board of trade repreſented the number to be 7,644 in the year 1734. In that year, the number of Negroe

ſlaves

ſlaves in the iſland amounted to 86,546. Multiplying therefore 865 (the number of hundreds) by 9; the product is 7,785, or only 141 difference.

Agreeably to the ſame rule, we may try what may be ſuppoſed the preſent number, allowing the ſlaves to be at this time increaſed to 170,000, and they probably exceed, becauſe many new ſugar works have been formed ſince the year 1768; therefore, $\left.\begin{array}{r}1700\\ \times\ 9\end{array}\right\}$ gives 15,300 Whites, or 700 only different from the loweſt number I have preſumed them.

It would be more agreeable to go upon ſure grounds; but where information is defective, as in this caſe, we can only take ſome ſpeculative line for our guide; and this appears to me to draw as near to preciſion, as may be reaſonably expected [*d*].

(*d*) The many nautical, or ſeafaring terms of expreſſion, in uſe here among the planters from time out of mind, were probably introduced by the firſt Engliſh ſettlers; who, for ſome years, alternately followed privateering, and planting. I ſhall enumerate a few of them, with their explanation:

Cook-room. Kitchen.

Leeward. Every place ſituated to the Weſtward.

Windward. The contrary.

Store-room. Warehouſe for goods.

Stoaker. The Negroe appointed to ſtuff fuel into the holes under the boilers. Probably from the word *ſtoaked* or ſtopped as a ſhip's pump.

Boatſwain of the mill. The Negroe who attends the mill-gang, or feeders.

To rig the mill. To get it ready for putting about.

Mill-tackling. The mule-traces, &c.

Sweeps. The arms or levers belonging to the *main* roller.

Skids. Poles, or levers uſed for putting caſks into a boat from the ſhore.

Stanchions. Upright pieces of timber in the curing-houſe.

Gangway. Interval or ſpace left for paſſage through the middle of the curing-houſe.

Cot. A ſettee.

Awning.

Bread-kind. Such roots and fruits of the country as are uſed inſtead of bread.

To jerk. To ſalt meat, and ſmoak-dry it.

Birth. An office, place, or employment.

Grog.
Toddy.
Kill-devil.
} Liquors, whoſe choiceſt ingredient is rum.

Hand the mug. Carry or bring the mug.

Bowl. Inſtead of cup.—As "a bowl of tea," of chocolate, or both; which term expreſſes the large morning-potations of our anceſtors here.

Cow. Is the bucaneer term, to ſignify all ſorts of horned cattle, &c.

SECT.

SECT. III.

FREED BLACKS *and* MULATTOS.

THERE were three claſſes of freed perſons here. The loweſt comprehended thoſe who were releaſed from ſlavery by their owner's manumiſſion, either by will or an inſtrument ſealed and delivered, and regiſtered either in the toll-book or the ſecretary's office. They were allowed no other mode of trial, than the common ſlaves, (*i. e.*) "by two juſtices and three freeholders;" for they were not ſuppoſed to have acquired any ſenſe of morality by the mere act of manumiſſion; ſo likewiſe they were not admitted evidences againſt white or other free-born perſons, in the courts of juſtice, nor to vote at parochial nor general elections.

The ſecond claſs conſiſted of ſuch as were free-born. Theſe were allowed a trial by jury, and might give evidence in controverſies at law with one another, and in criminal caſes; but only in civil caſes againſt white perſons, or againſt freed-perſons, particularly endowed with ſuperior privileges.

The third contained ſuch as, by *private acts* of aſſembly, became entitled to the ſame rights and privileges with other Engliſh ſubjects born of white parents, except that they might not be of the council nor aſſembly; nor judges in any of the courts, nor in the public offices, nor jurymen. Some of them are likewiſe precluded from voting at elections of aſſembly-members. There are not any conſiderable numbers who have enjoyed the privileges annexed to this latter claſs; they have chiefly been granted to ſuch, who were inheritors of large eſtates in the iſland, bequeathed to them by their white anceſtor.

The freedom of the two former claſſes was much enlarged in 1748, when a law paſſed, allowing the manumitted, as well as free-born, to give evidence againſt any freed-perſons enjoying the liberty of white ſubjects, provided, in reſpect to the manumitted, they have received their freedom ſix months at leaſt antecedent to the time of their offering ſuch evidence; and if they ſhould be

convicted of wilful and corrupt perjury, they are made liable to the ſame puniſhment, as the laws of England inflict on this offence.

Thus it appears, that they hold a limited freedom, ſimilar to that of the Jews; and it has been often ſuggeſted by very ſenſible men, that it is too circumſcribed, more eſpecially in reference to thoſe who have large patrimonies in the iſland; who, without any probable ill conſequence, might be permitted to have a vote in the veſtry, and at the election of members to ſerve in the aſſembly; to write as clerks in ſome of the offices; and hold military commiſſions in the Black and Mulatto companies of militia; which privileges I will not diſpute: but, for many reaſons, it were better to confer them on particular or ſelect perſons, of good education and morality, than to extend them by a general law to many, who, it muſt be confeſſed, are not fitly qualified for this enlargement.

The deſcendants of the Negroe blood, entitled to all the rights and liberties of white ſubjects, in the full extent, are ſuch, who are above three ſteps removed in the lineal digreſſion from the Negroe *venter* excluſive; that is to ſay, real *quinterons*, for all below this degree are reputed by law *Mulattos*.

The law requires likewiſe, in all theſe caſes, the ſacrament of baptiſm, before they can be admitted to theſe privileges. Some few other reſtrictions are laid on the firſt and ſecond claſs. No one of them, except he poſſeſſes a ſettlement with ten ſlaves upon it, may keep any horſes, mares, mules, aſſes, or neat cattle, on penalty of forfeiture. This was calculated to put a ſtop to the practice of ſlaughtering the old breed on commons, and putting their own marks upon the young.

But two juſtices may licenſe any ſuch freed-perſon to keep ſuch ſtock, during good behaviour.

They who have not a ſettlement, as juſt mentioned, muſt furniſh themſelves with certificates of their freedom, under the hand and ſeal of a juſtice, and wear a blue croſs on the right ſhoulder, on pain of impriſonment.

If convicted of concealing, enticing, entertaining, or ſending off the iſland, any fugitive, rebellious, or other ſlave, they are to forfeit their freedom, be ſold, and baniſhed.

Theſe are the principal ordinances of the laws affecting the common freed-perſons; whence the policy of the country may be eaſily meaſured. The reſtraints, ſo far as they are laid upon the loweſt order juſt emerged from ſervitude, and who have no property of any conſequence, ſeem very juſtifiable and proper; but in reſpect to the few who have received a moral and Chriſtian education, and who inherit fortunes conſiderable enough to make them independant, they may be thought capable of ſome relaxation, without any prejudice to the general welfare of the colony; for it deſerves ſerious reflection, that moſt of the ſuperior order (for theſe reaſons) prefer living in England, where they are reſpected, at leaſt for their fortunes; and know that their children can enjoy *of right* all thoſe privileges, which in Jamaica are withheld from their poſſeſſion.

The ſlaves that moſt commonly gain a manumiſſion here from their owners, are

1. Domeſticks, in reward for a long and faithful courſe of ſervice.

2. Thoſe, who have been permitted to work for themſelves, only paying a certain weekly or monthly ſum; many of them find means to ſave ſufficient from their earnings, to purchaſe their freedom.

3. Thoſe who have effected ſome eſſential ſervice to the public, ſuch as revealing a conſpiracy, or fighting valiantly againſt rebels and invaders. They have likewiſe generally been requited with an annuity, from the publick treaſury, for life.

Some regulation ſeems expedient, to give the firſt mentioned the means of acquiring their freedom, without the temptation of converting it into licentiouſneſs.

In Antigua, every white perſon who beſtows this boon upon his ſlave, accompanies it with ſome further grant, enabling him to enjoy his new ſtation with advantage to himſelf and the community. The law there compels all theſe freed-men, who have not lands wherewith to form a ſettlement, to enter themſelves into the ſervice of ſome family. In Jamaica, where land is a cheap commodity, this is not the caſe. The Negroe receives his manumiſſion, but not always a proviſion for his future ſubſiſtence; this defect therefore impels many of them to thefts and other illegal practices,

for

for a maintenance. A liberty of this ſpecies is baneful to ſociety; and it ſeems to be the proper object of legiſlature, to make theſe acts of private bounty ſubſervient to, inſtead of leaving them ſubverſive of, the publick good.

From five to ten acres of ground might very well be ſpared upon any planter's eſtate. Five acres of good ſoil are abundantly ſufficient for one ſuch freed Negroe. It may be ſaid, that ſuch a condition, tacked to theſe grants, would hinder men from rewarding their faithful ſlaves with liberty; but, on the other hand, in a publick view, it is better that the Negroe ſhould continue an honeſt and induſtrious ſlave, than to be turned into an idle and profligate freeman. All however that is here meant is, that, in imitation of the Antigua law, all thoſe freed-men, who have neither lands to cultivate, nor trade to follow, ſhould be obliged to enrol themſelves in ſome white family, as domeſticks; a liſt ſhould annually be taken, and regiſtered, of all the claſſes, and their occupations annexed to their names.

I come now to ſpeak of the Mulattoes and other caſts, who (in common parlance) all paſs under that appellation. Upon enquiry of the aſſembly, in the year 1762, into the deviſes made by laſt wills to Mulatto children, the amount in reality and perſonalty was found in value between two and three hundred thouſand pound. They included four ſugar eſtates, ſeven penns, thirteen houſes, beſides other lands unſpecified. After duly weighing the ill conſequences that might befall the colony, by ſuffering real eſtates to paſs into ſuch hands, a bill was paſſed, "to prevent the inconveniencies ariſing from exorbi-"tant grants and deviſes made by white perſons to Negroes and the "iſſue of Negroes, and to reſtrain and limit ſuch grants and devi-"ſes;" this bill enacted, that a deviſe from a white perſon, to a Negroe or Mulatto, of real and perſonal eſtate, exceeding in value 2000 *l.* currency, ſhould be void. It has been objected by many, and with great warmth, to this law, "that it is oppreſſive in it's "effect, tending to deprive men of their right to diſpoſe of their "own effects and acquiſitions, in the manner moſt agreeable to "their inclinations". It may not be improper, therefore, to examine a little into the fair ſtate of the queſtion. That it is repugnant to the ſpirit of the Engliſh laws, is readily granted, and ſo is

Negroe ſlavery: the queſtion therefore ariſing from this compariſon will be, Is there or not a local neceſſity for laying many reſtraints in this colony, where ſlave-holding is legally eſtabliſhed, which reſtraints do not exiſt, nor are politically expedient, in England, where ſlavery is not tolerated? It is a firſt principle, and not to be controverted, in political and civil as well as in moral government, that if one perſon does any act, which if every other or even many others of the ſame ſociety were to do, muſt be attended with injurious conſequences to that ſociety, ſuch an act cannot in the nature of things be legal nor warrantable. All ſocieties of men, wherever conſtituted, can ſubſiſt together only by certain obligations and reſtrictions, to which all the individual members muſt neceſſarily yield obedience for the general good; or they can have no juſt claim to thoſe rights, and that protection, which are held by all, under this common ſanction.

In countries where rational freedom is moſt enjoyed, as in England, the laws have affixed certain bounds to mens paſſions and inclinations, in numberleſs examples; ſo a ſucceſſion to eſtates there is regulated more according to the rules of policy, and the good of the community, than to the *law of nature*, ſimply conſidered; therefore, although a man may be deſirous, nay thinks he has a natural right, to determine who ſhall enjoy that property from time to time after his death, which he acquired by his induſtry while living, the law of England, abhorring perpetuities as hurtful to the ſociety, defeats this purpoſe, and readily gives it's aſſiſtance to bar ſuch entails.

The right of making deviſes by will was eſtabliſhed in ſome countries much later than in others. In England, till modern times, a man could only diſpoſe of one third of his moveables from his wife and legitimate children; and, in general, no will was permitted of lands till the reign of Henry the Eighth, and then only a certain portion; for it was not till after the Reſtoration, that the power of deviſing real property became ſo univerſal as at preſent. The antient law of the Athenians directed that the ſtate of the deceaſed ſhould always deſcend to his legitimate children; or, on failure of ſuch lineal deſcendants, ſhould go to the collateral relations. In many other parts of Greece they were totally diſcountenanced.

In Rome they were unknown till the laws of the twelve tables were compiled, which firſt gave the right of bequeathing; and among the Northern nations, particularly the Germans, teſtaments were not received into uſe. By the common law of England, ſince the conqueſt, no eſtate, greater than for term of years, can be diſpoſed of by teſtament, except only in Kent and in ſome antient burghs, and a few particular manors, where their Saxon immunities by particular indulgence ſubſiſted. And though the feodal reſtraint on alienations by deed vaniſhed very early, yet this on wills continued for ſome centuries after, from an apprehenſion of infirmity and impoſition on the teſtator *in extremis*; which made ſuch deviſes ſuſpicious. Every diſtinct country has different ceremonies and requiſites to make a will compleatly valid; and this variety may ſerve to evince, that the right of making wills and diſpoſing of property after death is merely a creature of the civil or municipal laws, which have permitted it in ſome countries, and denied it in others; and even where it is permitted by law, it is ſubjected to different reſtrictions, in almoſt every nation under Heaven. In England, particularly, this diverſity is carried to ſuch a length, as if it had been meant to point out the power of the laws in regulating the ſucceſſion to property; and how futile every claim muſt be, that has not it's foundation in the poſitive rules of the ſtate [*e*]. In the ſame kingdom, the inſtitution of marriage is regarded as one of the main links of ſociety, becauſe it is found to be the beſt ſupport of it. A promiſcuous intercourſe and an uncertain parentage, if they were univerſal, would ſoon diſſolve the frame of the conſtitution, from the infinity of claims and conteſted rights of ſucceſſion: for this reaſon, the begetting an illegitimate child is reputed a violation of the ſocial compacts, and the tranſgreſſors are puniſhable with corporal correction [*f*]. The civil codes were ſo rigorous, that they even made baſtards incapable, in ſome caſes, of a gift from their parents. The deteſtation in which they have been held by the Engliſh laws is very apparent, and may be inferred from the ſpirit of their ſeveral maxims: as, "Hæres *legitimus* eſt quem *nuptiæ* demonſtrant &c. [*g*]."

[*e*] Blackſtone.
[*f*] 18 Eliz. 7 Jac. I.
[*g*] A legitimate child is he that is born after wedlock.

"Cui

"*Cui pater eſt populus*, non habet ille patrem [*h*]". "Qui ex *damnato* "coitu naſcuntur, inter liberos non computentur." So they are likewiſe ſtyled "*filii nullius* [*i*]," becauſe their real father is ſuppoſed to be uncertain, or unknown. The lenity however of the Engliſh law at preſent, is ſatisfied only with excluding them from inheritance, and with exacting a competent proviſion for their maintenance, that they may not become chargeable upon the publick.

The inſtitution of marriage, is doubtleſs of as much concern in the colony, as it is in the mother country: perhaps more ſo; becauſe a life of celibacy is not equally hurtful in the latter, who may draw recruits to keep up her population, from the neighbouring ſtates of Europe. But the civil policy of the two countries, in reſpect to ſucceſſions to property, differ very materially; ſo that, if three fourths of the nation were ſlaves, there can be no queſtion but that the law of laſt wills would be modified to a different frame, perhaps carried back again to the antient feodal doctrine of non-alienation, without conſent of the lord; which reſtraint was ſuited to the policy of thoſe times, when villeinage prevailed. A man's right of deviſing his property by will ought juſtly, therefore, from the conſtitution of our Weſt India colonies, to be more circumſcribed in them, than is fitting in the mother ſtate. A ſubject (for example) in Jamaica ought not to bequeath his whole perſonal eſtate which may be very conſiderable, to a ſlave; and, if he ſhould do ſo, it is eaſy to conceive that it would be utterly repugnant to the civil policy of that iſland. The Jamaica law permits the putative father to leave, what will be thought, a very ample proviſion, in order to ſet his baſtard forward in the world; and in all caſes where the father, having no legitimate kin to whom he may be willing to give his property, where that properry is large, and his illegitimate child may be, by the poliſh of a good education, and moral principles, found well deſerving to poſſeſs it; there can be no queſtion, but he might be made legitimate and capable of inheriting, by the power of an act of aſſembly; ſince the ſame thing has been done in ſimilar caſes in England, by act of the parliament. It is plain, therefore, the policy of the

[*h*] The offspring of promiſcuous coujunctions has no father. Marriage aſcertains the father.

[*i*] Baſtards are not endowed with the privilege of children. No man's children.

law

law only tends to obviate the detriment reſulting to the ſociety, from fooliſh, and indiſcriminate deviſes; leaving in the breaſt of the legiſlature to ratify others particularly circumſtanced, and which might not be ſo likely to produce the ſame inconveniences. It is a queſtion eaſily anſwered, whether (ſuppoſing all natural impediments of climate out of the way) it would be more for the intereſt of Britain, that Jamaica ſhould be poſſeſſed and peopled by white inhabitants, or by Negroes and Mulattos?—Let any man turn his eyes to the Spaniſh American dominions, and behold what a vicious, brutal, and degenerate breed of mongrels has been there produced, between Spaniards, Blacks, Indians, and their mixed progeny; and he muſt be of opinion, that it might be much be better for Britain, and Jamaica too, if the white men in that colony would abate of their infatuated attachments to black women, and, inſtead of being "grac'd with a *yellow offspring not their own* [*k*]," perform the duty incumbent on every good citizen, by raiſing in honourable wedlock a race of unadulterated beings. The trite pretence of moſt men here, for not entering into that ſtate, is "the heavy and intolerable expences it will bring upon them." This, in plain Engliſh, is nothing more than expreſſing their opinion, that ſociety ſhall do every thing for them, and that they ought to do nothing for ſociety; and the folly of the means they purſue, to attain this ſelfiſh, ungrateful purpoſe, is well expoſed, by the profuſion and miſery into which their diſorderly connexions often inſenſibly plunge them. Can we poſſibly admit any force in their excuſe, when we obſerve them laviſhing their fortune with unbounded liberality upon a common proſtitute? when we ſee one of theſe votaries of celibacy grow the abject, paſſive ſlave to all her inſults, thefts, and infidelities; and diſperſe his eſtate between her and her brats, whom he blindly acknowledges for his children, when in truth they are entitled to claim twenty other fathers? It is true, the iſſue of a marriage may ſometimes lie under ſuſpicion, through the looſe carriage of the mother; but on which ſide does the weight of probability reſt, on the virtue of a wife, or the continence of a proſtitute?

[*k*] Pitt's Virg. Æn. vi. 293.

Very

Very indigent men may indeed, with more colour of propriety, urge ſuch an argument in their defence; but the owner of a large fortune poſſeſſes what is a viſible demonſtration, to prove the fallacy of his pretence. Such a man is doubtleſs as able to maintain a wife, as a miſtreſs of all the vices reigning here; none are ſo flagrant as this of concubinage with white women, or cohabiting with Negreſſes and Mulattas, free or ſlaves. In conſequence of this practice we have not only more ſpinſters in compariſon to the number of women among the natives (whoſe brothers or male relations poſſeſs the greateſt part of their father's patrimony) in this ſmall community, than in moſt other parts of his majeſty's dominions, proportionably inhabited; but alſo, a vaſt addition of ſpurious offſprings of different complexions: in a place where, by cuſtom, ſo little reſtraint is laid on the paſſions, the Europeans, who at home have always been uſed to greater purity and ſtrictneſs of manners, are too eaſily led aſide to give a looſe to every kind of ſenſual delight: on this account ſome black or yellow *quaſheba* is ſought for, by whom a tawney breed is produced. Many are the men, of every rank, quality, and degree here, who would much rather riot in theſe goatiſh embraces, than ſhare the pure and lawful bliſs derived from matrimonial, mutual love. Modeſty, in this reſpect, has but very little footing here. He who ſhould preſume to ſhew any diſpleaſure againſt ſuch a thing as ſimple fornication, would for his pains be accounted a ſimple blockhead; ſince not one in twenty can be perſuaded, that there is either ſin; or ſhame in cohabiting with his ſlave. Of theſe men, by far the greateſt part never marry after they have acquired a fortune; but uſher into the world a tarniſhed train of beings, among whom, at their deceaſe, they generally divide their ſubſtance. It is not a little curious, to conſider the ſtrange manner in which ſome of them are educated. Inſtead of being taught any mechanic art, whereby they might become uſeful to the iſland, and enabled to ſupport themſelves; young *Fuſcus*, in whom the father fondly imagines he ſees the reflected dawn of paternal genius, and Miſs *Fulvia*, who mamma proteſts has a moſt delicate ear for muſic and French, are both of them ſent early to England, to cultivate and improve the valuable talents which nature is ſuppoſed to have ſo wantonly beſtowed, and the parents, blind with folly, think

think they have diſcovered. To accompliſh this end, no expence nor pains are ſpared; the indulgent father, big with expectation of the future *eclat* of his hopeful progeny,

" diſdains
" The vulgar tutor, and the ruſtic ſchool,
" To which the dull cit' ſends his low-born fool.
" By our wiſe ſire to London are they brought,
" To learn thoſe arts that high-bred youths are taught;
" Attended, dreſt, and train'd, with coſt and care,
" Juſt like ſome wealthy duke's apparent-heir."

Maſter is ſent to Weſtminſter, or Eaton, to be inſtructed in the elements of learning, among ſtudents of the firſt rank that wealth and family can give: whilſt Miſs is placed at Chelſea, or ſome other famed ſeminary; where ſhe learns muſic, dancing, French, and the whole circle of female *bon ton*, proper for the accompliſhment of fine women. After much time and money beſtowed on their education, and great encomiums, year after year, tranſmitted (by thoſe whoſe intereſt it is to make them) on their very uncommon genius and proficiency, at length they return to viſit their relations. From this period, much of their future miſery may be dated. Miſs faints at the ſight of her relations, eſpecially when papa tells her that black *Quaſheba* is her own mother. The young gentleman too, after his introduction, begins to diſcover that the knowledge he has gained has only contributed to make him more ſuſceptible of keen reflections, ariſing from his unfortunate birth. He is ſoon, parhaps, left to herd among his black kindred, and converſe with *Quaſhee* and *Mingo*, inſtead of his ſchool-fellows, *Sir George*, or *My Lord*; while mademoiſelle, inſtead of modiſh French, muſt learn to prattle gibberiſh with her couſins *Mimba* and *Chloe*: for, however well this yellow brood may be received in England, yet here ſo great is the diſtinction kept up between white and mixed complexions, that very ſeldom are they ſeen together in a familiar way, though every advantage of dreſs or fortune ſhould centre with the latter. Under this diſtinction, it is impoſſible but that a well-educated Mulatta muſt lead a very unpleaſant kind of a life here; and juſtly may apply to her reputed father what Iphicrates ſaid of his, " After all your pains, you have

"made me no better than a ſlave; on the other hand, my mother "did every thing in her power to render me free." On firſt arriving here, a civilized European may be apt to think it impudent and ſhameful, that even bachelors ſhould publickly avow their keeping Negroe or Mulatto miſtreſſes; but they are ſtill more ſhocked at ſeeing a group of white legitimate, and Mulatto illegitimate, children, all claimed by the ſame married father, and all bred up together under the ſame roof [*m*]. Habit, however, and the prevailing faſhion, reconcile ſuch ſcenes, and leſſen the abhorrence excited by their firſt impreſſion.

To allure men from theſe illicit connexions, we ought to remove the principal obſtacles which deter them from marriage. This will be chiefly effected by rendering women of their own complexion more agreeable companions, more frugal, truſty, and faithful friends, than can be met with among the African ladies. Of ſome probable meaſures to effect this deſireable purpoſe, and make the fair natives of this iſland more amiable in the eyes of the men, and more eligible partners in the nuptial ſtate, I have already ventured my ſentiments. A proper education is the firſt great point. A modeſt demeanour, a mind diveſted of falſe pride, a very moderate zeal for expenſive pleaſures, a ſkill in œconomy, and a conduct which indicates plain tokens of good humour, fidelity, and diſcretion, can never fail of making converts. Much, indeed, depends on the ladies themſelves to reſcue this truly honourable union from that faſhionable deteſtation in which it ſeems

[*m*] Reaſon requires, that the maſter's power ſhould not extend to what does not appertain to his ſervice. Slavery ſhould be calculated for utility, not for pleaſure. The laws of chaſtity ariſe from thoſe of nature, and ought in all nations to be reſpected. If a law, which preſerves the chaſtity of ſlaves, be good in thoſe ſtates where an arbitrary power bears down all before it, how much more ſo will it be in monarchies! and how much more ſtill in republics! The law of the Lombards has a regulation which ought to be adopted by all governments. "If a maſter debauches "his ſlave's wife, the ſlave and his wife ſhall be free;" an admirable expedient, which, without ſeverity, lays a powerful reſtraint on the incontinency of maſters. The Romans erred on this head: they allowed an unlimited ſcope to the maſter's luſt; and, in ſome meaſure, denied their ſlaves the privilege of marrying. It is true, they were the loweſt part of the nation; yet there ſhould have been ſome care taken of their morals, eſpecially as, in prohibiting their marriage, they corrupted the morals of the citizens.

So thinks the inimitable Monteſquieu. And how applicable theſe ſentiments are to the ſtate of things in our iſland, I leave to the diſpaſſionate judgement of every man there, whether married or ſingle.

to be held; and one would ſuppoſe it no very arduous taſk to make themſelves more companionable, uſeful, and eſteemable, as wives, than the Negreſſes and Mulattas are as miſtreſſes: they might, I am well perſuaded, prove much honeſter friends. It is true, that, if it ſhould be a man's misfortune to be coupled with a very profligate and extravagant wife, the difference, in reſpect to his fortune, is not great, whether plundered by a black or by a white woman. But ſuch examples, I may hope, are unfrequent without the huſband's concurrence; yet, whenever they do happen, the miſchief they occaſion is very extenſive, from the apprehenſions with which they ſtrike multitudes of ſingle men, the viler part of whom endeavour to increaſe the number of unhappy marriages by every baſe art of ſeduction; while others rejoice to find any ſuch, becauſe they ſeem to juſtify their preference of celibacy, or concubinage. In regard to the African miſtreſs, I ſhall exhibit the following, as no unſuitable portrait. All her kindred, and moſt commonly her very paramours, are faſtened upon her keeper like ſo many leeches; while ſhe, the chief leech, conſpires to bleed him *uſque ad deliquium*. In well-diſſembled affection, in her tricks, cajolements, and infidelities, ſhe is far more perfectly verſed, than any adept of the hundreds of Drury. She rarely wants cunning to dupe the fool that confides in her; for who "ſhall teach the wily African "deceit?" The quinteſſence of her dexterity conſiſts in perſuading the man ſhe deteſts to believe ſhe is moſt violently ſmitten with the beauty of his perſon; in ſhort, over head and ears in love with him. To eſtabliſh this opinion, which vanity ſeldom fails to embrace, ſhe now and then affects to be jealous, laments his ungrateful return for ſo ſincere a paſſion; and, by this ſtratagem, ſhe is better able to hide her private intrigues with her real favourites. I have ſeen a dear companion of this ſtamp deploring the loſs of her deceaſed cull with all the ſeeming fervency of an honeſt affection, or rather of outrageous ſorrow; beating her head; ſtamping with her feet; tears pouring down in torrents; her exclamations as wild, and geſtures as emphatic, as thoſe of an antient Roman orator in all the phrenſy of a publick harangue. Unluckily, it ſoon appeared, that, at this very time, ſhe had rummaged his pockets and eſcrutoire; and concealed his watch, rings, and money, in the

feather-bed upon which the poor wretch had juſt breathed his laſt. And ſuch is the mirror of almoſt all theſe conjunctions of white and black! two tinctures which nature has diſſociated, like oil and vinegar. But, as if ſome good was generally to ariſe out of evil, ſo we find, that theſe connexions have been applauded upon a principle of policy; as if, by forming ſuch alliances with the ſlaves, they might become more attached to the white people. Perhaps, the fruit of theſe unions may, by their conſanguinity with a certain number of the Blacks, ſupport ſome degree of influence, ſo far as that line of kindred extends: yet one would ſcarcely ſuppoſe it to have any remote effect; becauſe they, for their own parts, deſpiſe the Blacks, and aſpire to mend their complexion ſtill more by intermixture with the Whites. The children of a White and Quateron are called Engliſh, and conſider themſelves as free from all taint of the Negroe race. To call them by a degree inferior to what they really are, would be the higheſt affront. This pride of amended blood is univerſal, and becomes the more confirmed, if they have received any ſmattering of education; for then they look down with the more ſupercilious contempt upon thoſe who have had none. Such, whoſe mind has been a little purged from the groſſeſt ignorance, may wiſh and endeavour to improve it ſtill more; but no freed or unfreed Mulatto ever wiſhed to relapſe into the Negro. The fact is, that the opulent among them withdraw to England; where their influence, if they ever poſſeſſed any, ceaſes to be of any uſe. The middle claſs are not much liked by the Negroes, becauſe the latter abhor the idea of being ſlaves to the deſcendants of ſlaves. And as for the lower rank, the iſſue of caſual fruition, they, for the moſt part, remain in the ſame ſlaviſh condition as their mother; they are fellow-labourers with the Blacks, and are not regarded in the leaſt as their ſuperiors. As for the firſt-mentioned, it would probably be no diſſervice to the iſland, to regain all thoſe who have abandoned it. But, to ſtate the compariſon fairly, if their fathers had married, the difference would have been this; their white offſpring might have remained in the colony, to ſtrengthen and enrich it: the Mulatto offſpring deſert and impoveriſh it. The lower claſs of theſe mixtures, who remain in the iſland, are a hardy race, capable of undergoing equal fatigue with the Blacks,

above

above whom (in point of due policy) they ought to hold ſome degree of diſtinction. They would then form the centre of connexion between the two extremes, producing a regular eſtabliſhment of three ranks of men, dependent on each other, and riſing in a proper climax of ſubordination, in which the Whites would hold the higheſt place. I can foreſee no miſchief that can ariſe from the enfranchiſement of every Mulatto child. If it be objected, that ſuch a plan may tend to encourage the illicit commerce of which I have been complaining; I reply, that it will be more likely to repreſs it, becauſe, although the planters are at preſent very indifferent about the birth of ſuch children upon their eſtates, knowing that they will either labour for them like their other ſlaves, or produce a good price, if their fathers ſhould incline to purchaſe them; yet they will diſcountenance ſuch intercourſes as much as lies in their power (when it ſhall no longer be for their intereſt to connive at them), and uſe their endeavours to multiply the unmixed breed of their Blacks. Beſides, to expect that men will wholly abſtain from this commerce, if it was even liable to the ſevereſt penalties of law, would be abſurd; for, ſo long as ſome men have paſſions to gratify, they will ſeek the indulgence of them by means the moſt agreeable, and leaſt inconvenient, to themſelves. It will be of ſome advantage, as things are circumſtanced, to turn unavoidable evils to the benefit of ſociety, as the beſt reparation that can be made for this breach of its moral and political inſtitutions. A wiſe phyſician will ſtrive to change an acute diſtemper into one leſs malignant; and his patient compounds for a ſlight chronic indiſpoſition, ſo he may get relief from a violent and mortal one. I do not judge ſo lightly of the preſent ſtate of fornication in the iſland, as to ſuppoſe that it can ever be more flouriſhing, or that the emancipation of every Mulatto child will prove a means of augmenting the annual number. The retrieving them from profound ignorance, affording them inſtruction in Chriſtian morals, and obliging them to ſerve a regular apprenticeſhip to artificers and tradeſmen, would make them orderly ſubjects, and faithful defenders of the country. It may, with greater weight, be objected, that ſuch a meaſure would deprive the planters of a part

part of their property; and that the bringing up ſo many to trades and mechanic arts might diſcourage white artificers.

The firſt might be obviated, by paying their owners a certain rate *per* head, to be determined by the legiſlature. The ſecond is not inſurmountable; for few or none will be maſter-workmen; they will ſerve as journeymen to white artificers; or do little more than they would have done, if they had continued in ſlavery; for it is the cuſtom on moſt eſtates at preſent to make tradeſmen of them. But, if they were even to ſet up for themſelves, no diſadvantage would probably accrue to the publick, but the contrary. They would oblige the white artificers to work at more moderate rates; which, though not agreeable perhaps to theſe artificers, would ſtill leave them an ample gain, and prove very acceptable to the reſt of the inhabitants; for to ſuch a pitch of extravagance have they raiſed their charges, that they tax their employers juſt what they think fit; each man of them fixes a rate according to his own fancy, unregulated by any law; and, ſhould his bill be ever ſo enormous or unjuſt, he is in no want of brother tradeſmen in the jury-box to confirm and allow it. I ſhall not here preſume to dictate any entire plan for carrying this ſcheme into effect. This muſt be left to the wiſdom of the legiſlature, and be made conſiſtent with the abilities of the treaſury. In general only I may ſuppoſe, that for every ſuch child, on its attaining the age of three years, a reaſonable allowance be paid to the owner: from that period it becomes the care of the public, and might be provided for, at a cheap rate, until of an age fit for ſchool; then be inſtructed in religion; and at the age of twelve apprenticed for the term of four years; after this, be regimented in his reſpective diſtrict, perhaps ſettled near a townſhip; and, when on militia or other public duty, paid the ſame ſubſiſtence *per* day, or week, that is now allowed to the Marons. The expediency muſt be ſeen of having (as in the French iſlands) ſuch a corps of active men, ready to ſcour the woods upon all occaſions; a ſervice, in which the regulars are by no means equal to them. They would likewiſe form a proper counter-balance to the Maron Negroes; whoſe inſolence, during formidable inſurrections, has been moſt inſufferable. The beſt way of ſecuring the allegiance of theſe irregular people muſt be by preſerving the treaty with

with them inviolate: and, at the ſame time, awing them into the conſervation of it on their part by ſuch a powerful equipoiſe, compoſed of men diſſimilar from them in complexion and manners, but equal in hardineſs and vigour.

The Mulattos are, in general, well-ſhaped, and the women well-featured. They ſeem to partake more of the white than the black. Their hair has a natural curl; in ſome it reſembles the Negroe fleece; but, in general, it is of a tolerable length. The girls arrive very early at the age of puberty; and, from the time of their being about twenty-five, they decline very faſt, till at length they grow horribly ugly. They are laſcivious; yet, conſidering their want of inſtruction, their behaviour in public is remarkably decent; and they affect a modeſty which they do not feel. They are lively and ſenſible, and pay religious attention to the cleanlineſs of their perſons: at the ſame time, they are ridiculouſly vain, haughty, and iraſcible. They poſſeſs, for the moſt part, a tenderneſs of diſpoſition, which leads them to do many charitable actions, eſpecially to poor white perſons, and makes them excellent nurſes to the ſick. They are fond of finery, and laviſh almoſt all the money they get in ornaments, and the moſt expenſive ſorts of linen. Some few of them have intermarried here with thoſe of their own complexion; but ſuch matches have generally been defective and barren. They ſeem in this reſpect to be actually of the mule-kind, and not ſo capable of producing from one another as from a commerce with a diſtinct White or Black. Monſieur Buffon obſerves, that it is nothing ſtrange that two individuals ſhould not be able to propagate their ſpecies, becauſe nothing more is required than ſome ſlight oppoſition in their temperaments, or ſome accidental fault in the genital organs of either of theſe two individuals: nor is it ſurpriſing, that two individuals, of different ſpecies, ſhould produce other individuals, which, being unlike either of their progenitors, bear no reſemblance to any thing fixed, and conſequently cannot produce any thing reſembling themſelves, becauſe all that is requiſite in this production is a certain degree of conformity between the form of the body and the genital organs of theſe different animals. Yet it ſeems extraordinary, that two Mulattos, having intercourſe together, ſhould be unable to continue their ſpecies, the

woman

woman either proving barren, or their offspring, if they have any, not attaining to maturity; when the ſame man and woman, having commerce with a White or Black, would generate a numerous iſſue. Some examples may poſſibly have occurred, where, upon the intermarriage of two Mulattos, the woman has borne children; which children have grown to maturity: but I never heard of ſuch an inſtance; and may we not ſuſpect the lady, in thoſe caſes, to have privately intrigued with another man, a White perhaps? The ſuſpicion is not unwarrantable, if we conſider how little their paſſions are under the reſtraint of morality; and that the major part, nay, almoſt the whole number, with very few exceptions, have been *filles de joye* before they became wives. As for thoſe in Jamaica, whom I have particularly alluded to, they married young, had received ſome ſort of education, and lived with great repute for their chaſte and orderly conduct; and with them the experiment is tried with a great degree of certainty: they produce no offspring, though in appearance under no natural incapacity of ſo doing with a different connexion.

The ſubject is really curious, and deſerves a further and very attentive enquiry; becauſe it tends, among other evidences, to eſtabliſh an opinion, which ſeveral have entertained, that the White and the Negroe had not one common origin. Towards diſproving this opinion, it is neceſſary, that the Mulatto woman ſhould be paſt all ſuſpicion of intriguing with another, or having communication with any other man than her Mulatto huſband; and it then remains for further proof, whether the offspring of theſe two Mulattos, being married to the offspring of two other Mulatto parents, would propagate their ſpecies, and ſo, by an uninterrupted ſucceſſion, continue the race. For my own part, I think there are extremely potent reaſons for believing, that the White and the Negroe are two diſtinct ſpecies. A certain philoſopher of the preſent age confidently avers, that "none but the blind can doubt it." It is certain, that this idea enables us to account for thoſe diverſities of feature, ſkin, and intellect, obſerveable among mankind; which cannot be accounted for in any other way, without running into a thouſand abſurdities.

The

The antient fathers of the Chriſtian church, diſliking the Copernican ſyſtem, pronounced it damnable and heretical for any one to maintain the doctrine of the antipodes, and the annual motion of the earth round the ſun. According to the eccleſiaſtical ſyſtem of thoſe days, the ſun was made to revolve above three hundred and twenty thouſand miles in the ſpace of a minute; but it is found more rational to conclude, and more eaſy to believe, that the earth makes one revolution on its own axis once in twenty-four hours; and we have living teſtimonies of its having been circumnavigated, and the doctrine of antipodes confirmed beyond a doubt. The freedom of philoſophic enquiry may ſtill proceed to extirpate old prejudices, and diſplay more and more (to the utter confuſion of ignorance and bigotry) the beautiful gradation, order, and harmony, which pervade the whole ſeries of created beings on this globe.

Of the number of the free Blacks and Mulattos in the iſland I have before given an eſtimate. They increaſe very faſt. By an act, paſſed in 1761, they were all required to take out certificates of their freedom, to be ſigned by the governor. This was a very proper method to come at the knowledge of their number. In 1762, or 1763, they were found as follows:

Middleſex.		Surry.		Cornwall.		Total in the 3 Counties.
St. Catharine,	872	Kingſton,	1093	St. Elizabeth,	228	
St. Thomas in the Vale,	44	Port Royal,	103	Weſtmoreland,	189	
St. John,	67	St. Andrew,	56	Hanover,	67	
St. Dorothy,	38	St. David,	22	St. James,	26	
Clarendon,	130	St. Thomas in the Eaſt,	64			
Vere,	172	Portland,	27			
St. Anne,	78	St. George,	32			
St. Mary,	100					
	1501		1397		510	3408

They are ſince increaſed to upwards of three thouſand ſeven hundred, principally in the towns; and, I think, we may reckon about one thouſand five hundred of them for fencible men, fit for able ſervice in the Militia.

I ſhall conclude this account of them with a hearty recommendation of ſome plan, both for inſtructing them in morality, and regimenting their fencible men, to be employed by rotation on conſtant duty. I need not recapitulate my former arguments,

tending to illuſtrate the utility, and even neceſſity, of adopting this meaſure.

SECT. IV.

MARONS[1].

WHEN the Spaniards retreated before the army under command of Venables, they had with them about one thouſand five hundred Negroes and Mulattos, many of whom were ſlaves. Some adhered to their maſters; while others diſperſed, thirty or forty in a gang, to different parts of the mountains, chuſing their own leaders; from whence they made frequent excurſions, to harraſs the Engliſh ſoldiers, who had been repreſented to them as blood-thirſty heretics, that gave no quarter. They frequently killed ſtragglers near the head-quarters; and one night grew ſo bold, as to fire a houſe in the very town. Major-general Sedgewick propheſied, in his letter to Thurloe (1656), that theſe Blacks would prove thorns in our ſides; living as they did in the woods and mountains, a kind of life natural and agreeable to them. He adds, that they gave no quarter to his men, but deſtroyed them whenever they found opportunity, ſcarce a week paſſing without their ſlaying one or two; and, as the ſoldiers grew more ſecure and careleſs, they became more enterpriſing and bloody. "Having no *moral ſenſe*," continues he, "nor underſtanding what the laws and cuſtoms of "civil nations mean, we neither know how to capitulate or diſ-"courſe with, nor how to take, any of them. But, be aſſured, they "muſt either be deſtroyed, or brought in upon ſome terms or "other; or elſe they will prove a great diſcouragement to the ſet-"tling of people here." What he foretold actually came to paſs. At the latter end of the ſame year (1656), the army gained ſome trifling ſucceſs againſt them; but this was ſoon afterwards ſeverely retaliated by the ſlaughter of forty ſoldiers, cut off as they were careleſsly rambling near their quarters. A party was immediately ſent in queſt of the enemy, came up with, and killed ſeven or eight

[1] Probably derived from the Spaniſh *Marrano*, a porker, or hog of one year old. The name was firſt given to the hunters of wild hogs, to diſtinguiſh them from the bucaniers, or hunters of wild cattle and horſes.

of them. The following year, they diſcovered the place where the Blacks held their uſual rendezvous, and gave them ſome annoyance. But they ſtill found means to hold out, until, being hard preſſed by colonel D'Oyley, who, by his final overthrow of the Spaniards at Rio Nuevo, having taken from them all hope of future ſuccour from their antient friends, they became very much ſtreightened, for want of proviſions and ammunition. The main party, under the command of their captain, Juan de Bolas (whoſe place of retreat, in Clarendon, ſtill retains his name), ſurrendered to the Engliſh on terms of pardon and freedom. But other parties remained in the moſt inacceſſible retreats within the mountainous wilds; where they not only augmented their numbers by procreation, but, after the iſland became thicker ſown with plantations, they were frequently reinforced by fugitive ſlaves, and at length grew confident enough of their force to undertake deſcents upon the interior planters, many of whom they murdered from time to time; and, by their barbarities and outrage, intimidated the Whites from venturing to any conſiderable diſtance from the ſea-coaſt. One of theſe parties was called the Vermaholis Negroes; in queſt of whom captain Ballard was ſent, in the year 1660, with a detachment, and took ſeveral of them priſoners. In 1663, the lieutenant-governor Sir Charles Lyttelton, and his council, iſſued a proclamation, offering to grant twenty acres of land *per* head, and their freedom, to all ſuch of them as would come in. But I do not find that any of them inclined to accept the terms, or quit their ſavage way of life. On the contrary, they were better pleaſed with the more ample range they poſſeſſed in the woods, where their hunting-ground was not yet limited by ſettlements. They took care that none of the latter ſhould be formed; and, for this purpoſe, butchered every white family that ventured to ſeat itſelf any conſiderable diſtance inland. When the governor perceived that the proclamation wrought no effect upon their ſavage minds, Juan de Bolas, who was now made colonel of the Black regiment, was ſent to endeavour their reduction; but, in the proſecution of this ſervice, he fell unfortunately into an ambuſcade, and was cut in pieces. In March, 1664, captain Colbeck, of the White militia, was employed for the ſame purpoſe. He went by ſea to the

North ſide; and, having gained ſome advantages over them, he returned, with one who pretended to treat for the reſt. This embaſſy, however, was only calculated to amuſe the Whites, and gain ſome reſpite; for they no ſooner found themſelves in a proper condition, and the white inhabitants lulled into ſecurity, than they began to renew hoſtilities.

Theſe Blacks poſſeſſed ſeveral ſmall towns in different diviſions of the country; and, about the year 1693, commenced open war, having choſen Cudjoe for their generaliſſimo. They continued to diſtreſs the iſland for about forty-ſeven years; and, during this time, forty-four acts of aſſembly were paſſed, and at leaſt 240,000*l.* expended, for their ſuppreſſion. In 1730, they were grown ſo formidable, that it was found expedient to ſtrengthen the colony againſt them by two regiments of regular troops, which were afterwards formed into independent companies, and employed, with other hired parties, and the whole body of militia, towards their reduction. In the year 1734, captain Stoddart, who commanded one of theſe parties, projected and executed with great ſucceſs an attack of their windward town, called Nanny, ſituated near Carrion-crow Ridge, one of the higheſt mountains in the iſland, in the neighbourhood of Bath. Having provided ſome portable ſwivel-guns, he ſilently approached their quarters, and reached within a ſmall diſtance of them undiſcovered. After halting for ſome time, he began to aſcend by the only path leading to their town. He found it ſteep, rocky, and difficult, and not wide enough to admit the paſſage of two perſons abreaſt. However, he ſurmounted theſe obſtacles; and, having gained a ſmall eminence, commanding the huts in which the Negroes were lodged all faſt aſleep, he fixed his little train of artillery to the beſt advantage, and diſcharged upon them ſo briſkly, that many were ſlain in their habitations, and ſeveral more, amidſt the conſternation which this ſurprize occaſioned, threw themſelves headlong down precipices. Captain Stoddart purſued the advantage, killed numbers, took many priſoners, and, in ſhort, ſo compleatly deſtroyed or routed the whole body, that they were unable afterwards to effect any enterprize of moment in this quarter of the iſland.

About

About the ſame time, another party of the Blacks (having perceived that a body of the militia, ſtationed at the barrack of Bagnal's Thicket, in St. Mary, under command of colonel Charlton and captain Ivy, ſtrayed heedleſsly from their quarters, and kept no order) formed an ambuſcade to cut them off, and, whilſt the officers were at dinner, attended by very few of their men, the Marons ruſhed ſuddenly from the adjacent woods, and aſſaulted them. Several pieces were diſcharged; the report of which alarmed the militia, who immediately ran to their arms, and came up in time to reſcue their officers from deſtruction. The Marons were repulſed, and forced to take ſhelter in the woods; but the militia did not think fit to purſue them far. Some rumours of this ſkirmiſh reached Spaniſh Town, which is diſtant from the ſpot about thirty miles; and, as all the circumſtances were not known, the inhabitants were thrown into the moſt dreadful panic, from apprehenſions that the Marons had defeated Charlton, and were in full march to attack the town. Ayſcough, then commander in chief, fell in with the popular fear, ordered the trumpets to ſound, the drums to beat, and in a few hours collected a body of horſe and foot, who went to meet the enemy. On the ſecond day after their departure, they came up to a place, where, by the fires which remained unextinguiſhed, they ſuppoſed the Marons had lodged the preceding night. They therefore followed the track, and ſoon after got ſight of them. Captain Edmunds, who commanded the detachment, diſpoſed his men for action; but the Marons declined engaging, and fled different ways. Several, however, were ſlain in the purſuit, and others made priſoners. Theſe two victories reduced their ſtrength, and inſpired them with ſo much terror, that they never after appeared in any conſiderable body, nor dared to make any ſtand. Indeed, from the commencement of the war till this period, they had not once ventured a pitched battle; but ſkulked about the ſkirts of remote plantations, ſurpriſing ſtragglers, and murdering the Whites by two or three at a time, or when they were too few to make any reſiſtance. By night they ſeized the favourable opportunity, that darkneſs gave them, of ſtealing into the ſettlements; where they ſet fire to cane-pieces and outhouſes, killed all the cattle they could find, and carried off the

ſlaves

ſlaves into captivity. By this daſtardly method of conducting the war, they did infinite miſchief to the Whites, without much expoſing their own perſons to danger; for they always cautiouſly avoided fighting, except with a number ſo diſproportionately inferior to them, as to afford them a pretty ſure expectation of victory. They knew every ſecret avenue of the country; ſo that they could either conceal themſelves from purſuit, or form ambuſcades, or ſhift their ravages from place to place, according as circumſtances required. Such were the many diſadvantages under which the Engliſh had to deal with theſe deſultory foes; who were not reducible by any regular plan of attack; who poſſeſſed no plunder to allure or reward the aſſailants; nor had any thing to loſe, except life and liberty.

Previous to the ſucceſſes above-mentioned, the diſtreſs into which the planters were thrown may be collected from the ſenſe which the legiſlature expreſſed in ſome of their acts. In the year 1733, they ſet forth, that theſe Blacks had within a few years greatly increaſed, notwithſtanding all the meaſures that had then been concerted, and made uſe of, for their ſuppreſſion; in particular, that they had grown very formidable in the North-Eaſt, North-Weſt, and South-Weſt diſtricts of the iſland, to the great terror of his majeſty's ſubjects in thoſe parts, who had greatly ſuffered by the frequent robberies, murders, and depredations, committed by them; that, in the pariſhes of Clarendon, St. Anne, St. Elizabeth, Weſtmoreland, Hanover, and St. James, they were conſiderably multiplied, and had large ſettlements among the mountains, and leaſt acceſſible parts; whence they plundered all around them, and cauſed ſeveral plantations to be thrown up and abandoned, and prevented many valuable tracts of land from being cultivated, to the great prejudice and diminution of his majeſty's revenue, as well as of the trade, navigation, and conſumption, of Britiſh manufactures; and to the manifeſt weakening and preventing further increaſe of ſtrength and inhabitants in the iſland. We may learn from hence what extenſive miſchief may be perpetrated by the moſt deſpicable and cowardly enemy. The aſſembly, perceiving that the employment of flying parties had proved ineffectual, by the length of their marches, the difficulty

of

of ſubſiſting them in the woods for ſo long a time as the ſervice required, and the facility with which the Marons eluded their purſuers, ordered ſeveral defenſible houſes, or barracks fortified with baſtions, to be erected in different parts, as near as poſſible to the enemy's moſt favourite hauuts: in every one of theſe they placed a ſtrong garriſon, who were regularly ſubſiſted, and roads of communication were opened from one to the other. Theſe garriſons were compoſed of white and black ſhot and baggage Negroes, who were all duly trained. Every captain was allowed a pay of 10*l.*; the lieutenants each 5*l.*; ſerjeants 4*l.*; and privates 2*l.*, *per* month. They were ſubjected to rules and articles of war; and the whole body put under the governor's immediate order, to be employed conjunctly, or ſeparately, as he ſhould ſee occaſion. Their general plan of duty, as directed by the law, was to make excurſions from the barracks, ſcour the woods and mountains, and deſtroy the proviſion-grounds and haunts of the Marons; and, that they might not return without effecting ſome ſervice, they were required to take twenty days proviſion with them on every ſuch expedition. Every barrack was furniſhed beſides with a pack of dogs, provided by the church-wardens of the reſpective pariſhes; it being foreſeen, that theſe animals would prove extremely ſerviceable, not only in guarding againſt ſurprizes in the night, but in tracking the enemy.

This arrangement was the moſt judicious hitherto contrived for their effectual reduction; for ſo many fortreſſes, ſtationed in the very centre of their uſual retreats, well ſupplied with every neceſſary, gave them a conſtant and vigorous annoyance, and, in ſhort, became the chief means of bringing on that treaty which afterwards put an end to this tireſome war.

About the year 1738, the aſſembly reſolved on taking two hundred of the Moſquito Indians into their pay, to haſten the ſuppreſſion of the Marons. They paſſed an act, for rendering free Negroes, Mulattos, and Indians, more uſeful, and forming them into companies, with proper encouragements. Some ſloops were diſpatched to the ſhore; and that number were brought into the iſland, formed into companies under their own officers, and allowed forty ſhillings a month for pay, beſides ſhoes; and white guides were aſſigned to conduct them to the enemy. In this ſervice they gave

gave proofs of great ſagacity. One of their white conductors, having ſhot a wild hog whilſt they were on a march, the Indians told him that was not the way to ſurprize the Blacks, for the noiſe ſerved only to put them upon their guard; and that, if he wanted proviſions, they could kill the game equally well with their arrows, or lances, without giving any alarm. It was their practice to obſerve the moſt profound ſilence in marching to the enemy's quarters; and, when they had once hit upon a track, they were ſure to diſcover the haunt to which it led. They effected conſiderable ſervice; and were, indeed, the moſt proper troops to be employed in that ſpecies of action, which is known in America by the name of *buſh-fighting*. They were well rewarded for their good conduct; and afterwards diſmiſſed to their own country, when the pacification took place with the Marons. In 1741, the aſſembly ſhewed a further mark of eſteem for theſe honeſt Indians; for, being informed that ſome traders belonging to the iſland had made a practice frequently of ſtealing away, and ſelling their children as ſlaves, which occaſioned the Indians of Darien and Sambla to withdraw their friendſhip from the Engliſh, and embrace alliance with the Spaniards; they paſſed a bill, enacting, that all Indians, imported into the iſland for ſale, ſhould be as free as any other aliens or foreigners; and that all ſuch ſales ſhould, *ipſo facto*, be void; and the buyer and ſeller be liable to a penalty of 50*l.* each. In 1739, governor Trelawny, by the advice of the principal gentlemen of the iſland, propoſed overtures of a peace with the Maron chiefs. Both parties were now grown heartily wearied out with this tedious conflict. The white inhabitants wiſhed relief from the horrors of continual alarms, the hardſhip of military duty, and the intolerable burthen of maintaining an army on foot. The Marons were not leſs anxious for an accommodation: they were hemmed in and cloſely beſet on all ſides; their proviſions deſtroyed; and themſelves reduced to ſo miſerable a condition by famine and inceſſant attacks, that Cudjoe (whom I converſed with many years afterwards) declared, if peace had not been offered to them, they had no choice left but either to be ſtarved, lay violent hands on one another, or ſurrender to the Engliſh at diſcretion. The extremity, however, of their caſe was not at that time known

to

to the white inhabitants; and the articles of pacification were therefore ratified with the Maron chiefs, who were colonel Cudjoe, captains Accompong, Johnny, Cuffee, and Quaco. By theſe articles it was ſtipulated, that they and their adherents (except ſuch as had fled to them within two years preceding, and might be willing to return to their owners upon grant of full pardon and indemnity, but otherwiſe to remain in ſubjection to Cudjoe) ſhould enjoy perpetual freedom: that they ſhould poſſeſs in fee ſimple one thouſand five hundred acres of land near Trelawny-Town, in the pariſh of St. James; have liberty to plant coffee, cacao, ginger, tobacco, and cotton; and breed cattle, hogs, goats, and any other ſtock, and to diſpoſe of the ſame; with liberty of hunting any where within three miles of any ſettlement [*n*].

That they, and their ſucceſſors, ſhould uſe their beſt endeavours to take, kill, ſuppreſs, and deſtroy, all rebels throughout the iſland, unleſs they ſhould ſubmit to the like terms of accommodation [*o*]. That they ſhould repair at all times, purſuant to the governor's order, to repel any foreign invaſion: that, if any white perſon ſhould do them injury, they ſhould apply to a magiſtrate for redreſs; and in caſe any Maron ſhould injure a white perſon, the offender ſhould be delivered up to juſtice: that Cudjoe, and his ſucceſſors in command, ſhould wait on the governor once a year, if required: that he and his ſucceſſors ſhould have full power to puniſh crimes committed among themſelves by their own men, puniſhment of death only excepted; and that, in capital caſes, the offenders ſhould be brought before a juſtice of peace, in order to be proceeded againſt, and tried like other free Negroes: that two white men ſhould conſtantly reſide with Cudjoe and his ſucceſſors, to keep up friendly correſpondence. The command of Trelawny Town was limited to Cudjoe during life; and, after his deceaſe, to Accompong, Johnny, Cuffee, and Quaco; and, in remainder, to ſuch perſon as the governor for the time being may think fit to

[*n*] One thouſand acres have likewiſe been aſſigned to Accompong's Town, in St. Elizabeth's; and due proportions to the other towns; ſecured to their reſpective Negroe inhabitants in perpetuity; and a penalty of 500*l.* ordained againſt any perſon convicted of diſturbing their poſſeſſion.

[*o*] This alludes to captain Quao, of the windward party, who did not come in till the following year.

appoint. These are the moſt material articles recognized by the law. It likewiſe provides, that no perſon ſhall ſeize, detain, or diſturb, any of the Negroes in the poſſeſſions and privileges thereby granted, under penalty of 500*l.*: and it allows them, for apprehending and bringing in run-away ſlaves, 10*s. per* head, with a poundage of 2*s.* 6*d.* for money diſburſed, beſides mile-money, according to the diſtance. Theſe were the Negroes belonging to the leeward towns, Trelawny and Accompong, the former in St. James; the other in St. Elizabeth. Some years afterwards, upon ſome difference ariſing among the Negroes at Trelawny, as I have heard, concerning the right of command, a fray enſued. The town divided into two factions; one of which adhered to a new chief, named Furry, and removed with him to another ſpot, where they formed a new town, called after his name. In 1740, the like accommodation was entered into with Captain Quao, of the windward party; the purport of which is much the ſame as the preceding, except that they are prohibited expreſsly from planting any ſugar-canes, except for their hogs; and are to be tried for capital crimes, like other Negroes. The command, upon Quao's death, is ſettled to devolve to Captain Thomboy; remainder to Apong, Blackwall, Claſh; and afterwards to be ſupplied by the governor for the time being. It was likewiſe conditioned, that all fugitive ſlaves, who had joined Quao's party, or had been taken priſoners by them within three years antecedent, ſhould be delivered up to their reſpective owners, upon aſſurance of pardon and good uſage. This windward party now occupy Scot's Hall, in St. Mary; Moore Town (formed upon the deſertion of Nanny Town), in Portland and Crawford; or Charles Town, in St. George.

By ſubſequent laws, the premium for taking up run-aways was augmented to 3*l. per* head [*p*], and ſome other proviſions enacted: viz. that any Negroes in theſe towns, committing tumult and diſturbance, ſhall ſuffer ſuch puniſhment as the white ſuperintendant, with four townſmen, and the captain commandant, ſhall inflict, not extending to life: that the governor ſhall iſſue commiſſions for trial of the offenders: that they ſhall not abſent themſelves

[*p*] By an act paſſed ſince, viz. in the year 1769, the premium is reduced to 2*l. per* head, or ſo much only as the magiſtrate may deem meet; and mile-money at the rate of 7½*d. per* mile.

from

from their reſpective towns, without leave in writing from their reſpective commanding officer, under penalty, upon conviction before two juſtices and three freeholders, of being deprived of freedom, and tranſported off the iſland: the like penalty, for enticing ſlaves to run away. They are alſo forbidden to purchaſe ſlaves, under penalty of forfeiture, and 100*l.* fine, to be paid by the ſeller, or other perſon concerned.

Theſe Negroes, although inhabiting more towns than at firſt, are diminiſhed in their number by deaths, and cohabitation with ſlaves on the plantations, inſtead of intermixing with each other. They have been very ſerviceable, particularly the leeward parties, in ſuppreſſing ſeveral inſurrections. Their captains are diſtinguiſhed with a ſilver chain and medal, inſcribed with their names: they wear cockades, and are regularly commiſſioned by the governor. It is cuſtomary for the governors to give audience to their chiefs once a year, and confer ſome mark of favour, ſuch as an old laced coat or waiſtcoat, a hat, ſword, fuſee, or any other articles of the like nature, which ſeem moſt acceptable. They are pleaſed with theſe diſtinctions; and a trifling douceur of this ſort beſtowed annually, accompanied with expreſſions of favour, wins their hearts, and ſtrengthens their dutiful attachment. It is probable, they would be much honeſter allies, and more faithful ſubjects, if ſome little pains were taken to inſtil a few notions of honeſty and religion into their minds. The erection of a chapel in each of their towns would be attended with very ſmall expence; and here they might regularly attend divine worſhip once a week. A ſmall addition to the rector's ſalary would enable him to viſit and diſcourſe to them occaſionally. The white reſidents ought to be thoroughly examined by the governor; and care be taken, that they are men of good morals, ſober, and promoters of order and peace in their ſeveral towns. They ſhould be puniſhed with exemplary ſeverity, whenever found guilty of oppreſſion, or other ill uſage. And the articles of treaty ſhould never be infringed by legiſlature, while the Negroes conform to them on their part: but, when any deviation is made, it ought in juſtice to affect only the contravenors of them. Good faith, good uſage, and moral inſtruction, as far as they may be capable of it, are the beſt guarantees of their firm allegiance; a

different meaſure of conduct will neceſſarily render them diſcontented and troubleſome.

Tedious and expenſive as the war was, which continued for ſo many years before they could be brought to terms, the event was very happy for the iſland. The multitude of parties kept on foot, to inveſt their quarters, led to the diſcovery of various tracts of exceedingly fine land, unknown before. Many of theſe were brought into cultivation ſoon after they were reduced; and the roads, which were cut from time to time through the woods, for the better carrying on of military operations, were in conſequence found of great uſe to the new ſettlers, for carriage of their goods. The treaty, moreover, gave a ſecurity to young beginners in the remote parts, even againſt any machinations of their own ſlaves: ſo that this conteſt, which, while it laſted, ſeemed to portend nothing leſs than the ruin of the whole colony, became productive of quite contrary effects in the end; inſomuch that we may date the flouriſhing ſtate of it from the ratification of the treaty: ever ſince which, the iſland has been increaſing in plantations and opulence.

Their manner of engaging with an enemy has ſomething too ſingular in it to be paſſed over. In the year 1764, when governor Lyttelton paſſed through St. James's pariſh on his leeward tour, the Trelawny Marons attended him at Montego Bay, to the number of eighty-four, men, women, and children. After the white militia belonging to the pariſh were reviewed, the fencible men of the black party drew up, impatient to ſhew their martial ſkill. No ſooner did their horn ſound the ſignal, than they all joined in a moſt hideous yell, or war-hoop, and bounded into action. With amazing agility, they literally ran and rolled through their various firings and evolutions. This part of their exerciſe, indeed, more juſtly deſerves to be ſtyled evolution than any that is practiſed by the regular troops; for they fire ſtooping almoſt to the very ground; and no ſooner is their piece diſcharged, than they throw themſelves into a thouſand antic geſtures, and tumble over and over, ſo as to be continually ſhifting their place; the intention of which is, to elude the ſhot, as well as to deceive the aim of their adverſaries, which their nimble and almoſt inſtantaneous change of poſition

renders

renders extremely uncertain. In ſhort, throughout their whole manœuvres, they ſkip about like ſo many monkies [q]. When this part of their exerciſe was over, they drew their ſwords; and, winding their horn again, they began, in wild and warlike capers, to advance towards his excellency, endeavouring to throw as much ſavage fury into their looks as poſſible. On approaching near him, ſome, with a horrid, circling flourith, waved their ruſty blades over his head, then gently laid them upon it; whilſt others clathed their arms together in horrid concert. They next brought their muſkets, and piled them up in heaps at his feet, which ſome of them deſired to kiſs, and were permitted. By way of cloſing the ceremony, their leader, captain Cudjoe, in the name of all the reſt, ſtood forth, and addreſſed his excellency aloud, deſiring the continuance of the great king George's favour and protection; and that his excellency, as his vice-gerent, would adminiſter right and juſtice to them, according to the happy treaty and agreement ſubſiſting between them and the white people of the iſland.

To this the governor replied, 'that they might depend upon the favour and protection of the great king George; and of his own conſtant endeavours likewiſe, that right and juſtice ſhould be always done them; and alſo, that he would take care, that the good underſtanding, then ſo happily ſubſiſting between the white inhabitants and them, ſhould inviolably be preſerved; provided that they, on their parts, continued to be always active and ready in obeying their commanding officer, and doing whatever elſe they had, in the treaty, ſolemnly promiſed to perform. To this they all aſſented; and then, having a dinner ordered for them, and a preſent of three cows, were diſmiſſed, and went away perfectly well ſatisfied.

I have no certain account of the number of theſe Negroes in their ſeveral towns at preſent; but the following was the ſtate of them in the year 1749 [r].

[q] A bucanier hiſtorian tells us, that, having landed with a party at Coſta Rica, the toil of ſhooting was ſufficiently compenſated with the pleaſure of killing the monkies; for at theſe they uſually made fifteen or ſixteen ſhot, before they could kill three or four; ſo nimbly did they elude their hands and aim, even after being much wounded: and that it was *high fun* to ſee the females carry their little ones on their backs, juſt as the Negroes do their children.

[r] According to a late return, the Negroes of Moore Town are increaſed to two hundred; but the whole number of fighting men does not exceed one hundred and fifty; and the whole number of Negroes in all the towns is not augmented much beyond the above liſt of the year 1749.

Totals.			Men.	Women.	Boys.	Girls.
276	Trelawny Town,	St. James,	112	85	40	39
85	Accompong's,	St. Elizabeth,	31	25	13	16
233	Crawford, or Charles Town,	St. George,	102	80	26	25
70	Nanny, or Moore Town,	Portland,	28	21	9	12
	N. B.					
664	" Scot's Hall, in St. Mary, } not then formed."		273	211	88	92
	" Furry's, in St. James, }					

The pay to theſe Negroes, when they are upon ſervice, is, £ s. d.

To each captain, —— —— —— *per* day, 0 2 6

Ditto private, —— —— —— 7½

This expence is charged to the annual fund of 500 *l.* appropriated for the uſe of parties. We may add to this the following eſtabliſhment, augmented ſince 1769; viz.

To a ſuperintendant-general, —— —— Currency, £ 300

To three white ſuperintendants, at 200 *l.* ſalary each, *per ann.* 600

To one ditto, of Trelawny Town, 300 *l.* ditto, — —— 300

To one ditto, of Scot's Hall, 100 *l.* ditto, — —— 100

To five white reſidents, 40 *l.* ditto, — —— 200

For parties as above, brought down, —— —— 500

Total, *per annum*, £ 2000

The expence of a curate, to perform divine ſervice, baptize, &c. as propoſed, may be put at 50 *l.* each, — —— £ 250

Which would be no great addition to the annual charge. And it is not to be forgotten, that all this money remains to circulate in the iſland, and is of advantage to the ſhop-keepers, who ſupply theſe Negroes with ſeveral ſmall articles for their cloathing and conſumption.

END OF THE SECOND BOOK.

THE

THE THIRD BOOK.

CHAP. I.

NEGROES.

I SHALL divide this people into two claſſes, the native, or Creole blacks, and the imported, or Africans; but, before I come to ſpeak of thoſe who inhabit Jamaica, I ſhall beg to premiſe ſome remarks upon the Negroes in general found on that part of the African continent, called Guiney, or Negro-land. The particulars wherein they differ moſt eſſentially from the Whites are, firſt, in reſpect to their bodies, viz. the dark membrane which communicates that black colour to their ſkins [*a*], which does not alter by tranſportation into other climates,

[*a*] Anatomiſts ſay, that this *reticular membrane*, which is found between the *Epidermis* and the ſkin, being ſoaked in water for a long time, does not change its colour. Monſieur Barrere, who appears to have examined this circumſtance with peculiar attention, as well as Mr. Winſlow, ſays, that the *Epidermis* itſelf is black, and that if it has appeared white to ſome that have examined it, it is owing to its extreme fineneſs and tranſparency; but that it is really as dark as a piece of black horn, reduced to the ſame gracility. That this colour of the *Epidermis*, and of the ſkin, is cauſed by the bile, which in Negroes is not yellow, but always as black as ink. The bile in white men tinges their ſkin yellow; and if their bile was black, it would doubtleſs communicate the ſame black tint. Mr. Barrere affirms, that the Negroe bile naturally ſecretes itſelf upon the *Epidermis*, in a quantity ſufficient to impregnate it with the dark colour for which it is ſo remarkable. Theſe obſervations naturally lead to the further queſtion, "why the bile in Negroes is black?"

Mr. Buffon endeavours to reſolve the former part of this enquiry, by ſuppoſing that the heat of climate is the principal cauſe of their black colour. "That exceſſive cold and exceſſive heat produce "ſimilar effects on the human body, and act on the ſkin by a certain drying quality, which tans it; "that originally there was but one ſpecies of men; and that difference of climate, of manner of "living, of food, of endemical diſtempers, and the mixtures of individuals, more or leſs varied, "have produced the diſtinctions that are now viſible; and that this black colour of Negroes, if they "were tranſplanted into a cold climate, would gradually wear off and diſappear in the courſe of ten "or twelve generations."

But, to admit the force of this reaſoning, we muſt ſuppoſe the world to be much older than has been generally believed. The Æthiopian is probably not at all blacker now than he was in the days of Solomon. The nations of Nicaragua and Guatimala, on the American continent, who lie under the ſame parallel of latitude as the inhabitants of Guiney, have not acquired this black tincture, although many more generations have paſſed ſince they were firſt diſcovered by the Europeans than Mr. Buffon thinks ſufficient for changing a Negroe from black to white. How many centuries muſt have revolved before that continent was diſcovered, may be imagined from the populous ſtate of it in the days of Americus Veſpucius, and the prodigious length of time required for a nation or large ſociety of men to grow up, become powerful, warlike, and tolerably civilized, as the Mexicans were!

climates, and which they never loſe, except by ſuch diſeaſes, or caſualties, as deſtroy the texture of it; for example, the leproſy, and accidents of burning or ſcalding. Negroes have been introduced into the North American colonies near 150 years. The winters, eſpecially at New York and New England, are more ſevere than in Europe. Yet the Blacks born here, to the third and fourth generation, are not at all different in colour from thoſe Negroes who are brought directly from Africa; whence it may be concluded very properly, that Negroes, or their poſterity, do not change colour, though they continue ever ſo long in a cold climate.

Secondly, A covering of wool, like the beſtial fleece, inſtead of hair.

Thirdly, The roundneſs of their eyes, the figure of their ears, tumid noſtrils, flat noſes, invariable thick lips, and general large ſize of the female nipples, as if adapted by nature to the peculiar conformation of their childrens mouths.

Fourthly, The black colour of the lice which infeſt their bodies. This peculiar circumſtance I do not remember to have ſeen noticed by any naturaliſt; they reſemble the white lice in ſhape, but in general are of larger ſize. It is known, that there is a very great variety of theſe inſects; and ſome ſay, that almoſt all animals have their peculiar ſort.

Fifthly, Their beſtial or fetid ſmell, which they all have in a greater or leſs degree; the Congo's, Arada's, Quaqua's, and Angola's,

were! Further, as this change is ſuppoſed by Mr. Buffon to be gradual, ſome proof of it would doubtleſs appear in the courſe of one or two centuries. But we do not find, that the poſterity of thoſe Europeans, who firſt ſettled in the hotteſt parts of the Weſt Indies, are tending towards this black complexion, or are more tawny than an Engliſhman might become by reſiding five or ſix years in Spain, and expoſing himſelf to the ſun and air during his reſidence. It would likewiſe happen, that the progeny of Negroes brought from Guiney two hundred years ago, and tranſplanted into a colder climate, would be comparatively leſs black than the natives of that part of Africa, from whence their progenitors were removed; but no ſuch effect has been obſerved. And laſtly, the whole fabric of Mr. Buffon's hypotheſis is ſubverted at once, by the race of *Albinoes*, in the very heart of Guiney; who, although ſubject to the ſame intenſe heat of climate, which, he ſays, has cauſed the black colour of Negroes, are unaccountably exempted from the influence of this cauſe, though equally expoſed to it. Without puzzling our wits, to diſcover the occult cauſes of this diverſity of colour among mankind, let us be content with acknowledging, that it was juſt as eaſy for Omnipotence to create black-ſkinned, as white-ſkinned men; or to create five millions of human beings, as to create one ſuch being.

particularly

particularly the latter, who are likewiſe the moſt ſtupid of the Negroe race, are the moſt offenſive; and thoſe of Senegal (who are diſtinguiſhed from the other herds by greater acuteneſs of underſtanding and mildneſs of diſpoſition) have the leaſt of this noxious odour.

This ſcent in ſome of them is ſo exceſſively ſtrong, eſpecially when their bodies are warmed either by exerciſe or anger, that it continues in places where they have been near a quarter of an hour.

I ſhall next conſider their diſparity, in regard to the faculties of the mind. Under this head we are to obſerve, that they remain at this time in the ſame rude ſituation in which they were found two thouſand years ago.

In general, they are void of genius, and ſeem almoſt incapable of making any progreſs in civility or ſcience. They have no plan or ſyſtem of morality among them. Their barbarity to their children debaſes their nature even below that of brutes. They have no moral ſenſations; no taſte but for women; gormondizing, and drinking to exceſs; no wiſh but to be idle. Their children, from their tendereſt years, are ſuffered to deliver themſelves up to all that nature ſuggeſts to them. Their houſes are miſerable cabbins. They conceive no pleaſure from the moſt beautiful parts of their country, preferring the more ſterile. Their roads, as they call them, are mere ſheep-paths, twice as long as they need be, and almoſt impaſſable. Their country in moſt parts is one continued wilderneſs, beſet with briars and thorns. They uſe neither carriages, nor beaſts of burthen. They are repreſented by all authors as the vileſt of the human kind, to which they have little more pretenſion of reſemblance than what ariſes from their exterior form.

In ſo vaſt a continent as that of Afric, and in ſo great a variety of climates and provinces, we might expect to find a proportionable diverſity among the inhabitants, in regard to their qualifications of body and mind; ſtrength, agility, induſtry, and dexterity, on the one hand; ingenuity, learning, arts, and ſciences, on the other. But, on the contrary, a general uniformity runs through all theſe various regions of people; ſo that, if any difference be found, it is only in degrees of the ſame qualities; and, what is more ſtrange, thoſe of the worſt kind; it being a common known proverb, that all people on the globe have ſome good as well as ill qualities, except the

Africans. Whatever great perſonages this country might anciently have produced, and concerning whom we have no information, they are now every where degenerated into a bruti∫h, ignorant, idle, crafty, treacherous, bloody, thievi∫h, mi∫tru∫tful, and ſuper∫titious people, even in tho∫e ſtates where we might expect to find them more poli∫hed, humane, docile, and indu∫trious. It is doubtful, whether we ought to aſcribe any ſuperior qualities to the more ancient Africans; for we find them repreſented by the Greek and Roman authors under the moſt odious and deſpicable character; as proud, lazy, deceitful, thievi∫h, addicted to all kinds of luſt, and ready to promote them in others, inceſtuous, ſavage, cruel, and vindictive, devourers of human fle∫h, and quaffers of human blood, inconſtant, baſe, and cowardly, devoted to all ſorts of ſuper∫tition; and, in ſhort, to every vice that came in their way, or within their reach.

For the honour of human nature it were to be wi∫hed, that theſe deſcriptions could with juſtice be accuſed of exaggeration; but, in reſpect to the modern Africans, we find the charge corroborated, and ſupported by a conſiſtent teſtimony of ſo many men of different nations, who have viſited the coaſt, that it is difficult to believe they have all been guilty of mi∫repreſenting theſe people; more eſpecially, as they tally exactly with the character of the Africans that are brought into our plantations. This brutality ſomewhat diminiſhes, when they are imported young, after they become habituated to cloathing and a regular diſcipline of life; but many are never reclaimed, and continue ſavages, in every ſenſe of the word, to their lateſt period. We find them marked with the ſame beſtial manners, ſtupidity, and vices, which debaſe their brethren on the continent, who ſeem to be diſtinguiſhed from the reſt of mankind, not in perſon only, but in poſſeſſing, in abſtract, every ſpecies of inherent turpitude that is to be found diſperſed at large among the reſt of the human creation, with ſcarce a ſingle virtue to extenuate this ſhade of character, differing in this particular from all other men; for, in other countries, the moſt abandoned villain we ever heard of has rarely, if ever, been known unportioned with ſome one good quality at leaſt, in his compoſition. It is aſtoni∫hing, that, although they have been acquainted with Europeans, and their manufactures, for ſo many hundred years, they have, in all this ſeries of time, manifeſted ſo little taſte for arts, or a

genius

genius either inventive or imitative. Among ſo great a number of provinces on this extenſive continent, and among ſo many millions of people, we have heard but of one or two inſignificant tribes, who comprehend any thing of mechanic arts, or manufacture; and even theſe, for the moſt part, are ſaid to perform their work in a very bungling and ſlovenly manner, perhaps not better than an *orang-outang* might, with a little pains, be brought to do.

The Chineſe, the Mexicans, the Northern Indians, are all celebrated, ſome for their expert imitation of any pattern laid before them; others for their faculty of invention; and the reſt for the ingenuity of their ſeveral fabrics. There was not a tribe of theſe Indians, from the Mexican to the Caribbean, that was not found to poſſeſs many amiable endowments. In the hotteſt region of South America the natives were effeminate, leſs robuſt and courageous than the Northern inhabitants; but none of them addicted to the brutal practices common to the Negroes, lying under the ſame parallel of climate; on the contrary, theſe Indians are repreſented as a docile, inoffenſive, ſagacious, and ingenious people. The Northern Indians, we know, have, ever ſince they came to the knowledge of Europeans, diſplayed an elevation of ſoul, which would do honour to the moſt civilized nations. It muſt be agreed, (ſays *Charlevoix*) that the nearer we view them, the more good qualities we diſcover in them; moſt of the principles, which ſeem to regulate their conduct, the general maxims by which they govern themſelves, and the eſſential part of their character, diſcloſe nothing of the barbarian.

The Negroes ſeem to conform neareſt in character to the Ægyptians, in whoſe government, ſays the learned Goguet, there reigned a multitude of abuſes, and eſſential defects, authorized by the laws, and by their fundamental principles. As to their cuſtoms and manners, indecency and debauchery were carried to the moſt extravagant height, in all their public feaſts, and religious ceremonies; neither was their morality pure. It offended againſt the firſt rules of rectitude and probity; they lay under the higheſt cenſure for covetouſneſs, perfidy, cunning, and roguery. They were a people without taſte, without genius, or diſcernment; who had only ideas of grandeur, ill underſtood: knaviſh, crafty, ſoft, lazy, cowardly, and ſervile, ſuperſtitious in exceſs, and extravagantly beſotted with an abſurd and monſtrous

theology; without any ſkill in eloquence, poetry, muſic, architecture, ſculpture, or painting, navigation, commerce, or the art military. Their intellect riſing to but a very confuſed notion, and imperfect idea, of the general objects of human knowledge. But he allows, that they invented ſome arts, and ſome ſciences; that they had ſome little knowledge of aſtronomy, geography, and the mathematics; that they had ſome few good civil laws and political conſtitutions; were induſtrious enough adepts in judicial aſtrology; though their ſkill in ſculpture, and architecture, roſe not above a flat mediocrity. In theſe acquiſitions, however imperfect, they appear far ſuperior to the Negroes, who, perhaps, in their turn, as far tranſcend the Ægyptians in the ſuperlative perfection of their worſt qualities.

When we reflect on the nature of theſe men, and their diſſimilarity to the reſt of mankind, muſt we not conclude, that they are a different ſpecies of the ſame *genus*? Of other animals, it is well known, there are many kinds, each kind having its proper ſpecies ſubordinate thereto; and why ſhall we inſiſt, that man alone, of all other animals, is undiverſified in the ſame manner, when we find ſo many irreſiſtible proofs which denote his conformity to the general ſyſtem of the world? In this ſyſtem we perceive a regular order and gradation, from inanimate to animated matter; and certain links, which connect the ſeveral *genera* one with another; and, under theſe *genera*, we find another gradation of ſpecies, comprehending a vaſt variety, and, in ſome claſſes, widely differing from each other in certain qualities. We aſcend from mere inert matter into the animal and vegetable kingdoms, by an almoſt imperceptible deviation; and theſe two are again nearly connected by a very palpable ſimilitude; ſo that, where the one ends, the other ſeems to begin. When we proceed to divide and ſubdivide the various claſſes of animals, we perceive the ſame exact ſubordination and cloſe affinity between the two extremes combining all together in a wonderful and beautiful harmony, the reſult of infinite wiſdom and contrivance. If, amidſt the immenſe variety of all animate beings which people the univerſe, ſome animal, for example, the body of a man, be ſelected to ſerve as a criterion, with which all the other organized beings are to be compared; it will be found, that, although all theſe beings exiſt abſtractedly, and all vary by differences infinitely graduated, yet, at the ſame time, there appears a primitive and general deſign, or model, that

may

may be very plainly traced, and of which the degradations are much ſlower than thoſe of ſhape, figure, and other external appearances. For, beſides the organs of digeſtion, circulation, and generation, belonging to all animals, and without which the animal muſt ceaſe to be an animal, as it could neither ſubſiſt, nor propagate its ſpecies; there is, even in the parts which principally contribute to the variety of exterior forms, a prodigious reſemblance, which neceſſarily reminds us of an original model, after which every thing ſeems to have been worked. The body of a horſe, for inſtance, which, at firſt ſight, ſeems ſo different from that of a man, when properly compared part by part, inſtead of ſurprizing us by the difference, fills us with aſtoniſhment at the ſingular and almoſt complete reſemblance we find between them; for, take the ſkeleton of a man, incline the bones of the *pelvis*, ſhorten the bones of the thighs, legs, and arms, lengthen thoſe of the feet and hands, connect the phalanges, extend the jaws, ſhorten the frontal bone, and, laſtly, lengthen the ſpine; this ſkeleton, inſtead of reſembling any longer the remains of a man, will be the ſkeleton of a horſe. It may be eaſily ſuppoſed, that, by lengthening the ſpine and the jaws, the number of the *vertebræ*, the ribs and teeth are increaſed at the ſame time; and it is only in the number of theſe bones, which may be conſidered as neceſſary, and the protracting, ſhortening, or junction of the others, that the ſkeleton of the body of this animal differs from that of the human body. But, to carry theſe reſemblances ſtill further, let us ſeparately conſider ſome parts eſſential to the figure; the ribs, for inſtance, which will be found in man, in all the quadrupeds, in birds, fiſhes, and even the veſtiges of them, may be traced to the very tortoiſe, where a delineation of them plainly appears in the ſutures under the ſhell. Let it alſo be conſidered, that the foot of a horſe, though in appearance ſo different from the hand of a man, is yet compoſed of ſimilar bones; and that, at the extremity of each of our fingers, there is the ſame horſe-ſhoe ſhaped little bone, which terminates the foot of that animal; let it then be decided, whether this latent reſemblance be not more aſtoniſhing than the viſible differences; whether this conſtant conformity, and continuing model, followed from man to quadrupeds; from quadrupeds to the cetaceous ſpecies; from them to birds; from birds to reptiles; from reptiles to fiſh, *&c.* in which are always found the eſſential parts, as the heart,

inteſtines, the ſpine, the ſenſes, &c. do not ſeem to indicate, that the Supreme Being, at the creation of animals, intended to make uſe of one model; varying it, at the ſame time, in every poſſible manner, that man might equally admire the ſimplicity of the plan, and the magnificence of the execution [*b*].

When we come to examine the exterior figures of any particular claſs of animals, we find them marked with a moſt remarkable variety. To inſtance, for example, the dog-kind, who have ſome of them ſo near an affinity to the wolf and fox; there is more difference between the maſtiff and lap-dog, than between the horſe and the aſs; and what two animals can be more unlike, than the little black Guiney dog, of a ſmooth ſkin, without a ſingle hair upon it, and the rough ſhock dog? From theſe let us paſs on to the monkey-kind, or *anthropomorphits*, ſo called by naturaliſts, becauſe they partake more or leſs of the human ſhape and diſpoſition; we here obſerve the palpable link which unites the human race with the quadruped, not in exterior form alone, but in the intellectual quality. The variety of them is ſo great, that a complete catalogue has never yet been made. *Condamine*, who traveled through the country of the Amazons, ſaw ſo many, that he affirms, it would take up ſome length of time to *write out* a liſt of their names. As far however as they are yet deſcribed, we trace them from the cynocephalus, which moſt reſembles quadrupeds in the ſhape of its head, through a variety of the ape kind, which have tails and pouches, to thoſe which have ſhorter tails, and ſomewhat more of the human viſage; to thoſe which have no tails, who have a callous breech, whoſe feet ſerve occaſionally for hands, which conſtitute them of the order of *quadrumains*, or four-handed animals, and who more commonly move on all-four than erect, to the *cephus*, or *gibbon*, of Buffon; from theſe we come to the *oran-outang* ſpecies, who have ſome trivial reſemblance to the ape-kind, but the ſtrongeſt ſimilitude to mankind, in countenance, figure, ſtature, organs, erect poſture, actions or movements, food, temper, and manner of living.

The few which have been brought into Europe, being extremely young, were, from a popular error, denominated *pigmies*; for it is affirmed on every authority, that they grow to the ordinary ſize of

[*b*] Buffon.

man.

man. Mr. Buffon, who has examined this curious ſubject with great attention, deſcribes them thus; "The oran-outang has no pouch, tail, nor calloſity, on his hind parts; theſe parts, and the calves of his legs, are plump and fleſhy, differing intirely from the ape and monkey. All his teeth are the ſame as the human, his face is broad, naked, and tawney, his ears, hands, feet, breaſt, and belly, are likewiſe without hair, and of the ſame tawney complexion; the hair of his head is like that of a man, and deſcends in a forelock on each temple; the hair on his back and loins is thin, and in ſmall quantity; he grows from *five* to *ſix* feet in height."

The noſe is flat, the breaſt of the females furniſhed with two paps, and they are ſubject to the periodical flux. The latter characteriſtic, which is common alſo to the monkey-claſs, was not unobſerved by the ancient Ægyptians, who drew a ſingular advantage from it in their aſtronomical regiſters; for they kept the cynocephalus, and other monkies, in their temples, in order to know, with tolerable certainty, by this means, the periodical conjunctions of the ſun and moon.

Lewis le Compte, in his Memoirs of China, aſſerts, that in the ſtraits of Molucca he ſaw ſome of *four feet* in height, that walked erect, and had faces ſhaped like thoſe of the Hottentots at the Cape. They made a noiſe like a young child; their paſſions appeared with a lively expreſſion in their countenances; they ſeemed to be of a tender diſpoſition, and would kiſs and embrace thoſe they were fond of. Doctor Tyſon, giving an account of a young male brought from Angola (afterwards diſſected), obſerves, that he poſſeſſed the like tenderneſs of diſpoſition towards the ſailors on board ſhip. He would not aſſociate with the monkies brought in the ſame ſhip, but ſhunned their company. He uſed to put on his own cloaths; or, at leaſt, whenever he found a difficulty in managing any part of his dreſs, he would take it in his hand to ſome of the company, ſignifying (as it were) his deſire that they ſhould help him.

Mr. Noell ſpeaks of apes, which he ſaw in Guiney, and calls *barris* (which Mr. Buffon takes to be a ſynonym of the oran-outang), who walked erect, and had more gravity, and appearance of underſtanding, than any other of the ape kind, and were paſſionately fond of women.

Linnæus, upon the authority of ſome voyage-writers, affirms, that they converſe together in a kind of *hiſſing* dialect; that they poſſeſs thought and reflexion, and believe the world was made for them, &c. but Mr. Buffon, with good reaſon, ſuſpects that Linnæus has confounded the albinoe with the oran-outang.

The oran-outangs are ſaid to make a kind of huts, compoſed of boughs interlaced, which ſerve to guard them from the too great heat of the ſun [c].

It is alſo averred, that they ſometimes endeavour to ſurprize and carry off Negroe women into their woody retreats, in order to enjoy them.

Monſieur la Broſſe ſays, he knew a Negreſs at Loangs in Guiney, who had reſided three years with them; he aſſerts that they grow to the height of *ſix* to *ſeven* feet, have vaſt muſcular ſtrength, and defend themſelves with ſticks. He bought two young ones, a male of fourteen months, and a female of twelve. They ſat at table, ate of every thing without diſtinction, handled the knife and fork, and helped themſelves, drank wine, and other liquors; made themſelves underſtood by the cabbin boy, when they wanted any thing, and, upon the boy's refuſal to give them what they ſeemed to deſire, they ſhewed ſymptoms of violent anger and diſguſt. The male falling ſick, was twice blooded in the right arm, which relieved him; and afterwards, whenever he found himſelf indiſpoſed, he pointed to his arm, as if he knew what had done him good in his former illneſs. I muſt own, this account contains ſome particulars very extraordinary; for a child of the ſame age, in England, would be regarded as wonderfully forward, if it ſhould exhibit the like proofs of ſagacity. But, if we allow to theſe oran-outangs a degree of intellect not reſtricted wholly to inſtinct, but approaching, like the frame of their organs, to an affinity with the human, we may eſtabliſh the credibility of this relation, by ſuppoſing that like, the human inhabitants of Guiney, they arrive three or four years earlier at the age of puberty, or maturity, than the inhabitants of Northern climates: and conſequently that their faculties, in general, bloſſom and expand proportionably earlier.

[c] Jobſon.

Mr.

Mr. Groſſe reports, that two young ones, ſcarcely two feet high (probably under two years of age), which he preſented to the governor of Bombay, reſembled mankind in all their actions. If they were gazed at when in bed, they covered with their hands thoſe parts which modeſty forbids to expoſe. They appeared dejected under their captivity; and the female dying on board ſhip, her comrade exhibited every token of heart-felt affliction, rejected his food, and did not ſurvive her above two days.

Guat, ſpeaking of a female which he ſaw at Java, ſays, her ſtature was *very large*; that ſhe reſembled ſtrongly ſome Hottentot women he had ſeen at the Cape; that ſhe made her own bed every day very properly, laid her head on the pillow, and covered herſelf with the quilt. When ſhe had a pain in her head, ſhe bound it with a handkerchief.—Several other particulars, he ſays, might be enumerated, that were very ſingular; but he ſuſpected that theſe animals are often brought, by a habit of inſtruction, to do many of thoſe feats, which the vulgar regard as natural; this, however, he only gives as a matter of conjecture.

Gemelli Careri aſſerts to have ſeen one that cried like an infant, and carried a mat in its arms, which it occaſionally laid down and repoſed upon. Theſe apes, ſays he, ſeem to have more ſenſe than ſome among mankind; for, when they are unable to find any fruits in the mountains for their ſubſiſtence, they come down to the ſea ſhore, where they catch crabs, lobſters, and ſuch like. A ſpecies of oyſter, called *taclovo*, frequently lie on the beach. The apes, on perceiving any of them gaping, chuck a ſtone between the ſhells, which hinders them from cloſing, and then proceed to devour them without any apprehenſion.

Francis Pyrard reports, he found the *barris* in the province of Sierra Leon, in Guiney; that they are corpulent and muſcular, and ſo docile, that, if properly inſtructed while they are young, they become very good ſervants.

Father Jarrie ſpeaks of them in the ſame terms; and the teſtimony of Schoutten agrees with Pyrard on the ſubject of the education of theſe amimals; he ſays, they are taken with nets, that they walk erect, and can uſe their feet occaſionally as hands, in performing certain domeſtic ſervices, as rinſeing of glaſſes, preſenting them to drink,

turning ſpits, and the like. Theſe and other examples are quoted by Mr. Buffon, who conſiders theſe animals, ſpoken of by voyagers under different appellations, to be only varieties of the oran-outang; and in this light he mentions the jocko, which he ſaw publickly ſhewn at Paris. This animal always walked in an erect poſture; his carriage was rather aukward, his air dejected, his pace grave, and movements ſedate; he had nothing of the impatience, caprice, and miſchief of the baboon, nor extravagancies of the monkey; he was ever ready and quick of apprehenſion; a ſign or a word was ſufficient to make him do what the baboon and others would not without the compulſion of the cudgel or whip. He preſented his hand to re-conduct the perſons who came to viſit him, and ſtalked with a ſtately gait before them. He ſat at table, unfolded his napkin, wiped his lips, helped himſelf, and conveyed the victuals to his mouth with the ſpoon and fork; poured the drink into a glaſs, brought the tea-things to the table, put in the ſugar, poured out the tea, let it ſtand till it was cool enough for drinking, and all this with no other inſtigation than a ſign or word from his maſter, and often of his own free accord; he was of a courteous, tender diſpoſition; he ſpent the ſummer at Paris, and died the following winter at London, of a cough and conſumption. He ate of every food indifferently, except that he ſeemed to prefer confectionary, ripe and dried fruits, and drank wine in moderation.

This creature was about 2½ feet tall, and, according to the teſtimony of the perſon who brought him to Europe, not above two years old; Mr. Buffon, therefore, imagines that at his full ſtature he would have attained above five feet, ſuppoſing his growth proportioned to that of mankind.

The pigmy deſcribed, and diſſected, by Dr. Tyſon, was not more than two feet in height, and ſtill younger, or under two years old, for his teeth and ſome other oſſifications were not entirely formed.

The eſſential differences between the body of the oran-outang and that of a man, are reduced by Mr. Buffon to two, namely, the conformation of the *os ilium*, and that of the feet; the bone of the *ilium* is more cloſe or contracted than in man. He has calves, and fleſhy poſteriors, which indicate that he is deſtined to walk erect; but his toes are very long, and the heel preſſed with difficulty to the ground: he

runs

runs with more eaſe than he can walk, and requires artificial heels, more elevated than thoſe of ſhoes in general, to enable him to walk without incovenience for any length of time. Theſe are the only parts in which he bears more reſemblance to the ape kind than to man; but when he is compared with the ape, baboon, or monkey, he is found to have far more conformity to man than to thoſe animals. The Indians are therefore excuſable for aſſociating him with the human race, under the appellation of oran-outang, or *wild man*, ſince he reſembles man much more than he does the ape, or any other animal. All the parts of his head, limbs, and body, external and internal, are ſo perfectly like the human, that we cannot (ſays he) collate them together, without being amazed at a conformation ſo parallel, and an organization ſo exactly the ſame, although *not reſulting to the ſame effects*. The tongue, for example, and all the organs of ſpeech are the ſame in both, and yet the oran-outang *does not ſpeak*; the brain is abſolutely the ſame in texture, diſpoſition, and proportion, and yet *he does not think*; an evident proof this, that mere matter alone, though perfectly organized, cannot produce thought, nor ſpeech, the index of thought, unleſs it be animated with *a ſuperior principle*.

His imitation and mimickry of human geſtures and movements, which come ſo near in ſemblance to the reſult of thought, ſet him at a great diſtance from brute animals, and in a cloſe affinity to man. If the eſſence of his nature conſiſts entirely in the form and organization of the body, he comes nearer to man than any other creature, and may be placed in the ſecond claſs of animal beings.

If he is a creature *ſui generis*, he fills up the ſpace between mankind and the ape, as this and the monkey tribe ſupply the interval that is between the oran-outang and quadrupeds.

When we compare the accounts of this race, ſo far as they appear credible, and to be relied on, we muſt, to form a candid judgement, be of opinion that Mr. Buffon has been rather too precipitate in ſome of his concluſions.

We obſerve that, in their native countries, they are not thoroughly known; they live ſequeſtered in deep woods, poſſeſs great ſtrength and agility of body, with probably ſufficient cunning to guard againſt, as well as nimbleneſs to elude, ſurprizes. The Negroes and Indians believe them to be ſavage men; it is no wonder that, for the moſt part,

they are fearful of approaching the haunts of this race; and that from ſome or other of theſe cauſes, none have been obtained for inſpection in Europe, except very young ones, who could not eſcape their purſuers.

So far as they are hitherto diſcovered to Europeans, it appears that they herd in a kind of ſociety together, and build huts ſuitable to their climate; that, when tamed and properly inſtructed, they have been brought to perform a variety of menial domeſtic ſervices; that they conceive a paſſion for the Negroe women, and hence muſt be ſuppoſed to covet their embraces from a natural impulſe of deſire, ſuch as inclines one animal towards another of the ſame ſpecies, or which has a conformity in the organs of generation.

The young ones exhibited in Europe have ſhewn a quickneſs of apprehenſion, and facility of imitation, that we ſhould admire very much in children of the ſame tender age.

The conformation of their limbs denotes beyond all controverſy, that they are deſtined to an erect poſition of body, and to move like men. The ſtructure of their teeth, their organs of ſecretion, digeſtion, &c. all the ſame as the human, prove them entitled to ſubſiſt on the ſame aliments as man. The organs of generation being alike, they propagate their ſpecies, and their females ſuckle their young, in the ſame manner.

Their diſpoſition ſhews a great degree of ſocial feeling; they ſeem to have a ſenſe of ſhame, and a ſhare of ſenſibility, as may be inferred from the preceding relations; nay, ſome trace of reaſon appears in that young one, which (according to Le Broſſe) made ſigns expreſſive of his idea that "bleeding in the arm had been remedial to "his diſorder." Nor muſt we omit the expreſſion of their grief by ſhedding tears, and other paſſions, by modes entirely reſembling the human. Ludicrous as the opinion may ſeem, I do not think that an oran-outang huſband would be any diſhonour to an Hottentot female; for what are theſe Hottentots?—They are, ſay the moſt credible writers, a people certainly very ſtupid, and very brutal. In many reſpects they are more like beaſts than men; their complexion is dark, they are ſhort and thick-ſet; their noſes flat, like thoſe of a Dutch dog; their lips very thick and big; their teeth exceedingly white, but very long, and ill ſet, ſome of them ſticking out of their mouths like boars tuſks;

tuſks; their hair black, and curled like wool; they are very nimble, and run with a ſpeed that is almoſt incredible; they are very diſagreeable in their perſons, and, in ſhort, taking all things together, one of the meaneſt nations on the face of the earth [*d*].

Has the Hottentot, from this portrait, a more manly figure than the oran-outang? I ſuſpect that he owes, like the oran-outang, the celerity of his ſpeed to the particular conformation of his foot; this, by the way, is only my conjecture, for he has not as yet undergone anatomical inveſtigation. That the oran-outang and ſome races of black men are very nearly allied, is, I think, more than probable; Mr. Buffon ſupports his deductions, tending to the contrary, by no deciſive proofs.

We can ſcarcely ſpeak more of the oran-outang race than we might of any newly diſcovered people, the meaſure of whoſe faculties we have not yet had ſufficient opportunity to examine.

We have ſeen their bodies hitherto in miniature only, which conveys very little further information of their intellect than might be gained from the view of a picture, or a ſtatue.

But, if we reaſon about them from analogy, they poſſeſs all thoſe organizations which indicate, according to Le Pluche [*e*], the pre-eminence of man over brutes, and ſhew him born to govern them.

Theſe tokens of ſuperiority are, 1ſt, The advantages received from the erect poſition of his head and body. All the brute ſpecies recline towards the earth, and creep upon it. Man alone walks with his head upright, and by this attitude maintains himſelf in full liberty of action, and command. 2d, The expreſſion in his countenance, from the multitude of muſcles which are diſtributed through the extent of his face. 3d, The liberty of governing all, and varying his actions according to the exigency of circumſtances, is the firſt help which man experiences from the *noble* poſition of his body. 4th, But the analogy of his ſhape, with the things around him, is a new ſource of eaſy methods to him in making himſelf *maſter of all*. What we have juſt remarked of the whole frame of the body of man, and of the exact proportion between his ſhape and that univerſal ſway which is alloted him, we may again obſerve in his legs and arms. 5th, His legs ſupport him with an air of dignity, that ſets him off, and be-

[*d*] Commodore Roggewein's voyage. [*e*] Spectacle de la Nature.

ſpeaks

ſpeaks him *a maſter*: by a particular form, and by muſcles peculiar to them, they perform a multitude of actions, and ſituations, adapted to the ſeveral exigencies of his government, but uſeleſs and denied to his *ſlaves*, the *inferior animals*; his legs grow leſs and leſs towards the ground, where they terminate in a baſis flattened on purpoſe to ſuſtain the body, by giving it a *noble* and firm attitude, without clogging the freedom of its motions by the largeneſs of bulk. 6th, The muſcles and nerves, which produce ſo many ſtretchings, retractions, jerks, ſlidings, turnings, and operations of all kinds, have been all collected into one bundle, neatly rounded behind the ſhin-bone; this maſs becomes a commodious pillow, fit to lay and reſt the tender bones upon, ſo very neceſſary, and ſo brittle. I paſs by a great many other marks of precaution, theſe inſtruments are evidently full of; but I muſt not omit obſerving, that the two columns of the body always aſcend thicker and thicker, not only to lay the body upon a proportionable prop, but alſo that it may lie ſoft, when it wants to eaſe itſelf of its fatigues. 7th, The arm and hand together contribute ſtill more to the exerciſe of the authority of man. Since man has an arm, I ſay, he is maſter of every thing on earth; this muſt naturally follow; that being truly the token and inſtrument of a moſt effectual ſovereignty. The arm of man being an univerſal inſtrument, his operations and government extend as far as nature itſelf. By ſtiffening, it performs the functions of a lever, or bar. When bent in the ſeveral articulations which divide it, it imitates the flail, the bow, and any other kind of ſpring. By doubling the fiſt, that terminates it, it ſtrikes like a mallet. When it rounds the cavity of the hand, it holds liquids like a cup, and tranſports them as a ſpoon would do. By bending or joining its fingers cloſe to each other, it makes hooks, nippers, and pincers of them. The two arms, ſtretched out, imitate the balance; and, when one of them is ſhortened, to ſupport ſome great burthen, the other, extended out immediately on the oppoſite ſide, conſtitutes an equilibrium. But it is extenuating the merits of the arm and hand, to compare them with our ordinary inſtruments. In truth, the arm is both the model and the ſoul as it were, of all inſtruments whatſoever; it is the ſoul of them, as the excellence of their effects does always proceed from the hand and arm that direct them; ſince they are all ſo many imitations, or extenſions, of its different properties.

ties. 8th, One may know the *deſtination*, and general power, of man, in the ſame manner as we know the peculiar deſtination of the eye, arm, or leg; *the proportion of theſe inſtruments, with certain effects, points out to us the intention of the Creator.* 9th, One might be apt to think, that his ſtomach confounds him with the other animals, ſince they all have a ſtomach, and digeſt as well as he does; yet his very ſtomach ſerves to evidence his general dominion. The cormorant, the diver, and the hern, have a ſtomach fitted to digeſt the fleſh of a fiſh. They are never ſeen obſerving, as the dove does, the departure of the ploughman, who has been juſt ſowing his ground. The lion and tiger have a ſtomach fit to digeſt the fleſh of terreſtrial animals; you would in vain tie them up to the rack or manger, and reduce them to a few oats, or the graſs of your meadows. The horſe overlooks the hen, that turns up the ſtraw he treads upon. The beaſts of burthen, who exhauſt their ſtrength in our ſervice, are no leſs valuable on account of the cheapneſs of their food; and in vain ſhould we attempt to reward their labour, by offering them meats of the moſt exquiſite taſte, from which they would turn away with loathing. Theſe animals are then, from the very diſpoſition of their ſtomach, tied down to a certain kind of food; but man alone is unreſtrained; and, as he has on his tongue the diſcernment of all the ſavours that are diſtributed among other animals, he has likewiſe in his ſtomach the faculty of digeſting whatever is wholeſome and nouriſhing. God has given him hands, that he might lay hold of, and faſhion, whatever can nouriſh, cure, and defend him; and a ſtomach capable of digeſting the foods tried by his palate. But the ſtomach of man is not the principal part of his body; *that* ſeems by its functions to have a nearer affinity with that of animals, at the ſame time that it has a degree of excellence that *raiſes it much above them.* It is the ſame with his *other organs.* 10th, The lips are the ramparts of the gums; the latter are the fence of the tongue, and of the roof of the mouth. They are a couple of true bulwarks, not only forming an incloſure round the tongue, but alſo ſerving as a baſis to the two rows of teeth. Theſe inſtruments, chiefly appointed to grind and diſſolve, are a bony ſubſtance, perfectly hard, and covered with enamel, which embelliſhes the mouth by its whiteneſs, and preſerves, by its firmneſs, thoſe precious tools from the friction of maſſy foods, and the inſinuation

of penetrating liquors. The *incisory* teeth fill the fore-part; they are thin at the edge, like a wedge, and sharp as knives. The *canine* are rounded, longer than the rest, and ending in a point. All the rest have a square surface, that grows wider and wider, the further they are set within the mouth; these are the *molares*, or grinders. From the variety of their several operations, these teeth comprehend in abstract all the powers of cutting, dividing, and triturating, that are partially dispersed among other animals; they accommodate to every species of vegetable as well as animal food; and, together with the stomach, shew, that man was formed to derive his sustenance from both or either of these alimentary classes, at his pleasure. The wonders of man's organization are multiplied through every part of his body, insomuch that anatomists confess, that the structure is, to any strict enquirer, an abyss, which swallows up both our eyes and reason. 11th, The human voice, merely as a voice, is not extraordinary, since other animals have a voice as well as man. But *speech* puts an immense distance between man and the animals. The merit of speech does not consist in noise, but in the variety of its inflections and universality of signification. Man can express his thoughts very variously. If making one's self understood is the same as speaking, we may of course speak with the foot, the eye, or the hand. A man, who seems transported with joy, or overwhelmed with grief, has already told us many things before he opens his mouth. His eyes, his features, his gestures, his whole countenance, correspond with his mind, and make it very well understood. *He speaks from head to foot*: all his motions are significant, and his expressions are as infinite as his thought. But his voice takes place of these signs whenever he pleases, and is not only equivalent to them, but even sufficient alone to explain distinctly what they cannot express when combined together. Speech was superadded to all these signs, that man should not want any means of explaining himself clearly. In every thing, man alone unites the prerogatives that have been granted but singly to any particular species, and his dignity arises from the *right use* to which his *reason* enables him to apply his corporeal powers and senses.

If then, the pre-eminence of man over the brute creation be displayed in the structure of his body, and the several *insignia* which the ingenious author has enumerated, it follows of course, that the oran-outang

possessing

poſſeſſing the ſame ſtructure and organization, is alſo deſtined to the like precedence and authority. The ſole diſtinction between him and man, muſt conſiſt in the meaſure of intellectual faculties; thoſe faculties which the moſt ſkilful anatomiſt is incapable of tracing the ſource of, and which exiſt *independent of the ſtructure of the brain*; theſe powers are rendered viſible only in the reſult they produce, through the intervention of the bodily organs. Hence it is certain, that the oran-outang, though endued with brains and organs of a ſtructure not to be diſtinguiſhed from thoſe of man by the ableſt anatomiſts, ſtill remains very far inferior to our idea of a *perfect* human being, unleſs he alſo is endowed with the faculties of reaſon and perception, adapted to direct him in the application of that mechaniſm to the ſame uſes as we find it applied in a rational man. According to Mr. Buffon, he has eyes, but ſees not; ears has he, but hears not; he has a tongue, and the human organs of ſpeech, but *ſpeaks not*; he has the human brain, but does not *think*; forms no compariſons, draws no concluſions, makes no reflections, and is determined, like brute animals, by a poſitive limited inſtinct. But in truth, we know not the meaſure of their intellect, nor can form a competent judgement of it from one or two young animals, that were ſhewn for a few months in France and England. Dogs, and ſome other brutes, have been made, by dint of blows, rewards, and conſtant exerciſe, to vary their motions in a very ſurpriſing manner, according to the deſires and ſignals of their teachers; but in theſe caſes, the actual ſkill has been ſuppoſed to reſide in the teacher, and that no juſt argument can be drawn from hence to prove any particular dexterity in them, much leſs any deſign of theirs, or degree of perfection acquired by reaſoning: the monkey tribe indeed form ſome exception, who, even in their wild ſtate, ſhew a voluntary delight and readineſs in mimicking human actions, of which there are an infinite multitude of well-atteſted proofs. When we come to view the ſtructure of the oran-outang, we are forced to acknowledge, that his actions and movements would *not be natural*, unleſs they reſembled thoſe of *man*. To find him therefore excelling the brute animals in the dexterity of his manœuvres, and aptneſs of his imitations, does not excite our admiration, ſo much as the readineſs of apprehenſion, with which, in his ſtate of impuberty or childhood (if I may ſo expreſs myſelf), his performances before ſuch a variety of ſpectators were uſually

accompanied. How far an oran-outang might be brought to give utterance to thoſe European words (the ſignification of whoſe ſounds, it is plain from Buffon, and others, he has capacity to underſtand, ſo as to conform his demeanour and movements to them voluntarily at the immature period of life, when his mental faculties are in their weakeſt ſtate), remains for experiment. If the trial were to be *impartially* made, he ought to paſs regularly from his horn-book, through the regular ſteps of pupilage, to the ſchool, and univerſity, till the uſual modes of culture are exhauſted upon him. If he ſhould be trained up in this manner from childhood (or that early part of exiſtence in which alone he has been noticed by the learned in Europe), to the age of 20 or 25, under fit preceptors, it might then with certainty be determined, whether his tongue is incapable of articulating human languages. But if, in that advanced age, and after a regular proceſs of education, he ſhould ſtill be found to labour under this impediment, the phænomenon would be truly aſtoniſhing; for if it be alledged, that he could not produce ſuch ſounds for want of the ſentient or thinking principle to excite the organs of ſpeech to ſuch an effect, ſtill we ſhould expect him capable of uttering ſounds reſembling the human, juſt as well as a natural idiot, or a parrot, can produce them without the agency of thought. For my own part, I conceive that probability favours the opinion, that human organs were not given him for nothing: that this race have ſome language by which their meaning is communicated; whether it reſembles the gabbling of turkies like that of the Hottentots, or the hiſſing of ſerpents, is of very little conſequence, ſo long as it is intelligible among themſelves: nor, for what hitherto appears, do they ſeem at all inferior in the intellectual faculties to many of the Negroe race; with ſome of whom, it is credible that they have the moſt intimate connexion and conſanguinity. The amorous intercourſe between them may be frequent; the Negroes themſelves bear teſtimony that ſuch intercourſes actually happen; and it is certain, that both races agree perfectly well in laſciviouſneſs of diſpoſition [*f*].

But

[*f*] An ingenious modern author has ſuggeſted many ſtrong reaſons to prove, that the faculty of ſpeech is not the gift of nature to man; that articulation is the work of art, or at leaſt of a habit acquired by cuſtom and exerciſe; and that mankind are truly in their natural ſtate a *mutum pecus*. He inſtances the caſe of Peter the wild youth, caught in the foreſts of Hanover, who (he tells us) was a man

But if we admit with Mr. Buffon, that with all this analogy of organization, the oran-outang's brain is a ſenſeleſs *icon* of the human; that it is meer matter, unanimated with a thinking principle, in any, or at leaſt in a very minute and imperfect degree, we muſt then infer the ſtrongeſt concluſion to eſtabliſh our belief of a natural diverſity of the human intellect, in general, *ab origine*; an oran-outang, in this caſe, is a human being, *quoad* his form and organs; but of an inferior ſpecies, *quoad* his intellect; he has in form a much nearer reſemblance to the Negroe race, than the latter bear to white men; the ſuppoſition then is well founded, that the brain, and intellectual organs, ſo far as they are dependent upon meer matter, though ſimilar in texture and modification to thoſe of other men, may in ſome of the Negroe race be ſo conſtituted, as *not to reſult to the ſame effects*; for we cannot but allow, that the Deity might, if it was his pleaſure, diverſify his works in this manner, and either withhold the *ſuperior principle* entirely, or in part only, or infuſe it into the different claſſes and races of human creatures, in ſuch portions, as to form the ſame gradual climax towards perfection in this human ſyſtem, which is ſo evidently deſigned in every other.

If ſuch has been the intention of the Almighty, we are then perhaps to regard the oran-outang as,

" —the lag of human kind,
" Neareſt to brutes, by God deſign'd [g]."

The Negroe race (conſiſting of varieties) will then appear riſing progreſſively in the ſcale of intellect, the further they mount above the oran-outang and brute creation. The ſyſtem of man will ſeem more conſiſtent, and the meaſure of it more compleat, and analagous to the harmony and order that are viſible in every other line of the world's ſtupendous fabric. Nor is this concluſion degrading to human nature, while it tends to exalt our idea of the infinite perfections of the Deity;

a man in mind as well as body, yet was not only mute when firſt caught, but continued ſo for 30 years after, having never learned to ſpeak, notwithſtanding his conſtant intercourſe with mankind during that ſpace. This would ſeem to prove, that the want of articulation, or expreſſing ideas by ſpeech, does not afford a poſitive indication of a want of intellect: ſince the difficulty ariſing from the mechaniſm of ſpeech, or pronunciation, may to ſome organs be inſurmountable. Singular examples of this kind may happen, but they are rare. To find a whole ſociety of people labouring under the ſame impediment, would be really wonderful.

[g] Prior.

for how vaſt is the diſtance between inert matter, and matter endued with thought and reaſon! The ſeries and progreſſion from a lump of dirt to a perfect human being is amazingly extenſive; nor leſs ſo, perhaps, the interval between the latter and the moſt perfect angelic being, and between this being and the Deity himſelf. Let us ſhake off thoſe clouds with which prejudice endeavours to invelope the underſtanding; and, exerting that freedom of thought which the Beſt of Beings has granted to us, let us take a noon-tide view of the human *genus*; and ſhall we ſay, that it is totally different from, and leſs perfect than, every other ſyſtem of animal beings? The ſpecies of every other *genus* have their certain mark and diſtinction, their varieties, and ſubordinate claſſes: and why ſhould the race of mankind be ſingularly indiſcriminate?

" — In the catalogue they go for *men*,
" As hounds and greyhounds, mongrels, ſpaniels, curs,
" Shocks, water-rugs, and demi-wolves, are 'clep'd
" *All* by the *name of dogs*; the valued file
" Diſtinguiſhes the ſwift, the ſlow, the ſubtle,
" The houſekeeper, the hunter; every one
" According to the gift, which bounteous nature
" Hath in him clos'd; whereby he does receive
" Particular addition, from the bill
" That writes them all alike;—*And ſo of men*—"

ſays that faithful obſerver of nature, our immortal Shakeſpear; and with him ſo far agrees that truly learned and ſagacious naturaliſt Monſ. Buffon, who inveſtigates the marks of variation among mankind in the following manner: " Men differ from white to black, from compound to ſimple, by the height of ſtature, ſize, activity, ſtrength, and other bodily characteriſtics; and from the genius to the dolt, from the greateſt to the leaſt, *by the meaſure of intellect*." That there are ſome phyſical diſtinctions, in reſpect of perſon, I think, requires no further demonſtration; and that men vary ſtill more in intellect, is almoſt equally evident. On our entering Africa towards the European confine on the North, we firſt meet with the Moors, a race of tawny men, who poſſeſs many vices, and ſome virtues; they are acute, induſtrious, and carry on trade and manufactures; next to theſe, are a mixture of Moors and Arabs: we then arrive at the gum coaſt, or country of Senaga,

Senaga, whoſe inhabitants are an intermixture of blacks and the two former [*b*]. Next to theſe lie the Jaloffs, Phulis, and Mandingo Blacks; the former of whom are the moſt humanized and induſtrious of any on the coaſt; yet they are variouſly deſcribed by travelers, ſome commending them for amiable qualities, others accuſing them of the worſt; ſo that, to judge impartially, we are to ſuppoſe that they poſſeſs both, and differ only from each other in degree; but the Mandingoes are repreſented as little better than their Southern neighbours on whom they border. From hence we proceed through the different diſtricts called the grain, ivory, gold, and ſlave coaſt, to Angola; all theſe we find occupied by petty Negroe ſtates, whoſe character is nearly uniform, and who ſcarcely deſerve to be ranked with the human ſpecies. The kingdoms of Angola and Benguela, having been chiefly peopled by the Giagas an interior nation, the inhabitants are ſaid to be ſavages in a ſhape barely human. The Giagas were a tribe that poured out of the inland parts, ravaged and plundered almoſt every country bordering on the coaſt, deluging them like the Goths and Vandals of Europe, and intermixing with moſt of the conquered ſtates, particularly Angola and Benguela. They are deſcribed as a barbarous race, hardened in idolatry, wallowers in human blood, cannibals, drunkards, practiſed in lewdneſs, oppreſſion, and fraud; proud and ſlothful, curſed with all the vices that can degrade human nature, poſſeſſing no one good quality, and in ſhort more brutal and ſavage than the wild beaſts of the foreſt. From theſe, the Angolans borrowed their horrid cuſtom of butchering a vaſt number of human victims, at the obſequies of their kings and relations, as well as that of feaſting upon human fleſh, and preferring it to any other; inſomuch, that a dead ſlave was of more value at their market than a living one: the former practice indeed obtained in almoſt if not all the other provinces on the coaſt, and has only been diſcontinued by the greater advantage that offered, of ſelling their ſlaves and captives to the Euro-

[*b*] The Moors inhabiting on one ſide of the Senaga are wanderers, removing from place to place, as they find paſturage for their cattle. The Jaloff and Phulis Negroes, ſettled on the other ſide of the ſame river, live in villages. The Moors have ſuperiors, or chiefs, of their own free election; the Negroes are in ſubjection to their kings, who are veſted with a very arbitrary power. The Moors are ſmall, lean, and ill-looked, but have a lively, acute genius; the Negroes are large, fat, and well-proportioned, but ſilly, and of a ſlender capacity. The country inhabited by the Moors is a barren deſart, almoſt deſtitute of verdure; that of the Negroes is a fertile ſoil, abounding with paſturage, producing grain, and trees of ſeveral kinds. Le Maire.

pean traders, inſtead of putting them to death. After leaving Benguela we arrive among the Hottentots, whoſe women are ſo remarkable for a natural callous excreſcence, or flap, which diſtinguiſhes them from all others of the ſame ſex in the known world. Theſe people are of a dark nut, or dingy olive complexion, and in all other reſpects, ſave what have been noticed, are like the other Negroes in perſon. They are a lazy, ſtupid race; but poſſeſs benevolence, liberality, integrity, and friendſhip; they are hoſpitable and chaſte, have ſome appearance of a regular form of government among them, and the barbarities they practiſe are more the reſult of antient cuſtoms, whoſe ſource is now unknown, than any innate cruelty of their diſpoſitions. Theſe people have ſeveral mechanic arts among them; but their language is guttural, and inarticulate, compared by ſome to the gabbling of enraged turkey-cocks, and by others to the rumbling of wind *a poſteriori*. As we approach towards Abyſſinia, the North Eaſt confine of Negro-land, we find the Blacks well ſhaped and featured, and for the moſt part having lank black hair inſtead of wool, though not very long. The Abyſſinians are repreſented to be of a brown olive complexion, tall, of regular and well-proportioned features, large ſparkling black eyes, elevated noſes, ſmall lips, and beautiful teeth; the character of their minds is equally favourable; they are ſober, temperate, ſenſible, pious, and inoffenſive.

The Red Sea divides theſe people from the Arabs, who, in complexion, perſon, and intellect, come ſtill nearer to the Whites or Perſians, their next neighbours, whoſe valour, quick parts, and humanity, are juſtly celebrated.

Having now compleated this tour, we are ſtruck with one very pertinent remark; the natives of the whole tract, comprifed under the name of Negro-land, are all black, and have wool inſtead of hair; whereas the people in the moſt torrid regions of Libya and America, who have the ſun vertical over them, have neither the ſame tincture of ſkin, nor woolly covering. As we recede from Negro-land, this blackneſs gradually decreaſes, and the wool as gradually changes to lank hair, which at firſt is of a ſhort ſtaple, but is found longer, the further we advance [*i*]. We obſerve the like gradations of the intellectual

[*i*] I admit there is ſome variety both in colour and feature among the different nations of the Negroes; ſome are lighter than others by a ſhade or two, and ſome have ſmaller features; but this diverſity

lectual faculty, from the firſt rudiments perceived in the monkey kind, to the more advanced ſtages of it in apes, in the *oran-outang*, that type of man, and the Guiney Negroe; and aſcending from the varieties of this claſs to the lighter caſts, until we mark its utmoſt limit of perfection in the pure White. Let us not then doubt, but that every member of the creation is wiſely fitted and adapted to the certain uſes, and confined within the certain bounds, to which it was ordained by the Divine Fabricator. The meaſure of the ſeveral orders and varieties of theſe Blacks may be as compleat as that of any other race of mortals; filling up that ſpace, or degree, beyond which they are not deſtined to paſs; and diſcriminating them from the reſt of men, not in *kind*, but in *ſpecies*.

The examples which have been given of Negroes born and trained up in other climates, detract not from that general idea of narrow, humble intellect, which we affix to the inhabitants of Guiney. We have ſeen *learned horſes*, *learned* and even *talking dogs*, in England; who, by dint of much pains and tuition, were brought to exhibit the ſigns of a capacity far exceeding what is ordinarily allowed to be poſſeſſed by thoſe animals. The experiment has not been fully tried with the *oran-outangs*; yet, from what has hitherto been proved, this race of beings may, for aught we know to the contrary, poſſeſs a ſhare of intellect, which, by due cultivation,

diverſity only ſerves to ſtrengthen my argument; there is likewiſe a variety in the colour of their wool, for I have ſeen ſome perfectly reddiſh.

The natives of the Indian peninſula, betwixt the rivers Indus and Ganges in the Eaſt Indies, have the African black complexion, the European features, and the American lank hair, but all native and genuine.

It is not a variety of climate that produces various complexions. America lies from 65 degrees North lat. to 55 deg. South lat. comprehending all the various climates of Europe, Aſia, Africa, and America. The American complexion is every where permanently the ſame, only with more or leſs of a metalline luſtre. Between the Tropics, and in the high Northern latitudes, they are paler; in the other parts, of a copper colour, have thin lips, jet black lank hair, and no beards; in the high Northern and Southern latitudes, they are tall and robuſt; between the Tropics they are ſhort and ſquat. Douglas.—The greateſt alteration cauſed by difference of climate ſeems to conſiſt in enlarging or depreſſing the ſtature; relaxing or contracting the muſcles, and articulations of the limbs; lengthening or ſhortening the bones; and, in conſequence perhaps, raiſing or depreſſing, in a ſmall degree, ſome particular features. The natives of Madagaſcar have neither ſuch flat noſes nor dark complexions as the Guiney Negroes; there are ſome of them ſaid to be mere *brunets*; and moſt of them have long hair: they are by moſt travelers pronounced to be lively, intelligent, ſenſible of gratitude, and poſſeſſed of many amiable qualities; ſo that it is not without regret, that we find them treated as the moſt abject ſlaves by the French, on their ſettlements in Mauritius.

might

might raiſe them to a nearer apparent equality with the human, and make them even excel the inhabitants of *Quaqua*, *Angola*, and *Whidah*. Mr. *Hume* preſumes, from his obſervations upon the native Africans, to conclude, that they are inferior to the reſt of the ſpecies, and utterly incapable of all the higher attainments of the human mind. Mr. *Beattie*, upon the principle of philanthropy, combats this opinion; but he is unfortunate in producing no demonſtration to prove, that it is either lightly taken up, or inconſiſtent with experience. He likewiſe makes no ſcruple to confound the Negroes and Mexican Indians together, and to deduce concluſions from the ingenuity of the latter, to ſhew the probable ingenuity of the former. We might reaſonably ſuppoſe, that the commerce maintained with the Europeans for above two centuries, and the great variety of fabrics and things manufactured, which have been introduced among the Guiney Negroes for ſuch a length of time, might have wrought ſome effect towards poliſhing their manners, and exciting in them at leaſt a degree of imitative induſtry; but it is really aſtoniſhing to find, that theſe cauſes have not operated to their civilization; they are at this day, if any credit can be given to the moſt modern accounts, but little diveſted of their primitive brutality; we cannot pronounce them inſuſceptible of civilization, ſince even [*k*] apes have been taught to eat, drink, repoſe, and dreſs, like men; but of all the human ſpecies hitherto diſcovered, their natural baſeneſs of mind ſeems to afford leaſt hope

[*k*] The docility of many among the brute creation, is a ſubject which the pride of man is not very fond of examining with a too critical inveſtigation; but none is more curious; the enquiry is humiliating to thoſe who would fondly conſider man as poſſeſſing ſomething of an angelic nature; they think it degrades them to allow brutes a reaſoning faculty; yet there are not wanting proofs of ſomewhat very like it, eſpecially in thoſe animals with whom we are moſt converſant, and therefore have more frequent opportunities of ſtudying. *Pope*, more free in his opinion, calls the *elephant* "half-reaſoning;" the relations that are given of the ſenſibility of this animal appear to many perſons almoſt incredible.

Mr. *Toreen* affirms, that, when he was at Surat in 1751, he had an opportunity of remarking one, whoſe maſter had let it out to hire for a certain ſum *per* day. Its employment was, to carry timber for building, out of the river; which buſineſs it diſpatched very dextrouſly under the command of a boy, and afterwards laid one piece upon another in ſuch good order, that no man could have done it better.

The docility of monkeys and apes is ſtill ſuperior. One of the latter, trained in France, was not long ſince exhibited in London. He performed a variety of equilibres on the wire with as much expertneſs as the moſt noted human artiſts that have appeared before the public in this walk.

of

of their being (except by miraculous interpoſition of the divine Providence) ſo far refined as to *think*, as well as act like *perfect men*.

It has been ſaid, that the nature of their governments is unfavourable to genius, becauſe they tolerate ſlavery; but genius is *manifeſted* in the right frame of government: they have republics among them as well as monarchies, but neither have yet been known productive of civility, of arts, or ſciences. Their genius (if it can be ſo called) conſiſts alone in trick and cunning, enabling them, like monkies and apes, to be thieviſh and miſchievous, with a peculiar dexterity. They ſeem unable to combine ideas, or purſue a chain of reaſoning; they have no mode of forming calculations, or of recording events to poſterity, or of communicating thoughts and obſervations by marks, characters, or delineation; or by that method ſo common to moſt other countries in their rude and primitive ages, by little poems or ſongs: we find this practice exiſted formerly among the Ægyptians, Phœnicians, Arabians, Mexicans, and many others. The ancient inhabitants of Brazil, Peru, Virginia, St. Domingo, and Canada, preſerved, in poems of this kind, ſuch events as they thought worthy of the knowledge of future times, and ſung them at their public feſtivals and ſolemnities. Arithmetick, aſtronomy, geometry, and mechanicks, were, in other ſocieties of men, among the firſt ſciences to which they applied themſelves. The origin of arts and ſciences in other countries has been aſcribed to their uniting in ſocieties, inſtead of leading a gregarious life; their neceſſities, the inſtitution of laws and government, and the leiſure which theſe afforded for indulging in ſuch reſearches. It may be ſaid, that the Negroes are not affected by this neceſſity which has affected other people; that their ſoil is wonderfully productive; that their country abounds with food; that the warmth of their climate makes cloathing ſuperfluous; but no ſuch pretences reſtrained the South Americans, and others living under the ſame parallel of climate, from cloathing themſelves.

The art of making garments was invented in the mildeſt climates, where there was the leaſt need of any covering for the body; neceſſity alone therefore could not be the cauſe of mens cloathing themſelves.

The Negroes live in ſocieties; ſome of their towns (as they are called) are even ſaid to be very extenſive; and if a life of idleneſs

implies leiſure, they enjoy enough of it. In regard to their laws and government, theſe may, with them, be more properly ranged under the title of cuſtoms and manners; they have no regulations dictated by foreſight: they are the ſimple reſult of a revengeful ſelfiſh ſpirit, put in motion by the crimes that prevail among them; conſequently their edicts are moſtly vindictive, and death or ſlavery the almoſt only modes of puniſhment; they ſeem to have no polity, nor any comprehenſion of the uſe of civil inſtitutions. Their puniſhments are actuated either by a motive of revenge or of avarice; they have none to balance the allurements of pleaſure, nor the ſtrength of the paſſions, nor to operate as incitements to induſtry and worthy actions. In many of their provinces they are often reduced to the utmoſt ſtraights for want of corn, of which they might enjoy the greateſt abundance, if they were but animated with the ſmalleſt portion of induſtry. If no rules of civil polity exiſt among them, does it not betray an egregious want of common ſenſe, that no ſuch rules have been formed? If it be true, that in other countries mankind have cultivated ſome arts, through the impulſe of the neceſſities under which they laboured, what origin ſhall we give to thoſe contrivances and arts, which have ſprung up after thoſe neceſſities were provided for? Theſe are ſurely no other than the reſult of innate vigour and energy of the mind, inquiſitive, inventive, and hurrying on with a divine enthuſiaſm to new attainments. The juriſprudence, the cuſtoms and manners of the Negroes, ſeem perfectly ſuited to the meaſure of their narrow intellect. Laws have juſtly been regarded as the maſter-piece of human genius: what then are we to think of thoſe ſocieties of men, who either have none, or ſuch only as are irrational and ridiculous?

Religion and Religious Opinions among the Negroes.

They are ſaid to have as many religions almoſt as they have deities, and theſe are innumerable; but ſome have been taught to believe the exiſtence of a ſupreme God. Theſe ſay that God is partial to the Whites, and treats them as his own children, but takes pleaſure in afflicting the Blacks with a thouſand evils; that they are indebted to him for nothing but ſhowers, without which the earth would not afford them proviſions; but even in this, they alledge

alledge he is only the undeſigning cauſe, and for the effect they are obliged to the fertility of the ſoil. Man's creation they aſſert to have happened in the following manner: in the beginning, black as well as white men were created; nay, if there was any difference in time, the Blacks had the priority. To theſe, two ſorts of favours were preſented; to the Blacks, gold; and to the Whites, the knowledge of arts and ſciences. It was from choice, that the Blacks had gold for their ſhare: and, to puniſh their avarice, it was decreed they ſhould ever be ſlaves to the white men; they are fully perſuaded that no country but Afric produces gold, and that Blacks can never attain the knowledge of letters [*m*].

The *Mocas* not only worſhip, but eat, ſnakes; now adore, and preſently devour, their deity. In this however they are not unexampled by ſome ſtates in Europe; I mean thoſe pious canibals, one eſſential part of whoſe faith it is to believe, that they verily and ſubſtantially eat the fleſh, and quaff the blood, of their God.

The ſnake is likewiſe a favourite divinity among many other of the Negroe ſtates, and particularly the Whidahs. In 1697, a hog that had been teazed for ſome time by one of theſe reptiles, killed and gobbled it up. The marbuts, or prieſts, went with their complaint in form to the king; and no one preſuming to appear as council for defendant hog, he was convicted of the ſacrilege, and a warrant iſſued for a general maſſacre of all his ſpecies throughout the kingdom. A thouſand choſen warriors, armed with cutlaſſes, began the bloody execution; and the whole race of ſwine would have been extirpated from Whidah, if the king (who loved pork) had not put a ſtop to the dreadful carnage, by repreſenting to the marbuts, that they ought to reſt ſatisfied with the ſevere vengeance they had taken.

Of ſome Cuſtoms among them.

In hot climates, bathing is one of the higheſt luxuries; it is no wonder then that we find their inhabitants univerſally adopt this agreeable practice, eſpecially as cattle, wild beaſts, and other quadruped animals, uſe it for their refreſhment. The Negroes teach their children to ſwim at a very tender age; hence they become

[*m*] Boſman.

expert divers, and are able to continue an incredible length of time under water; hence too they incline to fix their dwellings on the ſea coaſt, or the banks of the rivers, to ſave themſelves the trouble of a long walk.

In theſe climates the brute creation fly to ſhelter from the rain; the Negroes likewiſe avoid it with extreme anxiety; if they are catched in a ſhower they claſp their arms over their heads to defend them, run with all the ſpeed they can to the neareſt retreat, and ſeem to groan at every drop that falls upon them; to preſerve their bodies the better from it, they rub them over with palm oil, as the aquatic birds beſmear their plumage with the oily liquor expreſſed from the glands which nature has provided them with. Their women are delivered with little or no labour; they have therefore no more occaſion for midwives, than the female oran-outang, or any other wild animal. A woman brings forth her child in a quarter of an hour, goes the ſame day to the ſea, and waſhes herſelf. Some have even been known to bring forth twins without a ſhriek, or a ſcream; and it is ſeldom they are confined above two, or, at moſt, three days.

Immediately before her labour ſhe is conducted to the ſea ſide or a river, followed by a number of little children, who throw all manner of ordure and excrement at her in the way, after which ſhe is waſhed with great care. Without this cleanly ceremony, the Negroes are perſuaded that either the mother, the child, or one of the parents, will die during the period of lying-in. Thus they ſeem exempted from the curſe inflicted upon Eve and her daughters, "I will greatly multiply thy ſorrow; in ſorrow ſhalt "thou bring forth children."

Medicine.

The origin of the invention of medicine is intirely unknown; ſome aſcribe it to chance, others to obſervation on the couduct of brute animals; both probably combined. We know that the Northern Indians diſcovered that herb, which is an antidote to the venom of the rattle ſnake, by the latter means. Brutes are botaniſts by inſtinct; whether man in his rude ſtate poſſeſſes any

ſimilar

ſimilar inſtinct we are uninformed, but probability is in the affirmative.

The chief medicaments among the Negroes are lime juice, cardamoms, the roots, branches, leaves, bark, and gums of trees, and about thirty different herbs. The latter have been experienced in many caſes wonderfully powerful, and have ſubdued diſeaſes incident to their climate, which have foiled the art of European ſurgeons at the factories. However, the Negroes generally apply them at random, without any regard to the particular ſymptoms of the diſeaſe; concerning which, or the operation of their *materia medica*, they have formed no theory.

Eſquemeling relates, that when he and his companions were amuſing themſelves at Coſta Rica with ſhooting at monkies, if one of them happened to be wounded, the reſt flocked about him, and while ſome laid their paws upon the wound, to hinder the blood from iſſuing forth, others gathered moſs from the trees (or rather probably ſome ſpecies of ſtyptic *fungus*) and thruſt into the orifice, by which means they ſtopped the effuſion. At other times they gathered particular herbs, and, chewing them in their mouth, applied them as a poultice; all which, ſays he, "cauſed in "me great admiration, ſeeing ſuch ſtrange actions in thoſe irra-"tional creatures, which teſtified the fidelity and love they had "for one another."

From what ſource did theſe monkies derive their chirurgical ſkill and knowledge? From the ſame, no doubt, whence the Negroes received theirs—the hands of their Creator; who has impartially provided all animals with means conducive to their preſervation.

Diet.

Maize, palm oil, and a little ſtinking fiſh, make up the general bill of fare of the prince and the ſlave; except that they regale themſelves, as often as they can, with *aqua vitæ*, and palm wine [*n*]. Their old cuſtom of gormandizing on human fleſh has in it ſomething ſo nauſeous, ſo repugnant to nature and reaſon, that it would hardly admit of belief, if it had not been atteſted by a multitude of voyagers; ſome of whom affirm to have been eye-witneſſes of it,

[*n*] Barbot.

and,

and, what is ſtronger, by report of Negroes themſelves imported from that continent into our colonies [o]. The difficulty indeed of believing it to be true, is much leſſened when we reflect on the ſanguinary, cruel temper, and filthy practices of theſe people, in other reſpects; many Negroes in our colonies have been known to drink the blood of their enemies with great apparent reliſh; and at Benin, Angola, and other kingdoms, they at this day prefer apes, monkies, dog's fleſh, carrion, reptiles, and other ſubſtances, uſually deemed improper for human food, although they abound with hogs, ſheep, poultry, fiſh, and a variety of game and wild-fowl; why ſhould we doubt but that the ſame ravenous ſavage, who can feaſt on the roaſted quarters of an ape (that *mock-man*), would be not leſs delighted with the ſight of a loin or buttock of human fleſh, prepared in the ſame manner? This opinion muſt be ſtrengthened by conſidering the idea they entertain of the ape ſpecies; for they eſteem them as ſcarcely their inferiors in humanity; and ſuppoſe they are very able to talk, but ſo cunning withal, that, to avoid working, they diſſemble their talent, and pretend to be dumb.

They are moſt brutal in their manners and uncleanly in their diet, eating fleſh almoſt raw by choice, though intolerably putrid and full of meggots. Even thoſe that inhabit the ſea coaſt, though well provided with other victuals, are ſo ravenous that they will devour the raw guts of animals. The unhealthineſs of ſome of the European factories here, has been imputed in great meaſure to the abominable cuſtom of the natives, of expoſing their fiſh to the ſun till they become ſufficiently ſtinking, fly-blown, and rotten. This cauſes a ſtench, which fills all the atmoſphere in the neighbourhood; and, though inſupportably offenſive to the Europeans, it does not

[o] The exiſtence of canibals or man-eaters is now unqueſtionably proved, by the late diſcoveries made by Mr. Banks and Dr. Solander, in their voyage to the South Sea; where they found, in the country called *New-Zealand*, a people who fed upon human fleſh. The author of "*The Origin and Progreſs of language*," ſays, he is well informed of a nation in the inland parts of *Africa*, where human fleſh is expoſed to ſale in the market, as beef and mutton are among us; this agrees with the accounts which have been formerly given by ſome travelers, and which till lately have not met with much credit; for this incredulity, the before mentioned ingenious author aſſigns a very ſufficient reaſon. "Thoſe, ſays he, who judge of mankind only by what "they ſee of the modern nations of Europe, are not, I know, diſpoſed to believe this; but "they may as well not believe that there are men, who live without cloaths or houſes; without "corn, wine, or beer; and without planting or ſowing."

ſeem to affect the Blacks with any other than the moſt delicious ſenſations.

At their meals they tear the meat with their talons, and chuck it by handfulls down their throats with all the voracity of wild beaſts; at their politeſt entertainments they thruſt their hands all together into the diſh, ſometimes returning into it what they have been chewing. They uſe neither table-cloths, knives, forks, plates, nor trenchers, and generally ſquat down upon the bare earth to their repaſt.

Their hoſpitality is the reſult of ſelf-love; they entertain ſtrangers only in hopes of extracting ſome ſervice or profit from them; and in regard to others, the hoſpitality is reciprocal; by receiving them into their huts, they acquire a right of being received into theirs in turn. This in fact is a ſpecies of generoſity which gives no deciſive evidence of goodneſs of heart, or rectitude of manners, except in thoſe countries where no advantage is expected to be made by the hoſt.

In ſhort, their corporeal ſenſations are in general of the groſſeſt frame; their ſight is acute, but not correct; they will rarely miſs a ſtanding object, but they have no notion of ſhooting birds on the wing, nor can they project a ſtraight line, nor lay any ſubſtance ſquare with another. Their hearing is remarkably quick; their faculties of ſmell and taſte are truly beſtial, nor leſs ſo their commerce with the other ſex; in theſe acts they are libidinous and ſhameleſs as monkies, or baboons. The equally hot temperament of their women has given probability to the charge of their admitting theſe animals frequently to their embrace. An example of this intercourſe once happened, I think, in England [*p*]; and if luſt can prompt to ſuch exceſſes in that Northern region, and in deſpight of all the checks which national politeneſs and refined ſentiments impoſe, how freely may it not operate in the more genial ſoil of Afric, that parent of every thing that is monſtrous in nature, where theſe creatures are frequent and familiar; where the paſſions rage without any controul; and the retired wilderneſs preſents opportunity to gratify them without fear of detection!

[*p*] It is ſaid the lady conceived by her paramour, which gave occaſion to the Stat. 25 Hen. VIII. which was purpoſely extended to women, as well as men.

CHAP.

CHAP. II.

GUINEY SLAVES.

THE part of the African continent whence the Negroe ſlaves are tranſported, begins at the river Senaga, and terminates at the river Quanza, in Angola; comprehending a ſhore of little leſs than 2000 leagues in extent, and including the ſeveral diviſions before enumerated.

It is computed, that, for theſe hundred years paſt, not leſs than 40,000 have been ſhipped from thence every year upon an average; which, if true, makes the whole amount not leſs than four millions.

It is a matter of ſurprize to ſome, that ſo large and continual a drain has not depopulated this country. But, independent of the prodigious extent of Afric, there are many ſolid reaſons given why this depopulation has not, and cannot happen. The ſtate of ſlavery in uſe here does not hinder depopulation, as it doubtleſs would in a civilized part of the world, where liberty is highly prized. A man or woman of ſenſibility, that ſenſibility encreaſed by reflexion, and perhaps ſtudy, would, under the yoke of ſlavery, be deaf to all the calls of inclination, and refuſe giving being to wretches doomed to inherit the miſery their parents feel in ſo exquiſite a manner. The idea of *ſlavery* is totally different in Afric. Excluſive of the entire abſence of keen ſenſations, the ſlaves of a family are conſidered as no mean part of it; ſcarce any of them are ſold, except for very great crimes. The owners are full as careful of bringing them up as their own children. For in the number of their ſlaves conſiſt their wealth, their pride, and dignity; and therefore they ſhew an attention to preſerve and multiply them, ſimilar to that of an European merchant, in the care and improvement of his money.

Slaves likewiſe, who have any abilities, are allowed to make the moſt of them; by which means they grow rich, and able to purchaſe ſlaves for themſelves; in this, it is ſaid, (I know not with what truth) they meet with no interruption, provided they acknowledge their ſubſervience from time to time, and pay a tribute,

or

or make ſatisfactory preſents to their owner and his deſcendants. Elegance of thinking finds no place here; the air is ſoft, the food ſtimulating, and the paſſions unreſtrained. Child-birth is attended with little or no danger or difficulty. The fruitfulneſs of the ſoil leaves no room to fear that children will become burdenſome; and, this anxiety being removed, nature does the reſt.

Many families ally themſelves by marriage as ſoon as the children are born, without any other ceremony than the conſent of parents on both ſides. Such as have made free with the paſſion before marriage, are not the leſs reſpected by their huſbands, or the public: on the contrary, they are eſteemed the better qualified to enter into matrimony, and are accordingly often preferred to abſolute *veſtals*.

Scarcely any of the priſoners taken in battle are now put to death, but are almoſt all ſold, and brought to ſome part of the coaſt. Polygamy univerſally prevails, and contributes greatly to populouſneſs. Of this we may form ſome judgement from Haſſlequiſt's account of Egypt; he informs us of a Turk, who by ſeveral wives had 40 children; of another who had at once in his haram ſeventy-ſeven women all with child by him; and a third who had by eight wives, in ten years, eighty children, all of whom lived to mature age. But to produce examples of the like kind among the Negroe provinces; Boſman, in his account of W'hidah, mentions that he had frequently ſeen fathers who had upwards of two hundred children. Upon interrogating a certain captain of the king's guards concerning the number of his family, he replied with a ſigh, that he was unhappy in that particular, not having above ſeventy living. Boſman then aſked him how many had died, and he anſwered ſeventy. Thus a family of 140 children is by no means looked upon as extraordinary [*q*].

Of the ſlaves ſhipped from the coaſt, not a ſixth part are women; and this happens from there being fewer female criminals to be tranſported, and no female warriors to be taken priſoners. The number of females born exceeds the males, and though ſome Blacks in the inland countries have ten, others an hundred wives, yet by the ſtricteſt enquiries from the inland merchants, it appears that no man goes without a wife from a ſcarcity of women; and that

[*q*] Mod. Univ. Hiſt. vol. xvi. p. 402.

although the richeſt have many wives, the pooreſt are not thereby precluded from having one or two; in ſhort, that an unpaired man or woman is ſeldom or never ſeen.

Thus of many hindrances to population in Europe, not one takes place in Afric; and ſuch is the rapidity of propagation here, that it ſhould ſeem there would be a ſuperabundance of inhabitants, if the ſlave trade did not take ſo many off. Certain it is, that in many parts of Aſia the climate and other circumſtances are ſo much more favourable than the ſoil, that whilſt the people multiply, the famines deſtroy; for this reaſon, in ſome parts of China, fathers ſell or expoſe their ſupernumerary children. It ſeems from hence very probable, that Afric not only can continue ſupplying the Weſt Indies with the ſame quantities as hitherto; but, if neceſſity required it, could ſpare thouſands, nay millions more, and continue doing the ſame to the end of time, without any viſible depopulation.

Theſe circumſtances, together with the incurable ignorance and unſkilfulneſs of the natives, ſpread over a country of ſuch extent, abounding with gold and a multitude of other rich commodities, highly prized in Europe, ſeem to point it out as an object of moſt valuable commerce to the trading and manufacturing nations of that quarter; we find accordingly, that Britain alone employs 50,000 tons of ſhipping in it, and imports from thence to the amount of above half a million ſterling, excluſive of the ſlaves.

The populouſneſs of this country, and ſpirit of the people, make it reaſonable to ſuppoſe, that the conſtitution of ſlavery has been of ſome thouſand years exiſtence among them. Their commerce in ſlaves muſt be fixed exceeding early. Joſephus, giving an account of the trade carried on by Solomon [r] with Ophir, which he places in Africa, mentions that, "beſides gold and ſilver," there were brought to the king, "χ πολὺς ἐλέφας, Αἰθίοπές τε, χ πίθηκοὶ," "much ivory, *Blacks*, and monkeys," which are the ſame commodities that form the chief part of their trade at this day. Solomon however had no occaſion for any great number of Blacks; they were bought perhaps chiefly for attending the ſeraglios of princes, high-prieſts, and other great officers of ſtate; or for adding variety to their retinues. In ſome of the ſubſequent ages, from the

[r] About the year before Chriſt 1000.

decline

decline or ruin of thoſe petty kingdoms which had uſed to traffic with them, the demand grew leſs and leſs, until the Negroe provinces had no communication left, except with their neighbours, the Arabs and Moors.

The want of more extenſive vent for their ſuperfluous people, occaſioned thoſe horrid methods of diminiſhing them, of which we read in hiſtory, by ſacrificing them to their fettiſhes and great men; butchering their captives in war, and, in moſt of the provinces, devouring human fleſh; which perhaps ſupplied them with a permanent kind of food, and made it leſs neceſſary for them to break through their natural abhorrence of labour, and take the pains either of cultivating the earth, or laying up proviſions againſt unſeaſonable years. Man's fleſh was then in ſuch cheap eſtimation among them, that they would give ten or twelve ſlaves for a horſe: *Labat* cites an example of one being ſold for forty ſlaves.

The Portugueſe, who were the earlieſt Europeans of the modern ages that had any intercourſe with theſe people, and firſt came among them about the year 1450, found ſlaves an eſtabliſhed article of their inland commerce with one another, and hence conceived the idea of turning this local medium of traffic to account, by purchaſing ſlaves to work their mines in South America. It is not improbable too that they thought it a meritorious act to reſcue ſo many human victims from ſuffering death and torture, under ſuch idolatrous and ſavage cuſtoms; and thus make their private gain compatible with the ſuggeſtions of humanity and religion.

It was the South-weſt part which the Portugueſe firſt grew acquainted with. Many years paſſed before the Engliſh entered into the ſlave trade; in 1621, when captain Jobſon touched at the river Gambia in the North-weſt part, the inhabitants offered him ſeveral ſlaves in exchange for goods; but he refuſed, alledging "that the Engliſh did not trade in them;" for a long time after, this traffic was regularly adopted by many of the different European ſtates, ſo abundant were ſlaves, and ſo eager the natives to furniſh themſelves with brandy, trinkets, and other novelties, that, even in 1730, Snelgrave tells us, he purchaſed a child for a bunch of beads, worth no more than half a crown. But, to ſpeak of the preſent

ſtate of this trade, the rivalſhip of the Europeans, the bad management of ſome factories, and the overbidding of others, have opened the eyes of the crafty natives to their intereſt, and ſuch a competition being extremely favourable to their avarice, they have gradually raiſed the price to 23 *l.* and 24 *l. per* head for able men and women; but, rating the price at 20 *l.* at medium, the annual profit to the Africans is 800,000 *l.* ſterling, out of which their petty ſovereigns on the coaſt draw a tribute, by way of capitation tax on all that are exported, of not leſs than 70 or 80,000 *l.*; the moſt of which, if not the whole, ariſes from the extruſion of thoſe, who, agreeably to the primitive frame of their conſtitution and uſages, would but for this trade have been put to death, and ſo loſt to their country, without any reſulting benefit. The love of gain, which enables them the better to gratify their pride, ſloth, and debauched inclinations, animates them in ſupplying the trade as at preſent conducted; and although it may lead to ſome acts of violence and injuſtice among them, yet it has leſſened the number and atrocity of theſe acts, and is attended with ſuch pleaſing conſequences to them, that it is probable they never will let it drop willingly.

The ſlaves in general are,

1. Such as are captived in war.
2. Such as are ſold by their brutal parents, or huſbands.
3. Native ſlaves ſold by their owners, generally for ſome crime.
4. Such as are free born, but condemned to forfeiture of freedom for ſome flagitious offence.

Of the latter ſort there is a great number; ſince to their natural vices is ſuperadded, in ſome provinces, a long liſt of conſtructive crimes, for which the puniſhment aſſigned by their kings and great men is, a fine or ſlavery.

In ſome places, offences of all ſorts, except treaſon, are atonable with money; but, that being deficient, the penalty is ſlavery. In others all crimes and offences, great and ſmall, are puniſhed with ſlavery.

An owner here has the abſolute dominion over his ſlaves, their bodies, life, and goods, as the kings have over thoſe of their vaſſals. He may kill or ſell his ſlaves and their children at pleaſure; and

parents

parents conſider their own offſpring, as creatures wholly in their power, to be diſpoſed of juſt as they think proper. The children uniformly follow the condition of their mother: if ſhe is a ſlave, they continue ſuch, though the father be free. All their work is performed by their women and ſlaves, and the latter are in place of beaſts of burthen. Hence the chief riches among all the Negroe ſtates conſiſt in the number of their ſlaves. If they treat them at any time with particular indulgence, it appears to ariſe ſolely from the advantages derived from their ſervice, and the fear of their elopement; but the third offence of this ſort is puniſhed by death, or ſale to the traders, at the pleaſure of their owner; their care of the children of their ſlaves is founded upon the ſame intereſted motive; for theſe are their wealth: and many breed ſlaves, like cattle, to make profit by the ſale of them, either to the more opulent natives, or to the Black or White traders. Before the Europeans traded to this coaſt, their ſlaves, as well as priſoners of war, uſed to be ſacrificed to their divinities; ſlaughtered or buried alive at the funerals of their princes and chief men, and at all great feaſts. Slaves and priſoners were indiſcriminately devoured; and in ſome provinces were regular markets, at which the aged and infirm were publicly ſold for theſe uſes. There is even ſome reaſon to believe, that in the interior countries theſe cuſtoms ſtill prevail in a degree, though much fewer are butchered than formerly. Indeed, the profits by ſelling in trade all thoſe whom formerly they uſed to put to death, in ſo many various modes, and for various cauſes, either from revenge or ſuperſtition, for food or amuſement, are ſo great, that it is probable but very few of their ſlaves, priſoners, and criminals, are now put to death. As they conſider their ſlaves merely as their neceſſary beaſts during life, ſo they treat their bodies with no mark of humanity after their deceaſe. In moſt of the provinces they do not beſtow even interment upon them, but throw their carcaſſes in any open place, and leave them a prey to wild animals; in a few places only they cover them with earth, but without any ceremony.

The emoluments they draw from their ſlaves, in one way or other, operate as a perpetual incentive to their encouraging popula-

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tion (already ſo favoured in ſeveral local circumſtances, as has been mentioned) to the utmoſt of their power; in order that they may never want a ſufficient number for their domeſtic ſervices, for agriculture, and other purpoſes; beſides enough of ſupernumeraries, to ſupport and augment their revenues ariſing from trade with the Europeans. Slaves may therefore be now conſidered with them, actual *ſtaple products*, as much as wool and corn are to Great Britain. They have gained by this means a conſtant vent for all their rogues and vagabonds; and the tranſportation of them is ſo far from being a burthen to their ſtates, as the caſe is with reſpect to the European nations, that it is highly lucrative to them. Thus they are relieved from their vileſt criminals, with a large profit into the bargain; whilſt the European plantations in America are made the common receptacle of theſe abandoned outcaſts; and are become as uſeful to the African provinces, as ſcavengers to a dirty town, or Virginia and Maryland to Britain. It is clear, that the African ſtates have juſt as good right as any European power, to baniſh their criminals to other parts of the world that will receive them; it is certainly agreeable to the principles of humanity, that captives alſo ſhould be exiled, rather than cruelly tortured to death; and by baniſhment of all theſe victims for life, they reap this ſure benefit, that they are effectually prevented from returning to repeat again their former courſe of criminal or hoſtile practices; nor is the indemnification for theſe practices trifling, which accrues to the reſpective ſtates, from the ſale of their bodies to the Europeans.

In England, multitudes are hanged, and many more ſent to the plantations and ſold into ſlavery; ſome for a term, others for life. Such as are executed, can no longer commit injury nor do good; but of the many hundred wretches tranſported, many find methods of returning, and generally, if not univerſally, follow the ſame trade of villainy as before, till they ſuffer the *ultimum jus* of hanging. It may be ſaid of our Engliſh tranſported felons, as of the Negroe criminals, that neither of them go into a voluntary baniſhment; but it muſt be allowed, that the Africans may with equal juſtice ſell their convicts, as the Engliſh ſell theirs; and equally well veſt a legal right to their ſervice in the purchaſers. The argument that ſome are wrongfully puniſhed in this way, is nothing to the purpoſe; it holds

equally

equally reſpecting each government; for how many examples have we continually, of innocent perſons condemned to death or baniſhment in England, upon falſe evidence? and if this occurs, as it frequently does, in a country that boaſts of its righteous laws, and equitable forms of juſtice; we ought not to be ſurprized, that the ſame events happen in Africa, where juſtice is ſo ill adminiſtered through the natural barbarity of the people. Excluſive therefore of this argument, the African ſtates having the power of diſpenſing life or death; they are likewiſe empowered to regulate the condition upon which life is granted, where it has been adjudged by their forms of proceeding to be forfeited to their laws, or cuſtomary uſages. It may juſtly then be queſtioned, whether this baniſhment is to be termed involuntary; ſince the parties, knowing what muſt be the inevitable penalty of their doing ſo or ſo, might have avoided falling under it; but by committing offences to which the penalty is annexed, they wilfully ſubject themſelves to the conſequential puniſhment, which is no other than ſlavery, perpetual or temporary, at the pleaſure of their purchaſers; to whoſe diſcretion the ſellers have left it. But although it is well known that ninety-nine out of one hundred of the ſlaves ſhipped from Africa, are now convicted felons, whoſe lives were forfeited, and whoſe puniſhment has been commuted for ſlavery to the Europeans; this fact is denied, upon a ſuppoſition, "that Africa could not have ſo many felons yearly as there "are ſlaves thus ſold." To elucidate this, let us only conſider, that Great Britain has above two thouſand convicted felons yearly; Africa does not ſell any thing near two hundred thouſand ſlaves yearly; yet that would be only in the proportion of one hundred to one; and Africa is not only one hundred, but perhaps one thouſand times larger and more populous than Great Britain. It would not be wonderful then, if from thence were to be ſhipped every year two hundred thouſand convicts; theſe in fact would be juſt ſo many lives ſaved, and rendered uſeful to the community; which advantages would be wholly loſt, were the ſlave trade univerſally given up; for as the Africans are naturally thieves and villains, though ſlavery is the certain puniſhment now on their conviction, the breaking up of the ſlave trade might indeed alter the puniſhment to that of death, but would not reform them; and that this would be the ſure conſe-

quence,

quence, may be judged from the well-atteſted fact, that if the ſlaves which the Africans bring to market are ſo old or blemiſhed, that they cannot get what they think a ſufficient price for them, they will cut their throats before the faces of the Europeans [s]. To aboliſh this trade, is therefore no other than to reſign them up to thoſe diabolical butcheries, cruelty, and carnage, which ravaged their provinces before the European commerce with them began.

It appears from the fulleſt evidence, that the provinces bordering upon the coaſt do not ſend any of their own natives into baniſhment, unleſs for atrocious crimes; the major part are brought from the interior parts, where theſe ſlaves are an eſtabliſhed article of traffic; ſome few captives of war, the reſt convicts, or criminal perſons, born in a ſtate of pure ſlavery; and over whom their owners exerciſe, agreeably to their uſage and conſtitutions, the moſt abſolute will and power.

We are informed, that the Black merchants travel many hundred miles, and collect them from the utmoſt extremities of Afric; great numbers, ſold from Angola, having been brought from the interior parts of Æthiopia, on the borders of the Indian ocean; and at Sabi, and in other provinces, inland, regular markets are held, where are to be ſold men, women, children, hogs, ſheep, goats, *&c.* in common. We find therefore, that theſe ſupplies are drawn, by a variety of channels, from every part of this extenſive continent; every province contributing a few; ſo that by the time theſe ſeveral quotas are aſſembled at the coaſt, or grand ſhipping-place, they may well amount to a very conſiderable multitude.

If a Negroe, ſo purchaſed, ſhould, upon being tranſplanted into a country where freedom is truly underſtood, aſpire to get free from that bondage in which he has always lived, or to which the judgement of his ſociety has decreed him; I acknowledge there are no means of preventing his attempts, but by an exertion of *force*. Few men (except thoſe Africans who live in their own country in a ſtate of ſervility) are without the deſire of enlargement. Theſe Africans know not what freedom is, until they enter our colonies; and therefore can have no paſſion for a ſtate, whoſe qualities they are ignorant of. In regard to other countries, and other men, the laws of

[s] Treatiſe on the Trade from Great Britain to Africa, 1773.

different

different ſtates, aware of this *furor* for liberty, have taken care to lay reſtraints upon it. In England, for example, the common labourers are obliged, by force of penal inſtitutions, to remain content with a very limited portion of liberty. The felons baniſhed to America would ſoon evade their ſentence, if not conſtrained to obedience by ſuperior ſtrength. Without this curb, no man would ſuffer himſelf to be deprived of his perſonal freedom for debt; no ſeaman would ſubmit to be preſſed, no ſoldier to be retained in the ſervice, no highwayman to be hanged. A labourer in England never conſented to the laws which impoſe reſtrictions upon him; but there is in every government a certain ſupreme controuling power, included in the ſocial compact, having the energy of law, or publiſhed and declared as the law of the land; by which every member of the community, high and low, rich and poor, is reſpectively bound: it is in truth an aſſociation of the opulent and the good, for better preſerving their acquiſitions, againſt the poor and the wicked. For want, complicated with miſery and vice, generally ſeeks relief by plundering from thoſe who are better provided. An African is as much bound by this ſupreme power, as the Engliſh labourer.

If then every African ſtate has from the earlieſt ages, as far as we can trace, not only tolerated a property in men, but aſſerted and exerciſed a right of ſelling their criminals, ſlaves of war, and native ſlaves, to any one that would buy them, in this transfer is implied as much right of property in the vendee, as in the vender: no one queſtions in that country, not even the criminals and ſlaves themſelves, this right of ſelling, and acquiring a property; it is univerſally acknowledged; nor is the will of the party ſold, ever conſulted; he admits the vender's right, as part of the law or uſage of his ſociety; and this precludes all idea of *illegal dureſs*, and proves that the right of perſonal property over ſuch, as are purchaſed out of a ſtate of pure ſlavery, is lawfully continued to the ſubſequent owners.

No one doubts, but that every contract made in Afric for the purchaſe of a ſlave, is there underſtood by the three parties, the buyer, the ſeller, and the perſon ſold, to be perfectly firm and valid; the one knows what he buys, the other what he ſells, and the third, that his ſervices are thus become tranſlated to his new owner; he is conſcious likewiſe, that he himſelf would acquire the ſame right,

ſhould he ever become a ſlave-holder; accordingly we are told, that in certain provinces, the ſlaves are permitted to grow rich enough to become themſelves the buyers and proprietors of ſlaves. The commencement of this bondage therefore in Afric is ſo very far from being illegal, that (reſpecting the laws and cuſtoms of that continent) it is univerſally admitted and ſanctified by publick notoriety, eſtabliſhed uſage, and the general full conſent of all the inhabitants. Surely, a voyage from Afric to any other country, where this claim of property is continued, cannot diſſolve the bargain.

In regard to captives of war, ſold as ſlaves, it appears that they come under that ſtate by an act of their own, which cannot be deemed otherwiſe than voluntary. It is evident, from the hiſtory we have of the Negroe ſtates, that the moſt potent among them cannot pretend to be enſured from ſlavery; for it may become the lot of every one that ventures a battle. It is conſiſtent with every maxim of equity, reaſon, and juſtice, that a perſon reduced to this claſs, to which he intended reducing his conqueror, does (on the principle of enſlaving, or of being enſlaved) ſubmit knowingly and voluntarily to the event. Among Chriſtian princes at war with each other, *Grotius* obſerves, that this practice of enſlaving priſoners has entirely ceaſed. But ſtill ſome ſhadow remains among them of the original power, which the victors exerciſed over their captives. Their perſonal liberty is reſtrained, until they either bind themſelves not to reſume arms, or until a valuable conſideration is paid for their enlargement; this conſiſts either of a pecuniary ranſom, or an exchange of man for man, which is the ſame as giving value for value. It is ſaid, that a Negroe chieftain ſpares the life of his captive, which ſhews (according to the civilians) that he is under no abſolute neceſſity of killing him. But who is to be judge of this neceſſity, the civilians or the chieftain? This proves only a commutation of the mode, by which the chieftain ſeeks to be rid of, and to deprive his enemy of further capacity to do him hurt. His rage and his fears uſed formerly to meet ſatisfaction by two ways, either by putting him to cruel death, or by holding him in ſtrict bondage; theſe both ſecured him from future attacks. If he ſpared his life for a time, it was only to make him drag on a miſerable exiſtence, under continual hard treatment; and by a lingering miſery

adminiſter more zeſt to implacable vengeance. This was the cuſtom before the Europeans viſited the coaſt. But this trade diverted the thirſt of blood, and the refinements of malice, into the love of gain; and now the practice of baniſhment not only gratifies this powerful incentive, but conſults their ſecurity equally well as the antient mode, by removing their enemies, and effectually preventing their repetition of hoſtility.

They, as well as the Europeans, conſider their priſoner as one who is to be redeemed with a price. They hold his body as their abſolute property; and the priſoner, from the moment of his captivity, as well as before he was made a priſoner, knows the full latitude of that power; he is conſcious there is a price fixed upon his head; if he is redeemed from death by his countrymen, he is ſenſible that he becomes juſtly their debtor, and no leſs ſo if, his countrymen refuſing to ranſom him, he is redeemed by others. We form an erroneous idea of the Negroes, if we ſuppoſe that they prefer death to life; or that, upon the choice being offered, they would not rather be perpetual ſervants to a man of tolerable humanity, than be mangled and butchered by their inhuman conquerors. But without entering into the ſubtle diſtinctions of civilians, which would lead us too far, it is certain, that the Negroe ſtates at preſent encounter with each other, with a view chiefly to acquire as many ſlaves as they can: ſlaves being their real wealth, whether retained for their own uſe, ſold to other Negroe ſtates, or to foreigners; and all parties among them well underſtanding this to be, if not the motive, at leaſt the ſure iſſue, of all the wars in which they engage, *they* cannot be ſaid to ſuffer injuſtice who meet with that fate, which they either deſign for others, or have reaſon to expect themſelves.

It is ſaid, that many are *kidnapped* into our plantations. This however is a fact which wants to be proved. The trade is not now to be eſtimated by the manner in which it was originally carried on (when irregular rovers of many nations made deſcents upon the coaſt), but as a regularly conducted, and eſtabliſhed plan. Our acts of parliament, and the African company, ſtrictly prohibit the buying any *panyard* or ſtolen Negroe, under ſevere penalties; and the ſlaves bought by the factories always undergo a review of the chief men of the place, to prevent any ſuch being ſhipped off; their intereſt

makes this caution neceſſary, becauſe very diſagreeable conſequences might enſue to the trade, if it ſhould be neglected; for, many years ago, when any violences of this nature were practiſed, they not only put a ſtop to commerce at the particular place where they happened, but alarmed the neighbouring diſtricts; and ſuch injuries were uſually retaliated upon innocent navigators, who afterwards touched there, and were often ſurprized and murthered by the natives. Almoſt every act of this ſort, perhaps, has thus been atoned for at the price of blood; and it is therefore highly improbable that, under theſe circumſtances, any ſuch theſts can at preſent be committed; nor would any planter knowingly purchaſe Negroes obtained in that ſurreptitious manner, through a juſt fear, that they would either ſhorten their lives with pining after their friends and country, or take every opportunity of eloping from him; events which he has not equal reaſon to expect from exiles, whom their country has renounced, and vomited forth.

Baniſhment being now ſubſtituted throughout moſt part of the Negroe territory in Afric, in place of death; it is not ſurprizing, that the convicts and captives entertain horrid notions of it, and often ſtruggle for relief before they quit the coaſt. Many of them, it is probable, when they have committed faults, were threatened to be ſold to the Europeans; and this menace may be often uſed, as the name of Marlborough was by women in France, to frighten their children into good behaviour. Perceiving that this is the general courſe of puniſhment, inflicted on very capital crimes, they naturally apprehend it to be a moſt ſevere and cruel penalty. This apprehenſion muſt dwell upon their minds the more, as they remain ignorant of the fate which has attended the many other thouſand exiles, their predeceſſors, none of whom return to tell the tale; ſo that, no doubt, their imaginations paint the change in the moſt terrific colours. Theſe prejudices are ſtrengthened by the neceſſity there is for treating them as condemned criminals and victims, from the time of their firſt delivery into the hands of the Negroe merchants, by whom they are conducted through the country tied together with thongs to prevent their eſcaping; at the factory they are ſhackled for the like reaſon, and on board ſhip they meet with the like treatment. Theſe precautions are injurious to their health,

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and conſequently to the intereſt of the traders; but they ſeem inevitable. The many acts of violence they have committed, by murdering whole crews, and deſtroying ſhips, when they had it left in their power to do ſo, have made this rigour wholly chargeable on their own bloody and malicious diſpoſition, which calls for the ſame confinement as if they were wolves or wild boars.

Several of the Negroes imported into our colonies, having been queſtioned, as ſoon as they had learned Engliſh enough to be underſtood, what opinion they had conceived in Afric of their future deſtination among the white people; it appeared from their anſwer, that ſome of theſe poor wretches believe that they are bought in order to be fattened, roaſted, and eaten. Others ſuppoſe, that the Europeans buy them to make gunpowder of their bones; and *Du Pratz* ſays, that the French Negroes imbibe a notion from their infancy, that the white men buy them to drink their blood; which, he tells us, is owing to this; that when the firſt Negroes ſaw the Europeans drink red wine, they imagined it was blood; ſo that nothing but experience can eradicate theſe falſe terrors: but as none of the ſlaves, who have had that experience, ever return to their own country, ſo the ſame prejudices continue to ſubſiſt on the coaſt of Guiney, where they are purchaſed. Some, who are ſtrangers to the manner of thinking among the Negroes, imagine, that this can be of no bad conſequence. But there are many examples of the contrary, eſpecially if the Negroes, on their firſt arrival, meet with no other ſlave who can talk their dialect, and quiet their fears; for theſe have often cauſed ſome to hang or drown themſelves, and others to run away.

To theſe prejudices may be aſcribed the reluctance they ſo often manifeſt, on leaving Afric. They who are ſold for heinous crimes, as well as others who are ſold for trivial faults, or perhaps no fault at all, are equally ſuſceptible of theſe apprehenſions. The merely leaving their country, can work no ſuch effect on the minds of thoſe who are ſenſible that, if they had remained in it, or ſhould return to it again, they muſt inevitably ſuffer death. *Snelgrave* mentions, that when he was on the coaſt, in 1730, the king of Old Calabar, falling ſick, cauſed (by advice of his *marbuts*) a child about ten months old to be ſacrificed to his fetiſhe, or divinity, for recovery. Snelgrave ſaw the child, after it was killed, hung up on the bough of a tree, and a

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live cock tied to it, as an addition to the ſpell. Being afterwards on another voyage at the ſame place, he beheld the ſame king ſitting on a ſtool under a ſhady tree, and near him a little boy tied by the leg to a ſtake driven into the ground, covered with flies and other vermin, and two *marbuts* ſtanding by. On enquiry he learnt, it was intended to be ſacrificed that night to their god *Egbo*, for his majeſty's proſperity. Snelgrave redeemed the child at the king's own price, and carrying his bargain on board ſhip, found that this infant's mother had been ſold to him the very day before; whoſe joy on thus meeting again with her ſon, ſo unexpectedly reſcued from the brink of ſlaughter, he pathetically deſcribes; adding, that the ſtory coming to be known among all the Blacks on board, it diſpelled their fears, and impreſſed them with ſo favourable an opinion of the white men, that although he had three hundred in all, they gave him not the leaſt diſturbance during the voyage. When their prejudices were diſſipated by ſo ſtriking an example of humanity ſhewn to a Negroe, they perceived the Whites were not ſuch bugbears as they had been induced to believe, and grew happy and peaceable, on finding that a white maſter was likely to be more merciful towards them than a black one.

The objection, that many die in tranſportation to the colonies, does not bear againſt the trade itſelf, but againſt ſome defect or impropriety in the mode of conducting it. A ſimilar objection may lie againſt cooping up debtors or other priſoners in a cloſe unwholeſome jail; ſending convicts to America huddled together in ſmall veſſels; cramming ſoldiers into inconvenient tranſport ſhips; or impreſſed men into cloſe tenders, or ill-conſtructed ſhips of war; by all which means vaſt multitudes have periſhed, without any bead-roll taken of their number, though, it is probable, the liſt would run ſhockingly high. To what end are the contrivances of ventilators, &c. but the prevention or diminution of this mortality? But the mortality is *fully evinced* in point of fact, by the many expedients which have been recommended by humane perſons to render it leſs frequent.

The captains, I believe, to whoſe charge they are committed, are careful of their healths to the utmoſt of their power, conſiſtent with the ſafety of their own lives; their intereſt, and that of their employers, depends much upon it. But captains, and other ſeafaring men, are not often philoſophers or phyſicians; nor all as diſcerning as a

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Linde or a *Macbride*. The African merchants will, for their own ſakes, adopt every expedient that may conduce to the good health and condition of theſe cargoes [*t*]; but even with the utmoſt care it may happen, that an epidemic diſeaſe may break out during the paſſage; probably the ſmall-pox or fluxes. Accidents of this nature cannot be totally excluded; and it is ſome ſatisfaction to reflect, even in this caſe, that moſt, or all of the poor wretches, if it were not for the trade, would have met with an untimely and more painful end in their own country; it is better ſurely, that a few ſhould periſh by ſuch caſualties, than that all ſhould die by the hand of an executioner. That in the native Africans ſale of Negroes to our ſhipping, various frauds have been committed, and perſons improperly and unjuſtly ſold; that merchants of ſhips have been inhuman; that planters have been wantonly cruel, may be ſuppoſed from the enormity of crimes ſeen every day in the moſt civilized ſtates. To theſe abuſes, efficacious remedies ſhould be applied; and the African merchants will own the higheſt obligations to government, if by ſalutary laws it can alleviate any diſtreſſes ſuffered by thoſe, whoſe labour ſupports our colonies, and enriches our mother country. But, to ſay the truth, it muſt be confeſſed, that the difference between the condition of the Negroes in general in Africa, and in our colonies, is ſo great, and ſo much happier in our colonies, that they themſelves are very ſenſible of it. I once interrogated a Negroe, who had lived ſeveral years in Jamaica, on this ſubject. I aſked him if he had no deſire of re-viſiting his native country?

[*t*] The benefit of ventilators in tranſport ſhips has been found very great. In a Liverpool ſhip which had ventilators, not one of 800 ſlaves died, except only a child, born in the voyage; but in ſeveral other ſlave ſhips without ventilators, there died 30, 40, 50, or 60 in a ſhip.

Capt. Thompſon, of the Succeſs tranſport, with 200 *preſſed men*, delivered out of gaol with diſtempers on them, were all landed ſafe in Georgia (1749), though they had been detained near a twelvemonth on board; which *uncommon good luck* the captain attributed to his ventilators.

Capt. Crammond, with 392 ſlaves bound to Buenos Ayres, carried all of them ſafe by the ſame means, except 12 only, who were ill with a flux when they came on board. In the year 1753, ventilators being put on board the French veſſels in the ſlave trade at Bourdeaux, it was found that by the uſe of them, inſtead of one-fourth loſs in long paſſages from Africa to their plantations, the loſs ſeldom exceeded a twentieth; and one veſſel ſaved 308 out of 312 ſlaves, in ſpight of moſt tedious calms, and a lingering paſſage. So in the Nova Scotia tranſport ſhips, 12 to 1 more were found to die in unventilated than in ventilated ſhips. *Hales, on Ventilators.*

Theſe examples will prove, that the ſhip owners of both nations have not been wanting in the exerciſe of means for preſerving the lives and health of the ſlaves tranſported from Africa; but it appears obvious, that Engliſh convicts and recruits ſent over the water were ſubject to equal mortality, till the like means were uſed for their preſervation.

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his reply was to the following effect; that he would much rather ſtay, live, and end his days, where he was. That he could not live ſo comfortably in his own country; for in Jamaica he had food and cloathing as much as he wanted, a good houſe, and his family about him; but that in Africa he would be deſtitute and helpleſs, without any ſecurity to his life, or any of thoſe enjoyments which now rendered it comfortable. Although ſome few of theſe poor wretches may have inexorable tyrants for their maſters, who may treat them worſe perhaps than any perſon of humanity would treat a brute; yet, in general, the caſe is very different, and one thing is ſelf-evident, that it being ſo oppoſite to the intereſt of any planter thus barbarouſly to treat, or inhumanly to work his ſlaves to death; if ever ſuch inſtances of cruelty happen, the owner is, without doubt, either a fool or a madman.

Many of the Negroes in this iſland, the tradeſmen, and ſuch as are uſually called Houſe Negroes, live as well, or perhaps much better, in point of meat and drink, than the poorer claſs of people do in England; and not one of them, even to the plantation labourer, goes through half the work; for even thoſe who cultivate the lands, are not without indulgence, and frequent intervals of recreation.

If, indeed, we ſuppoſe a man bred up and habituated to a ſtate of *pure ſlavery* among numberleſs others in the ſame predicament, ſubject to the vileſt ſpecies of bondage; that his life, his perſon, his food, and acquiſitions, are all at the abſolute and arbitrary diſpoſal of his owner, as much as if he were a meer ox or ſheep; and that he is in hourly peril of being damnified in ſome one or other of them, by the wanton cruelty or caprice of his owner: let us then imagine this unhappy wretch conveyed into another region, and among a people very different from the laſt, in government, manners, and diſpoſition; where his ſervitude is tempered with lenity, where he is permitted to enjoy a little property undiſturbed, where his life, his body, his food, and raiment, are protected and aſſured to him by public regulations; can we heſitate one moment to ſay, that his yoke is now become eaſy, his burthen light? and ſhall we not conclude, that ſuch a being, though perhaps averſe at firſt to the change, through erroneous impreſſions, and utter ignorance of his future deſtiny, will ſoon diſcern the more happy circumſtances of his new condition, and really think, that, compared with the paſt, his preſent ſervices are *perfect freedom*.

In this light, if we are impartial, we ought to examine the ſubject; not uſing ſlavery as an indefinite term, but conſidering how far juſt our particular idea or definition of it is, when applied to this or that ſet of men, who live in a different part of the world; ſince what is deemed ſlavery in one place, is far from being reputed ſo in another: a Briton therefore, who has always lived in fruition of a rational freedom, muſt not judge of every other man's feelings by his own; becauſe they who have never experienced the ſame Britiſh freedom, or any degree near to it, cannot poſſibly hold the ſame opinion of ſlavery that a Briton does; for they know not how to diſtinguiſh it; and with ſuch, the ſervitude they live under, has neither horrors nor hardſhip.

Among men of ſo ſavage a diſpoſition, as that they ſcarcely differ from the wild beaſts of the wood in the ferocity of their manners, we muſt not think of introducing thoſe poliſhed rules and refinements, which have drawn their origin and force from the gradual civilization of other nations that once were barbarous. Such men muſt be managed at firſt as if they were beaſts; they muſt be tamed, before they can be treated like men. Ridiculous is it, when the argument regards ſuch men, to ſay, that they do not come into our colony-ſervitude under *regular compacts!* True, they do not; for, if they did, they would no longer be ſlaves, in the uſual acceptation of the term. As ſlaves, they come into the colony from their native country; but the difference lies in this, they were ſlaves, abject ſlaves in Africa, and ſo would have continued, with infinitely greater diſadvantages than they experience in the colony. In the former, they were ſubject to all the ſeverities of the moſt brutal and licentious tyranny, under men living in ſomething worſe than a ſtate of nature. In the colony, the owner of the ſlave receives him with a tacit agreement that his ſervices ſhall be requited with neceſſary food and cloathing; a juſt proportion and interval of reſt; ſome leiſure too for his own particular emoluments; a weather-tight and convenient habitation; a proſpect of many temporary and occaſional douceurs; and even of an independence, if his deſerts ſhould claim it. Add to this, that his life is protected by law, and that his owner holds not an unlimited power over him. He enjoys a more narrowed degree of liberty than ſome ſubjects in Britain, but in ſeveral reſpects a much larger extent than ſome others. Under

the penal laws of Jamaica, he is (in general) entitled to equitable modes of juſtice, trial, and judgement; from other laws he derives protection, immunities, and emoluments. In his habitation, cloathing, ſubſiſtence, and poſſeſſions, he is far happier and better provided for than moſt of the poor labourers, and meaner claſs, in Britain. It is not therefore a mere ſound, importing ſlavery, that makes men ſlaves; the Negroes here are not the more ſo for the title; although the common ideas of uninformed perſons lead them to think of their condition in the very worſt ſenſe which that term admits. In truth, on many plantations, and under mild maſters, if they receive not hire in money, they receive an equivalent in the neceſſaries and conveniencies of life, and the peaceable enjoyment of their private acquiſitions; and, what is ſtill better, good uſage, and protection from injuries; which are a more current coin amongſt the honeſt and free-minded, than money itſelf.

It does not follow, becauſe theſe ſlaves are delivered into the hands of Europeans by the Negroe merchants or potentates, to be dealt with as they think proper, that the Europeans aſſert any power of inflicting cruelty upon them; or believe, there is any merit in abſtaining from miſuſage of theſe poor wretches; who might poſſibly have been put to death, if they had not redeemed them.

In fact, the moſt humane of the Europeans, among whom I ſurely may eſteem the Britiſh, hold them only in what Grotius and other authors diſtinguiſh as a legitimate, equitable ſpecies of ſervitude; including a ſort of compact, by which (abſtracted from the *right* acquired by *purchaſe*) one man owes to another perpetual ſervices for the preſervation of his life, for his ſuſtenance, and other neceſſaries; and this is founded on the principles of reaſon. The maſter does not extend his power over his ſlave beyond the bounds of natural equity, but a reciprocal obligation connects them; protection and maintenance on the one hand, fidelity and ſervice on the other; this obligation has nothing in it oppreſſive, but, on the contrary, gives the ſlave a certainty of food and conveniencies; which others often want, who hire out their labours by the day. To this effect ſays alſo Gronovius, "foraſmuch as the maſter is bound to give food to his ſlave, ſo is the ſlave bound to make a return or retribution by his labour; this duty is equally permanent on both ſides:" and this is the kind of ſervitude exiſting

exiſting in Jamaica; the laws of which impoſe ſuch an obligation upon every owner of ſlaves, and puniſh all who fail of conforming to it.

From the ſurvey I have taken of the African Negroes, and the nature of the ſlavery exiſting among them, it will not, I think, be deduced, that the people they export undergo more hardſhip or injury by the tranſition, than they would have ſuffered in their own country.

The captives of war, inſtead of being inhumanly ſlaughtered, paſs into a ſtate of ſervitude, it is true; but it is ſuch a ſtate, that, under Chriſtian maſters, who, I venture to ſay, are not ſuch tyrants as the African ſlaveholders, they enjoy indulgence proportioned to, and often far tranſcending, the merits of their behaviour; the comforts, even I may add, the pleaſures of life; and not a few obtain their freedom.

Such as are baniſhed for crimes and miſdemeanors, have reaſon to rejoice at the ſentence; which reprieves them from ſome horrid mode of execution, and prolongs their exiſtence.

Should any be unjuſtly exiled, they may think themſelves happy in being placed beyond the reach of a cruel and ſavage government.

If they were ſlaves in their own country, or had forfeited their freedom by ſome crime, they have no right to repine at the want of it in the country to which they are driven. They were already ſlaves, and have only exchanged their owner and laws; the former, for one leſs arbitrary; the latter, for one more beneficent and gentle than they before had experience of. In general, they gain life, for death; clemency, for barbarity; comfort and convenience, for torture and miſery; food, for famine. Inſomuch that, after ſome trial of their new condition, under a maſter who in fact purſues his own intereſt beſt in treating them well, they would account it the higheſt act of inhumanity to be ſent back to their native country.

The choice of Negroes for different purpoſes requires experience, and particular attention; for there is not only ſome variety in their paſſions and bent of mind, but, from the conſtitution of their native climates and local manners, they inherit a variety of different diſtempers. The Coromantins, and many others of the Gold Coaſt ſlaves, are haughty, ferocious, and ſtubborn. The Minnahs, timid and deſponding, apt to deſtroy themſelves upon the leaſt, and often without any, provocation. The Mundingo Negroes are very ſubject to worm diſorders; the Congos to dropſies. The Ebo men are lazy, and averſe

to every laborious employment; the women performing almoſt all the work in their own country; theſe men are ſullen, and often make away with themſelves, rather than ſubmit to any drudgery: the Ebo women labour well, but are ſubject to obſtructions of the *menſtrua*, often attended with ſterility, and incurable. The Congos, Papaws, Conchas, Whidahs, and Angolas, in general, are good field labourers, but the laſt-mentioned are moſt ſtupid. The Negroes brought from Senegal are of better underſtanding than the reſt, and fitter for learning trades, and for menial domeſtic ſervices. They are good commanders over other Negroes, having a high ſpirit, and a tolerable ſhare of fidelity: but they are unfit for hard work; their bodies are not robuſt, nor their conſtitution vigorous. The delicacy of their frame, perhaps, has ſome effect on their minds, for they are eaſier diſciplined than any other of the African Blacks. The Aradas are thought to excel all the reſt in knowledge of agriculture, yet their ſkill is extremely incompetent. The Congos, and Gold Coaſt Negroes, in general, are good fiſhermen, and excel in making canoes.

It has been remarked of the Guiney Negroes, that, although they are for the greater part of ſtrong, healthy bodies, they rarely live to a determinate old age in their own country. A Negroe there of fifty is reckoned a very old man indeed; and at forty they appear debilitated. This ſhort ſpan has been attributed to their exceſſive venery: Buffon aſcribes it to polygamy; but in Egypt, and the hotter parts of Aſia, where polygamy prevails, the inhabitants are found to attain great ages. So, in Jamaica, if they are not far advanced in years when brought over, they have been known to attain to 80 and 90, or upwards; but 50 and 60 are extremely uſual.

CHAP. III.

Of the CREOLE SLAVES *and* AFRICAN NEGROES *in* JAMAICA.

THE *general* character of our Creole ſlaves may be ſummed up in the words of an old proverb, "Like maſter, like man." They are capable of being made diligent, and moderately faithful; or the reverſe, juſt as their diſpoſitions happen to be worked upon. It cannot be doubted, but the far greater part of them are more inclined to a life of idleneſs and eaſe, than a life of labour: yet the regular diſcipline

to

to which they are inured from their infancy, becomes habitual and natural to them, as it does to ſoldiers, ſailors, and ſchool-boys; and, like the latter, their principal addreſs is ſhewn in finding out their maſter's temper, and playing upon it ſo artfully as to bend it with moſt convenience to their own purpoſes. They are not leſs ſtudious in ſifting their maſter's repreſentative, the overſeer; if he is not too cunning for them, which they ſoon diſcover after one or two experiments, they will eaſily find means to over-reach him on every occaſion, and make his indolence, his weakneſs, or ſottiſhneſs, a ſure prognoſtic of ſome comfortable term of idleneſs to them: but, if they find him too intelligent, wary, and active, they leave no expedient untried, by thwarting his plans, miſunderſtanding his orders, and reiterating complaints againſt him, to ferret him out of his poſt: if this will not ſucceed, they perplex and worry him, eſpecially if he is of an impatient, fretful turn, till he grows heartily ſick of his charge, and voluntarily reſigns it. An overſeer therefore, like a premier miniſter, muſt always expect to meet with a faction, ready to oppoſe his adminiſtration, right or wrong; unleſs he will give the reins out of his hands, and ſuffer the mobility to have things their own way; which if he complies with, they will extol him to his face, contemn him in their hearts, and very ſoon bring his government into diſgrace. But ſuch a man, if he is gifted with good-nature and humanity, will eaſily get the better in every ſtruggle; for theſe are qualities which the Negroes prize in their ſuperiors above all others. Some overſeers, unleſs ſharply looked after, have been known to play the tyrant; and where this is the caſe, we cannot blame their black ſubjects for wiſhing a change, nor for their zealous endeavours to effect it. The old woman was much in the right, who prayed for the life of the tyrant Dionyſius, fearing, that if he died, ſhe might fall under the dominion of a ſucceſſor, ſtill more odious and diabolical. It would be an act of humanity, reflecting the higheſt honour on the legiſlature of Jamaica, if the gentlemen who compoſe it ſhould, in imitation of the French, promulge a code of laws and ordinances reſpecting the Negroes, more particularly in the treatment of them upon their plantations; reſtraining and puniſhing, in an exemplary manner, all ſecret practices of barbarity; that thoſe men, whoſe callous hearts are impenetrable to the feelings of human nature, may be affected in ſome degree by a dread of legal pains and penalties.

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Were this duly attended to, and proper encouragement given to informers, it would be impoſſible to act ſuch private oppreſſions often; becauſe, out of the whole poſſe of white ſervants on each plantation, there might always be ſuppoſed one or more, who, from the abhorrence of ſuch practices, if not the allurement of reward, would quickly impeach the tyrant. At the ſame time, the very apprehenſion of ſuch a conſequence would infallibly check the moſt hardened; eſpecially if, in addition to other puniſhment, the law ſhould diſqualify the offender from ever again exerciſing his profeſſion, or office, within the iſland.

If every owner of a plantation reſided upon it, there would be no cauſe for the interpoſition of legiſlative authority; but it is well known, that a great many eſtates belonging to different abſentees, and lying in diſtant parts of the iſland, are often given up to the charge of one agent only, who cannot poſſibly reſide at all, nor viſit them very frequently. Matters are then left to the diſcretion of overſeers, whoſe chief aim it is to raiſe to themſelves a character as able planters, by encreaſing the produce of the reſpective eſtates; this is too frequently attempted, by forcing the Negroes to labour beyond their abilities; of courſe they drop off, and, if not recruited inceſſantly, the gentleman ſteals away like a rat from a barn in flames, and carries the credit of great planterſhip, and vaſt crops, in his hand, to obtain advanced wages from ſome new employer in another diſtrict of the iſland. The abſentees are too often deceived, who meaſure the condition of their properties by the large remittances ſent to them for one or two years, without adverting to the heavy loſſes ſuſtained in the production of them; and they find, too late, their incomes ſuddenly abridged, and the ſinews of their eſtate waſted far below their expectation. It might be of ſervice to many of them, if they could bring themſelves to live more within bounds; be content with a moderate equal remittance, ſuch as they know is proportioned to the ſtrength of their labourers; and once, in a certain number of years, reviſit their plantations, in order to regulate their future meaſures from the plain evidence of their own eyes and ears.

When once they have ſhot beyond the mark of œconomy, and become involved in England, they grow inſenſible to every other conſideration than how to extricate themſelves; which is commonly atchieved

by exhauſting the vigour of their only ſupporters; when a little patience, retrenchment of expences, and moderate uniform crops, would probably bring about what they wiſh, without any loſs to their capital. Humanity operates here like virtue; it is its own ſure reward. It is a planter's beſt intereſt to be humane; and it is clearly moſt conducive to his honour and peace of mind.

The great Chriſtian precept "of doing unto others what we would "that they ſhould do unto us," ſpeaks pathetically to every rational breaſt; though few among us pauſe perhaps to aſk ourſelves this candid queſtion: How ſhould I wiſh to be treated, if I was in a ſtate of ſervitude, like theſe my fellow creatures? Doubtleſs we would wiſh, that our maſter might be a Chriſtian in practice, as well as principle, and render our condition as eaſy as poſſible, by a mild and compaſſionate uſage. Let every overſeer and planter then only act the part of that maſter, and not be ſeduced, by a fooliſh vanity, to plume himſelf on his happier lot, or fancy that he is created to be the tyrant, not the friend, to mankind. I ſhall not attempt to give a complete deſcription of all the cuſtoms and manners of our Creole Negroes, ſince many of them are not worth recording; and, in conſequence of their frequent intermixture with the native Africans, they differ but little in many articles.

In their tempers they are in general iraſcible, conceited, proud, indolent, laſcivious, credulous, and very artful. They are excellent diſſemblers, and ſkilful flatterers. They poſſeſs good-nature, and ſometimes, but rarely, gratitude. Their memory ſoon loſes the traces of favours conferred on them, but faithfully retains a ſenſe of injuries; this ſenſe is ſo poignant, that they have been known to diſſemble their hatred for many years, until an opportunity has preſented of retaliating; and, in taking their revenge, they ſhew a treachery, cowardice, and deliberate malice, that almoſt exceed credibility. A ſtupid inſenſibility of danger often gives them the ſpecious appearance of dauntleſs intrepidity; though, when once thoroughly made ſenſible of it, none are more arrant cowards. A blind anger, and brutal rage, with them ſtand frequently in place of manly valour. The impreſſions of fear, naturally accompanied with cunning and warineſs, make them always averſe to any other mode of engaging with an enemy, than by ambuſcades, and ſurprize; and in all their boxing matches with one

another,

another, one may obſerve their efforts directed by malice, ſo ſoon as their fury is raiſed. When they have been employed againſt the rebellious ſlaves, each party meeting in a wood, have diſperſed in an inſtant, and every man ſingled out his tree, behind which he ſheltered his perſon, and fired. After the firſt volley, one party generally fled; but, if both ſtood their ground, the next conflict was made with cutlaſſes, in the management of which they are ſurpriſingly active and ſkilful, uſing either hand alternately, as they ſee occaſion. But they would never be brought to withſtand horſe, platoons, or ſcrewed bayonets; nor to engage in an open place. When they did not ſucceed at the firſt fire, they truſted to the lightneſs of their heels, rallied at ſome diſtance, if not too cloſely purſued, and returned again to the buſh-fight. They are remarkable, like the North American Indians, for tracking in the woods; diſcerning the veſtige of the perſon, or party, of whom they are in queſt, by the turn of a dried leaf, the poſition of a ſmall twig, and other inſignificant marks, which an European would overlook; but I have known ſome white Creoles not leſs expert at this art, which they acquired, as they ſaid, by frequently ranging the woods after wild hogs, or runaways. The Negroes know each other's haunts and artifices, much better than the Whites; and, probably, form their conjectures, by reflecting which way they would ſteer their courſe, if they were purſued themſelves. In marching through a wood they walk in *enfilade*, but do not always keep ſilence. Sometimes, when engaged with cutlaſſes, they will fight very deſperately, and ſtand to it with the inſenſibility of poſts, till they almoſt hack one another to pieces, before either will ſurrender.

They are in general excellent markſmen at a ſtanding ſhot, their eye quick, and ſight ſo clear, that they ſeldom miſs; yet their viſion (as I have before remarked) is the worſt poſſible for the regular poſition of any thing. They cannot place a dining-table ſquare in a room; I have known them fail in this, after numberleſs endeavours; and it is the ſame in other things. So that ſuch as are bred carpenters and bricklayers, are often unable, after many tedious and repeated trials with the rule and plumb-line, to do a piece of work ſtraight, which an apprentice boy in England would perform with one glance of his eye in a moment. It is ſomewhat unaccountable, too, that they always mount a horſe on the off-ſide. Their ideas ſeem confined to a very

few

few objects; namely, the common occurrences of life, food, love, and dreſs: theſe are frequent themes for their dance, converſation, and muſical compoſitions.

The African, or imported Negroes, are almoſt all of them, both men and women, addicted to the moſt beſtial vices, from which it is the more difficult to reclaim them, as they are grown inveterately confirmed by habit from their very infancy. In Guiney they are taught to regard a dram, as one of the chief comforts of life; they grow up in this opinion: and I have ſeen ſome of them forcing the precious liquor down the throats of their children, or *pickaninnies*, with the ſame eagerneſs that indulgent mothers in England ſhew, when they cram their little favourite with ſugar-plumbs. In thieving they are thorough adepts, and perfectly accompliſhed. To ſet eyes on any thing, and endeavour to poſſeſs it, is with them intirely the ſame. From this cauſe it happens, that, upon their being brought into the plantations, they are ſoon engaged in quarrels, which ſometimes are attended with fatal conſequences; for, when they are prompted to revenge, they purſue it againſt one another with ſo much malevolence and cruelty, that the puniſhment exacted is generally beyond all proportion greater than the offence can poſſibly merit. It is therefore moſt prudent for a planter to wink at petty offences againſt himſelf, but to chaſtiſe all thoſe who are found guilty of doing injury to the perſon, or property, of their fellow Blacks; by which means he will be the conſtant referee and umpire of their diſputes; and, by accommodating them agreeably to juſtice and right, prevent his Negroes from having recourſe to open violence, or ſecret vengeance, againſt each other; which are too often perpetrated with a blind and unrelenting hatred; in purſuit whereof many have been killed outright, others maimed, and not a few deſtroyed by the ſlower operation of ſome poiſon.

The Creoles, in general, are more exempt from ebriety, that parent of many crimes! I have known ſeveral, who rejected every ſort of ſpirituous liquor with loathing, and would drink nothing but water. If the Negroes could be reſtrained intirely from the uſe of ſpirits in their youth, they would probably never become very fond of dram-drinking afterwards. I have often thought, that the lower order of white ſervants on the plantations exhibit ſuch deteſtable pictures of

drunkenneſs, that the better ſort of Creole Blacks have either conceived a diſguſt at a practice that occaſions ſuch odious effects, or have refrained from it out of a kind of pride, as if they would appear ſuperior to, and more reſpectable than, ſuch beaſtly white wretches. Be this as it may, there is nothing ſurely can more degrade a man, than this voluntary rejection of his rational faculties; deprived of which, he ſinks below the loweſt rank of brutes. The Creole Blacks differ much from the Africans, not only in manners, but in beauty of ſhape, feature, and complexion. They hold the Africans in the utmoſt contempt, ſtiling them, "ſalt-water Negroes," and "Guiney "birds;" but value themſelves on their own pedigree, which is reckoned the more honourable, the further it removes from an African, or tranſmarine anceſtor. On every well-governed plantation they eye and reſpect their maſter as a father, and are extremely vain in reflecting on the connexion between them. Their maſter's character and repute caſts, they think, a kind of ſecondary light upon themſelves, as the moon derives her luſtre from the ſun; and the importance he acquires, in his ſtation of life, adds, they imagine, to their own eſtimation among their neighbour Negroes on the adjacent eſtates. Their attachment to the deſcendants of old families, the anceſtors of which were the maſters and friends of their own progenitors, is remarkably ſtrong and affectionate. This veneration appears hereditary, like clanſhips in the Scotch Highlands; it is imbibed in their infancy, or founded perhaps in the idea of the relation which ſubſiſted between, and connected them in, the bond of fatherly love and authority on the one ſide, and a filial reverence and obedience on the other; nor is this effect, however it ariſes, unmixed with ſomewhat of gratitude, for the favours and indulgencies conferred on their predeceſſors; ſome fruits of which they themſelves have probably enjoyed by deviſe; for, even among theſe ſlaves, as they are called, the black grandfather, or father, directs in what manner his money, his hogs, poultry, furniture, cloaths, and other effects and acquiſitions, ſhall deſcend, or be diſpoſed of, after his deceaſe. He nominates a ſort of truſtees, or executors, from the neareſt of kin, who diſtribute them among the legatees, according to the will of the teſtator, without any moleſtation or interruption, moſt often without the enquiry, of their maſter; though ſome of theſe Negroes have been known to poſſeſs from 50*l.* to 200*l.*

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at their death; and few among them, that are at all induſtrious and frugal, lay up leſs than 20 or 30*l*. For in this iſland they have the greateſt part of the ſmall ſilver circulating among them, which they gain by ſale of their hogs, poultry, fiſh, corn, fruits, and other commodities, at the markets in town and country.

They in general love their children, though ſometimes they treat them with a rigour bordering upon cruelty. They ſeem alſo to feel a patriotic affection for the iſland which has given them birth; they rejoice at its proſperity, lament its loſſes, and intereſt themſelves in the affairs and politics that are the talk of the day. Whoever has ſtudied their diſpoſition and ſentiments attentively, will be of opinion, that, with mild and humane uſage, they are more likely to become the defenders than the deſtroyers of their country. As a large ſhare of vanity and pride may be obſerveable among them, ſo the better ſort appear ſenſible to ſhame. I have known a very conſiderable number of them on a plantation kept in due decorum for ſeveral years, with no other diſcipline than keen and well-timed rebukes; and my obſervations have tended to confirm me in opinion, that our Creole Blacks (for I ſpeak of them only) may, with a very moderate inſtruction in the Chriſtian rules, be kept in good order, without the whip. Raſh correction has often rendered them ſtubborn, negligent, and perverſe, when they might have been influenced chearfully to perform every thing required of them, by judiciouſly working on their vanity; by beſtowing ſeaſonable rewards and encomiums on their praiſe-worthy conduct, and by ſtinging reproaches for their miſdemeanors. There are many artifices to be practiſed with the greateſt ſucceſs; ſuch as, degrading for a while from ſome employment eſteemed among them a poſt of diſtinction, and authority; holding them up to the ridicule of their fellow Blacks, and the like. What they endure, upon theſe occaſions, has nothing in it of that ſenſe of vile abaſement, which corporal inflictions are apt to produce; and whenever corporal puniſhment is carried to extreme, it is ſure to excite a hearty and indelible contempt and abhorrence for the inflictor.

The force of ridicule, on the contrary, brings upon them the cutting ſneers of the other Negroes, and always turns the edge of their contempt and rage from their maſter, to themſelves; and hence they may ſmart more ſeverely under ſuch reprehenſion, than they would

under the ſcourge. Every overſeer has not the patience, or talents, to qualify him for this mode of governing, but all ſhould endeavour at it; and, for this purpoſe, it is neceſſary for each of them to ſtudy well the temper of every Creole Black under his particular command, to learn ſomewhat of their private hiſtory, and never betray any ſign of heat or paſſion in his admonitions.

The firſt and chief requiſite therefore is to know how to command his own temper; for, without having gained this advantage, he is totally unfit to be a manager of other mens; but having once gained this point, he need not doubt of paſſing through a ſucceſsful adminiſtration.

It is certain, that the Negroes, ſo far from ſuffering any inconvenience, are found to labour with moſt alacrity and eaſe to themſelves in the very hotteſt part of the day. The chillneſs of the morning air in this iſland ſeems to caſt a damp upon their ſpirits, and renders them for a time feeble and torpid; one ſees them creeping ſlowly out of their huts, bundled up with thick cloathing, ſhivering, and uneaſy; but as the day advances, they grow more and more active and alert. The openneſs of their pores gives a free tranſpiration to bad humours; and they would enjoy robuſt health, under the hardeſt toils expedient here, if they were leſs prone to debauch, and venereal exceſs. They love warmth in the night, and never ſleep without a fire in their hut; the watchmen too, in the open air, lay themſelves upon a board, by a rouzing fire, and ſometimes ſo near, as to ſcorch their very ſkins; for it is to be obſerved, that theſe nocturnal guards, like thoſe of London, after a comfortable repaſt in the evening, have no objection to amuſe themſelves, for the remainder of the night, with a dog's ſleep. They account ſhoes and ſtockings very uſeleſs incumbrances; and the ſoals of their feet, by conſtant expoſure, acquire the calloſity and firmneſs of a hoof; but ſome, who are to take a journey over very rocky roads, prepare themſelves with ſandals, cut from an ox-hide, which they bind on with thongs. They dread rain upon their bare heads almoſt as much as the native Africans; perhaps, their woolly fleece would abſorb it in large quantity, and give them cold. When they are caught in a ſhower, it is very common to ſee them pull off ſhirt and jacket, and ſometimes their breeches or trowſers, all which they wrap up in a bale, and place upon their heads. They are fond

of

of covering this part of their bodies at all times, twiſting one or two handkerchiefs round it, in the turban form, which, they ſay, keeps them cool, in the hotteſt ſunſhine. The ſame cuſtom prevails among the Eaſtern nations, and probably from the like reaſon; even the free Mulatto women here think themſelves not compleatly dreſt without this tiara, and buy the fineſt cambric or muſlin for the purpoſe, if their pockets can afford it. The Creole white ladies, till lately, adopted the practice ſo far, as never to venture a journey, without ſecuring their complexions with a brace of handkerchiefs; one of which being tied over the forehead, the other under the noſe, and covering the lower part of the face, formed a compleat helmet. The Negroes uſe their heads, inſtead of their ſhoulders, or backs, for carrying all ſorts of burthens; with a dried plantain leaf they plait a circular pad, which they call a *cotta*; upon this, the load reſts, and preſerves their wool from being rubbed off. This cuſtom enlarges, and ſtrengthens, the muſcles of their necks, in an amazing degree; and it is really wonderful to obſerve, what prodigious loads they are able to carry in this manner, with the greateſt apparent eaſe; inſomuch, that they will even run with them, and affirm, at the ſame time, with a laugh, that they feel no weight; perhaps, the perpendicular poſition of the load, and the equilibre which, from habit, they know well how to give it, produce this facility of carriage, while the incumbent preſſure is diminiſhed in proportion to the velocity of their progreſſive movement under it; this, however, is no more than happens every day with the London porters, ſome of whom will carry 300lb. weight. The cotta ſerves likewiſe for another purpoſe; on the voluntary divorce of man and wife, it is cut in two, and each party takes half; as the circle was a ſymbol of eternity, and the ring of perpetual love or fidelity, ſo this ceremony, perhaps, is meant to expreſs the eternal ſeverance of their mutual affection. Their diet conſiſts generally of pulſe, herbs, plantains, maize, yams, or other roots, prepared with pork, and fiſh, freſh or ſalt; ſalted beef, herrings, jerked hog, or fowls. Salt fiſh they are extremely fond of, and the more it ſtinks, the more dainty; they make likewiſe a kind of pudding, with pounded maize; and ſometimes of the ſweet potatoe, which they call a potatoe-pone; their broths, or pots (as they are termed), are well ſeaſoned with the country peppers; *ochra* is a principal ingredient; and they are extremely

extremely reliſhing, and nutritive; but they come doubly recommended by the cleanlineſs of preparation, their cooks uſually waſhing their hands three or four times, whilſt they are about it; I mean the Creole Blacks, and better ſort of the Africans; for as to the reſt, they feed with all the beſtiality peculiar to the genuine breed of Guiney. Cane rats are much in eſteem, and, when roaſted and ſtuffed, are ſaid to have a delicate flavour; but, to ſee them impaled before the fire with their goggle eyes and whiſkers, is enough to turn an European ſtomach; the Creoles waſh their mouths, as ſoon as they awake in the morning. About noon is their uſual time of bathing, in ſome river open to the ſun. They firſt wet their bodies all over, then roll in the ſand, and plunge into the water; this method ſerves to cleanſe their ſkins, as well as ſoap, or a fleſh bruſh.

They are all married *(in their way)* to a huſband, or wife, *pro tempore*, or have other family connexions, in almoſt every pariſh throughout the iſland; ſo that one of them, perhaps, has ſix or more huſbands, or wives, in ſeveral different places; by this means they find ſupport, when their own lands fail them; and houſes of call and refreſhment, whenever they are upon their travels. Thus, a general correſpondence is carried on, all over the iſland, amongſt the Creole Blacks; and moſt of them become intimately acquainted with all affairs of the white inhabitants, public as well as private. In their houſes, they are many of them very neat and cleanly, piquing themſelves on having tolerably good furniture, and other conveniencies. In their care for their children, ſome are remarkably exemplary. A Negroe has been known ſo earneſt and ſincere in the tuition of his child, as to pay money out of his own pocket for ſmith's work, to keep a truant ſon employed, during his apprenticeſhip to that buſineſs, that he might not become remiſs in acquiring a proper knowledge of it, for want of work. They exercife a kind of ſovereignty over their children, which never ceaſes during life; chaſtizing them ſometimes with much ſeverity; and ſeeming to hold filial obedience in much higher eſtimation than conjugal fidelity; perhaps, becauſe of the whole number of wives or huſbands, one only is the object of particular ſteady attachment; the reſt, although called wives, are only a ſort of occaſional concubines, or drudges, whoſe aſſiſtance the huſband claims in the culture of his land, ſale of his produce, and ſo on; rendering

to

to them reciprocal acts of friendſhip, when they are in want. They laugh at the idea of a marriage, which ties two perſons together indiſſolubly. Their notions of love are, that it is free and tranſitory.

This is well known to their white gallants, for even the authority of a maſter muſt bend to the more abſolute empire of Cupid; nor is the ſable beauty (except a very common hack) to be won, without ſome previous addreſs and courtſhip; in the progreſs of which the powerful charms of gold muſt generally lend their aid, to make the moſt paſſionate ſuitor ſucceſsful; theſe belles allowing nothing more of their perſons than their head, hands, and feet, to be at their maſter's diſpoſal. Their propenſity to lazineſs is chiefly conſpicuous among the domeſtic ſervants, who are never more happy than when they can find a commodious poſt, pillar, or corner of a houſe, to loll againſt, whilſt they are taking a nap. I have even ſeen them fall faſt aſleep, whilſt attending at table, behind a gentleman's chair. Like ſome other animals, they are fond of caterwauling all night, and dozing all the day. If they indulge in ſleep at night, one muſt ſuppoſe they are very little diſturbed with anxious thoughts. Their repoſe is perfectly ſound; inſomuch that ſometimes they are rouzed with the utmoſt difficulty; the loudeſt clap of thunder, or the report of a cannon at their ear, would not wake them. On the plantations I have ſeen ſome, but they are moſtly Africans, ſo exquiſitely indolent, that they have contracted very bad ulcers on their feet, by ſuffering multitudes of *chiegos* to neſtle and generate there, rather than give themſelves the trouble of picking them out.

Although ſome domeſtics are very truſty ſervants; the greater number are ſo, merely becauſe they have no fit inducement to be otherwiſe, or no means of bettering their condition. But when occaſion offers, of ſerving themſelves by a roguiſh ſhift, adieu fidelity! You may confide a ſum of money to a Negroe's charge, and he will deliver it punctually; but, beware of leaving any ſum caſually in his way, for he would not be able to reſiſt the temptation of ſtealing it; his fidelity, in the former caſe, ariſes from his deſire to impreſs you with the beſt opinion poſſible of his honeſt dealing, in order that you may afford him more convenient opportunities of pilfering from you, without immediate detection. It reflects no great honour on their diſpoſition, that the freed Blacks and Mulattos are obſerved to treat their

their ſlaves with extraordinary harſhneſs, and ſometimes even barbarity; a ſure characteriſtic of a vindictive, baſe, and cowardly mind.

The domeſtics are remarkably adroit in the negociation of all intrigues, and affairs of gallantry; and ſhew a peculiar delight on being entruſted *plenipos*, to aſſiſt at theſe congreſſes of love. Upon theſe occaſions, the brain of a Spaniſh enamorato, or an Italian cecifbeo, cannot be more fruitful of expedients. The ſuperſtition of theſe Blacks is carried to very ſingular lengths, although the more poliſhed among them believe in a future ſtate of reward and puniſhment; they do not conſider certain acts to be criminal, which are uſually reputed ſuch among true believers.—Murder is with moſt of them eſteemed the higheſt impiety.—Filial diſobedience, and inſulting the aſhes of the dead, are placed next. But as for petty larcenies, affairs of gallantry, fornication, &c. they are reputed only peccadilloes, which are ſufficiently puniſhed in this world, with the baſtinadoe, or the diſtempers occaſioned by them. The greateſt affront that can poſſibly be offered a Creole Negroe, is to curſe his father, mother, or any of his progenitors. This generally provokes a ſpeedy revenge on the aggreſſor, after every other mode of provocation has failed. They firmly believe in the apparition of ſpectres. Thoſe of deceaſed friends are *duppies*; others, of more hoſtile and tremendous aſpect, like our raw-head-and-bloody-bones, are called *bugaboos*. The moſt ſenſible among them fear the ſupernatural powers of the African *obeah-men*, or pretended conjurers; often aſcribing thoſe mortal effects to magic, which are only the natural operation of ſome poiſonous juice, or preparation, dexterouſly adminiſtered by theſe villains. But the Creoles imagine, that the virtues of baptiſm, or making them Chriſtians, render their art wholly ineffectual; and, for this reaſon only, many of them have deſired to be baptized, that they might be ſecured from *Obeah*.

Not long ſince, ſome of theſe execrable wretches in Jamaica introduced what they called the *myal dance*, and eſtabliſhed a kind of ſociety, into which they invited all they could. The lure hung out was, that every Negroe, initiated into the myal ſociety, would be invulnerable by the white men; and, although they might in appearance be ſlain, the obeah-man could, at his pleaſure, reſtore the body to life. The method, by which this trick was

carried

carried on, was by a cold infuſion of the herb *branched colalue* [*u*]; which, after the agitation of dancing, threw the party into a profound ſleep. In this ſtate he continued, to all appearance lifeleſs, no pulſe, nor motion of the heart, being perceptible; till, on being rubbed with another infuſion (as yet unknown to the Whites), the effects of the colalue gradually went off, the body reſumed its motions, and the party, on whom the experiment had been tried, awoke as from a trance, entirely ignorant of any thing that had paſſed ſince he left off dancing. Not long ago, one of theſe myal men, being deſirous of ſeducing a friend of his to be of their party, gave him a wonderful account of the powerful effects produced by the myal infuſion, and particularly that it rendered the body impenetrable to bullets; ſo that the Whites would be perfectly unable to make the leaſt impreſſion upon them, although they were to ſhoot at them a thouſand times. His friend liſtened with great attention, but ſeemed to doubt the truth of it exceedingly; but, at length, propoſed to the other, that, if he was willing to ſtand a ſhot, he ſhould be glad to make the experiment; and, if it turned out as he pretended, he himſelf would then moſt readily conſent to be a myal man. To this the other agreed, not imagining, perhaps, that matters would come to extremity; or elſe convinced in his own mind of the reality of what he aſſerted. Having prepared himſelf, he ſtood up to receive the ſhot. His

[*u*] This herb is a ſpecies of *ſolanum*, and is the *aquaraguia* of Braſil. Piſo, 223. Browne, 174. It is very common in the lowlands of Jamaica. It is alſo called the *ſolanum ſomniferum officinale*. The Negroes make uſe of it daily for food in their broths; and it is found, by long experience, to be a pleaſant and wholeſome green. Barham ſays, he was ſurprized to ſee the Angola Negroes eat it as we uſe ſpinnage in Europe, without any prejudice, it has ſo ſtrong a reſemblance to the deadly nightſhade. Piſo ſays, "that the rind of it, bruiſed and ſteeped in water, intoxicates fiſh "ſo, that they may be eaſily taken, but does not kill them." The juice is cooling and reſtringent; the leaves, applied to the head in phrenetic fevers, give eaſe. It is probable, its narcotic qualities are deſtroyed by the fire in boiling; but that the crude juice, or a cold infuſion of the bark and leaves, would be found to poſſeſs them in a high degree; which agrees with Piſo's account of the effects on fiſh. The myal gentry make the infuſion with rum. In regard to the other infuſion, which puts an end to its operation, we can only conjecture. It is poſſible, that, by frequent trials, the Negroes have found pretty accurately the length of time which the ſleep may laſt, and ſo take care to proportion the doſe. Beſides, it has lately been diſcovered, that vegetable acids, ſuch as lime-juice, vinegar, &c. are antidotes to the effect of opium, and all vegetable poiſons, taken internally: their external application has not been tried; but might probably anſwer the ſame purpoſe, eſpecially towards the decline of the ſleepy fit; and I think it is not unlikely, that theſe Negroes uſe them to revive their myal men.

friend fired, and killed him dead. This accident, with the circumſtances leading to it, were ſoon made known; and, for ſome time, brought the prieſts and their art into great diſrepute among all their converts. The dexterity of theſe prieſts, or conjurers, in the preparation of poiſons, has been mentioned by many authors. Kalm obſerves, that this art is known to the Negroes of North-America, in the provice of Pennſilvania; and that they frequently practiſe it on one another. This poiſon does not kill immediately; for ſometimes the ſick perſon dies ſome years after: but, from the moment he receives the poiſon, he falls into a decline, and enjoys but few days of good health. Kalm ſays, they commonly employ it on ſuch of their brethren who behave well; are beloved by their maſters; and ſeparate, as it were, from their countrymen, or do not like to converſe with them. There are likewiſe other reaſons for their enmity; but there are few examples of their having poiſoned their maſters. Perhaps, the mild treatment they receive keeps them from it; or they fear a diſcovery, and that, in ſuch caſe their puniſhment would be very ſevere [xu]. Sir Hans Sloane gives one or two inſtances of this practice in Jamaica. And Dr. Barham tells us, that the ſavannah flower, which grows exceedingly common in all the lowlands of that iſland, has been made uſe of for this purpoſe. It is a ſpecies of dog's bane; the *apocynum erectum* of Sir Hans Sloane, p. 206; the *nitium* of Browne, p. 180. It is one of the rankeſt poiſons in the world. Barham ſays, he ſaw but two drachms of the expreſſed juice given to a dog, which killed him in eight minutes; but that it may be ſo ordered, that it ſhall not deſtroy a perſon in many days, weeks, months, or years. Some call it the Spaniſh gilly-flower. Some years paſt (continues he) a practitioner of phyſick was poiſoned with this plant by his Negroe-woman, who had ſo contrived it, that it did not diſpatch him quickly; but he was ſeized with violent gripings, inclination to vomit, loſs of appetite, and afterwards ſmall convulſions in ſeveral parts of his body, a hectic fever, and continual waſting of his fleſh. Upon application to Dr. Barham for advice, he gave him ſome *nhandiroba* kernels, to infuſe in wine, and drink frequently; which cured him in time; but it was long before the convulſive

[xu] Kalm's Travels into North-America.

ſymptoms

ſymptoms left him. This plant is an ever-green; and it is remarked, that no animal will meddle with it, although in the greateſt drought, and when no other green thing appears. The root, dried and powdered, is purgative. The milky juice of the plant is a ſevere cauſtic, and takes away warts and ring-worms. Barham gives another inſtance of its deleterious effects. A Negroe, having ſome rum in a jar, ignorantly ſtopped the mouth of it overnight with ſome leaves gathered from this plant, one or two of which fell in, and ſo imparted their noxious quality to all the liquor. The next morning, he drank ſome of it himſelf, and diſtributed drams to ſeveral of his countrymen; but, in leſs than two hours, they were all ſeized with violent vomiting, and tremors all over their bodies. Upon the alarm being given, a ſurgeon was ſent for; but, before he could arrive, three of them expired, and another lay at the point of death. Some Indian arrow-root was immediately got, bruiſed, and the expreſſed juice adminiſtered. The firſt glaſs revived the Negroe that appeared to be dying; the ſecond brought him to the uſe of his ſpeech; and, upon repeated doſes, he continued mending till he was perfectly recovered. The *nhandiroba* is a climbing plant. Piſo, p. 259, calls it likewiſe *acaricobo*, *ambuyaembo*, and *caapeba*; and thus deſcribes it. It is a ſpecies of climbing ivy. Its leaves are diſpoſed like the ivy; ſomewhat roundiſh; and, as it were, terminating in three points, green, ſmooth, and gloſſy; the flowers ſmall, of a duſky pale hue; the fruit round, green, ſhining, about the ſize of a large apple, the upper part appearing with a circular indentation, and at the centre three lines uniting together at the extremity in an obtuſe angle. The fruit on the inſide is diſpoſed ſomewhat like the walnut, but in three diſtinct cavities, appearing, upon taking off the rind, perfectly white, and containing an oily kernel, of a pale yellow colour, incloſed in a pellicle. From this kernel an oil is extracted, which may be uſed for lamps, and holds a long time in burning; but it is of no uſe for food, becauſe it is extremely bitter, as well as the fruit. Barham ſays, the firſt time he met with this plant was in St. Thomas in the Vale; where he ſaw it climbing and running up to the top of very high trees. It happened to be in fruit. Its leaf much reſembles the Engliſh ivy; but the fruit

is like a green calibaſh; only it has a circular black line round it, and two or three warts or little knobs. The inſide of the ſhell is full of white, flattiſh beans, incloſed in a white membranous ſubſtance; and, when thoroughly ripe, the fruit turns of a browniſh caſt, like a ripe calabaſh. The beans or nuts are then of a lightiſh brown colour, covered with a thin, hard cruſt, in which is a whitiſh kernel full of oil, and exceſſively bitter. The nuts are generally ten or twelve in a ſhell, cloſe and compreſſed; ſo that, after being taken out, they cannot be replaced. He ſays, the Spaniards call it *avilla*; and the Negroes, that he employed to gather it, called it *ſabo*. It ſeems to be a ſpecies of the *ſevillea foliis cordatis angulatis*, Linnæi, Sp. Pl. Angl. "antidote cocoon of "Jamaica;" whoſe kernels yield a great deal of oil, of a bitter taſte, and uſed here for burning. The Negroes infuſe theſe kernels, when dried and ſcraped into a powder, in rum, to relieve pains in the ſtomach. They alſo eſteem them antidotes to poiſon. But the pod ſeldom contains above three, or at moſt four, ſeeds; and therefore it cannot be the ſame as Barham's. Browne mentions very imperfectly, p. 373, a plant which he ſaw growing, on the windward part of Montſerrat, at the ſide of Kaby's Gully; which bore white bloſſoms, ſucceeded by many large apples, containing a number of large compreſſed ſeeds, diſperſed in the pulp of the fruit; which probably is the ſame as that deſcribed by Barham.

But to return. The Negroes wear the teeth of wild cats, and eat their fleſh, as a charm for long life; for they hold the vulgar opinion, that a cat has nine lives. Thus, by aſſimilation of the cat's fleſh and juices into their own, they imagine they can enſure longevity, and a power of ſuſtaining great fatigues. Many a poor grimalkin has fallen a victim to this ſtrange notion. Bits of red rag, cats teeth, parrots feathers, egg-ſhells, and fiſh-bones, are frequently ſtuck up at the doors of their houſes when they go from home, leaving any thing of value within (ſometimes they hang them on fruit-trees, and place them in corn-fields), to deter thieves. Upon converſing with ſome of the Creoles upon this cuſtom, they laughed at the ſuppoſed virtue of the charm, and ſaid they practiſed it only to frighten away the ſalt-water Negroes, of whoſe depredations they are moſt apprehenſive. Their funerals are the very

reverſe

reverſe of our Engliſh ceremony. The only real mourners are the huſband, wife, or very near relations of the deceaſed; yet even theſe ſometimes unite their voices to the general clamour or ſong, whilſt the tears flow involuntarily down their cheeks. Every funeral is a kind of feſtival; at which the greater part of the company aſſume an air of joy and unconcern; and, together with their ſinging, dancing, and muſical inſtruments, conſpire to drown all ſenſe of affliction in the minds of the real mourners. The burthen of this merry dirge is filled with encomiums on the deceaſed, with hopes and wiſhes for his happineſs in his new ſtate. Sometimes the coffin-bearers, eſpecially if they carry it on their heads, pretend that the corpſe will not proceed to the grave, notwithſtanding the exertion of their utmoſt ſtrength to urge it forwards. They then move to different huts, till they come to one, the owner of which, they know, has done ſome injury to, or been much diſliked by, he deceaſed in his life-time. Here they expreſs ſome words of indignation on behalf of the dead man; then knock at the coffin, and try to ſooth and pacify the corpſe: at length, after much perſuaſion, it begins to grow more paſſive, and ſuffers them to carry it on, without further ſtruggle, to the place of repoſe. At other times, the corpſe takes a ſudden and obſtinate averſion to be ſupported on the head, preferring the arms; nor does it peaceably give up the diſpute, until the bearers think proper to comply with its humour. The corpſe being interred, the grave is but ſlightly overſpread with earth. Some ſcratch up the looſe mould, with their backs turned to the grave, and caſt it behind them between their legs, after the manner of cats which have juſt exonerated. This, they ſay, is done, to prevent the deceaſed perſon from following them home. When the deceaſed is a married woman, the huſband lets his beard remain unſhaved, and appears rather negligent in his attire, for the ſpace of a month; at the expiration of which, a fowl is dreſſed at his houſe, with ſome meſſes of good broth, and he proceeds, accompanied by his friends, to the grave. Then begins a ſong, purporting, that the deceaſed is now in the enjoyment of compleat felicity; and that they are aſſembled to rejoice at her ſtate of bliſs, and perform the laſt offices of duty and friendſhip. They then lay a conſiderable heap of earth over the grave, which is called *covering*

ouring it; and the meeting concludes with eating their collation, drinking, dancing, and vociferation. After this ceremony is over, the widow, or widower, is at liberty to take another ſpouſe immediately; and the term of mourning is at an end.

The Negroe funeral calls to mind the *late-wake* of the highlands in Scotland, thus deſcribed by Mr. Pennant. The evening after the death of any perſon, the relations and friends of the deceaſed meet at the houſe, attended by bag-pipe and fiddle. The neareſt of kin, be it wife, ſon, or daughter, opens a melancholy ball, dancing and greeting (*i. e.* crying violently) at the ſame time. This continues till day-light, but with ſuch gambols and frolics among the younger part of the company, that the loſs which occaſioned them is often more than ſupplied by the conſequences of that night. If the corpſe remains unburied for two nights, the ſame rites are renewed. Thus, Scythian-like, they rejoice at the deliverance of their friends out of this life of miſery. The *coranich*, or ſinging at funerals, is ſtill in uſe in ſome places. The ſongs are generally in praiſe of the deceaſed, or a recital of the valiant deeds of him or his anceſtors.

Cambden, in his account of the antient Iriſh, mentions their cuſtom of uſing earneſt reproaches and expoſtulations with the corpſe, for quitting this world, where he (or ſhe) enjoyed ſo many good things, ſo kind a huſband, ſuch fine children, &c. There ſeems a ſtriking conformity between this antient rite and that in uſe among the Negroes.

The Negroes ſtrew grave-dirt on the highway when any thing is ſtolen from them, intimating this curſe: "May the thief be re-"duced to the ſame ſtate and condition as the corpſe which lies bu-"ried in the grave whence this dirt was taken! may his exiſtence "be ſhort! may he not live to enjoy his theft! but be crumbled "and trampled under foot, like the ſoil of a public road!"

This dirt is a material ingredient in their ſolemn oaths, which are adminiſtered in the following manner. A ſmall quantity of the earth is mixed with water in a calibaſh. The perſon who tenders the oath dips his finger into the mixture, and croſſes various parts of the juror's naked body, repeating the following imprecation as he touches each part, the juror aſſenting at the cloſe

of

of every ſentence; after which, he drinks up the reſidue of the mixture, and may therefore be ſaid literally to *ſwallow the oath*, which is to this effect. If I have (ſtolen this hog, fowl, corn, or—as it may happen to be the caſe), may the grave dirt make my bowels rot! may they burſt and tumble out before my face! may my head never ceaſe to ach! nor my joints to be tortured with pain! &c. Regularly, the oath ought to be adminiſtered by an obeah man; but their ſuperſtition makes them hold it in great reverence and horror, even when adminiſtered by any other Black, eſpecially by an old man or woman: but they do not apprehend any ill conſequence will ariſe from breaking it, when tendered by a white perſon.

They have good ears for muſic; and their ſongs, as they call them, are generally *impromptus*, without the leaſt particle of poetry, or poetic images, of which they ſeem to have no idea. The tunes conſiſt of a *ſolo* part, which we may ſtyle the recitative, the key of which is frequently varied; and this is accompanied with a full or general chorus. Some of them are not deficient in melody; although the tone of voice is, for the moſt part, rather flat and melancholy. Inſtead of chooſing panegyric for their ſubject-matter, they generally prefer one of deriſion, and not unfrequently at the expence of the overſeer, if he happens to be near, and liſtening: this only ſerves to add a poignancy to their ſatire, and heightens the fun. In the crop ſeaſon, the mill-feeders entertain themſelves very often with theſe *jeux d'eſprit* in the night-time; and this merriment helps to keep them awake.

Their *merry-wang* is a favourite inſtrument, a ruſtic guitar, of four ſtrings. It is made with a calibaſh; a ſlice of which being taken off, a dried bladder, or ſkin, is ſpread acroſs the largeſt ſection; and this is faſtened to a handle, which they take great pains in ornamenting with a ſort of rude carved work, and ribbands.

The *goombah*, another of their muſical inſtruments, is a hollow block of wood, covered with ſheep-ſkin ſtripped of its hair. The muſician holds a little ſtick, of about ſix inches in length, ſharpened at one end like the blade of a knife, in each hand. With one hand he rakes it over a notched piece of wood, fixed acroſs the inſtrument, the whole length, and croſſes with the other alternately,

uſing both with a briſk motion; whilſt a ſecond performer beats with all his might on the ſheep-ſkin, or tabor.

Their tunes for dancing are uſually briſk, and have an agreeable compound of the *vivace* and *larghetto*, gay and grave, purſued alternately. They ſeem alſo well-adapted to keep their dancers in juſt time and regular movements. The female dancer is all languiſhing, and eaſy in her motions; the man, all action, fire, and geſture; his whole perſon is variouſly turned and writhed every moment, and his limbs agitated with ſuch lively exertions, as ſerve to diſplay before his partner the vigour and elaſticity of his muſcles. The lady keeps her face towards him, and puts on a modeſt demure look, which ſhe counterfeits with great difficulty. In her paces ſhe exhibits a wonderful addreſs, particularly in the motion of her hips, and ſteady poſition of the upper part of her perſon: the right execution of this wriggle, keeping exact time with the muſic, is eſteemed among them a particular excellence; and on this account they begin to practiſe it ſo early in life, that few are without it in their ordinary walking. As the dance proceeds, the muſician introduces now and then a pauſe or reſt, or dwells on two or three *pianiſſimo* notes; then ſtrikes out again on a ſudden into a more ſpirited air; the dancers, in the mean while, correſponding in their movements with a great correctneſs of ear, and propriety of attitude; all which has a very pleaſing effect.

In the towns, during Chriſtmas holidays, they have ſeveral tall robuſt fellows dreſſed up in groteſque habits, and a pair of ox-horns on their head, ſprouting from the top of a horrid ſort of vizor, or maſk, which about the mouth is rendered very terrific with large boar-tuſks. The maſquerader, carrying a wooden ſword in his hand, is followed with a numerous croud of drunken women, who refreſh him frequently with a ſup of aniſeed-water, whilſt he dances at every door, bellowing out *John Connú!* with great vehemence; ſo that, what with the liquor and the exerciſe, moſt of them are thrown into dangerous fevers; and ſome examples have happened of their dying. This dance is probably an honourable memorial of John Conny, a celebrated cabocero at *Tres Puntas*, in *Axim*, on the Guiney coaſt; who flouriſhed about the year 1720. He bore great authority among the Negros of that diſtrict. When

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the Pruſſians deſerted Fort Brandenburgh, they left it to his charge; and he gallantly held it for a long time againſt the Dutch, to whom it was afterwards ceded by the Pruſſian monarch. He is mentioned with encomium by ſeveral of our voyage-writers.

In 1769, ſeveral new maſks appeared; the Ebos, the Papaws, &c. having their reſpective Connús, male and female, who were dreſſed in a very laughable ſtyle.

Theſe exerciſes, although very delightful to themſelves, are not ſo to the generality of the white ſpectators, on account of the ill ſmell which copiouſly tranſudes on ſuch occaſions; which is rather a complication of ſtinks, than any one in particular, and ſo rank and powerful, as totally to overcome thoſe who have any delicacy in the frame of their noſtrils. The Blacks of Afric aſſign a ridiculous cauſe for the ſmell peculiar to the goat; and with equal propriety they may well apply it to themſelves. They ſay, "that, "in the early ages of mankind, there was a ſhe-divinity, who uſed "to beſmear her perſon with a fragrant ointment, that excited the "emulation of the goats, and made them reſolve to petition her, "to give them a copy of her receipt for making it, or at leaſt a "ſmall ſample of it. The goddeſs, incenſed at their preſumption, "thought of a method to be revenged, under the appearance of "granting their requeſt. Inſtead of the ſweet ointment, ſhe pre-"ſented them with a box of a very fœtid mixture, with which "they immediately fell to bedaubing themſelves. The ſtench of "it was communicated to their poſterity; and, to this day, they "remain ignorant of the trick put upon them, but value them-"ſelves on poſſeſſing the genuine perfume; and are ſo anxious to "preſerve it undiminiſhed, that they very carefully avoid rain, and "every thing that might poſſibly impair the delicious odour." This rancid exhalation, for which ſo many of the Negroes are remarkable, does not ſeem to proceed from uncleanlineſs, nor the quality of their diet. I remember a lady, whoſe waiting-maid, a young Negroe girl, had it to a very diſagreeable exceſs. As ſhe was a favourite ſervant, her miſtreſs took great pains, and the girl herſelf ſpared none, to get rid of it. With this view, ſhe conſtantly bathed her body twice a day, and abſtained wholly from ſalt-fiſh, and all ſorts of rank food. But the attempt was ſimilar

to washing the Black-a-moor white; and, after a long course of endeavours to no purpose, her mistress found there was no remedy but to change her for another attendant, somewhat less odoriferous.

The labouring Negroes are all allowed, by their masters, a frock and trowsers for the men, and the women a jacket and petticoat of osnabrig, besides woollen stuff; but tradesmen, and the better sort, are generally supplied likewise with checks, handkerchiefs, hats, and caps; and the laws of the island oblige every owner to give his Negroes proper cloathing. What they receive annually in this manner composes their working dress: but there are few of them who do not acquire sufficient profit, by their huckstering traffic, to furnish themselves with a wardrobe of better cloaths for holiday-wear; upon these they bestow as much finery as their circumstances will permit, invariably preferring the gaudiest colours.

They supply their ignorance of letters by a kind of technical memory. Few of them can ascertain their own age, or that of their children; but, when questioned about any event that has happened in the course of their lives, they recur to a storm, a particularly dry or wet season, and the like, and reckon by the number of Christmases they recollect since those periods. Thus, if you ask a Negroe how long ago it was that he left Africa, he answers, eight, ten, twelve Christmas, according as the case happens to be, or according to his remembrance. They have no computation for the fractional parts of a year; and consequently can never fix any fact or event nearer than about a twelvemonth before or after the time when it occurred. They reckon the ages of their children, their horses, and dogs, in the same manner. They give their dogs as many names as a German prince; or more frequently call them by a whole sentence, as, *Run-brisk-you-catch-'um-good*, &c. The Africans speak their respective dialects, with some mixture of broken English. The language of the Creoles is bad English, larded with the Guiney dialect, owing to their adopting the African words, in order to make themselves understood by the imported slaves; which they find much easier than teaching these strangers to learn English. The better sort are very fond of improving their language, by catching at any hard word that the Whites happen to let fall in their hearing; and they alter and misapply it in a

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ſtrange manner; but a tolerable collection of them gives an air of knowledge and importance in the eyes of their brethren, which tickles their vanity, and makes them more aſſiduous in ſtocking themſelves with this unintelligible jargon. The Negroes ſeem very fond of reduplications, to expreſs a greater or leſs quantity of any thing; as *walky-walky*, *talky-talky*, *waſhy-waſhy*, *nappy-nappy*, *tie-tie*, *lilly-lilly*, *fum-fum*: ſo *bug-a-bugs* (wood-ants); *dab-a-dab* (an olio, made with maize, herrings, and pepper); *bra-bra* (another of their diſhes); *grande-grande* (augmentative ſize, or grandeur), and ſo forth. In their converſation, they confound all the moods, tenſes, caſes, and conjugations, without mercy: for example; *I ſurprize* (for, I am ſurprized); *me glad for ſee you* (*pro*, I am glad to ſee you); *how you do* (for, how d'ye do?); *me tank you*; *me ver well*; &c. This ſort of gibberiſh likewiſe infects many of the white Creoles, who learn it from their nurſes in infancy, and meet with much difficulty, as they advance in years, to ſhake it entirely off, and expreſs themſelves with correctneſs.

Many of the plantation Blacks call their children by the African name for the day of the week on which they are born; and theſe names are of two genders, male and female; as for inſtance:

Male.	Female.	Day.
Cudjoe,	Juba,	Monday.
Cubbenah,	Beneba,	Tueſday.
Quâco,	Cuba,	Wedneſday.
Quao,	Abba,	Thurſday.
Cuffee,	Phibba,	Friday.
Quamin,	Mimba,	Saturday.
Quaſhee,	Quaſheba,	Sunday.

There are ſome other words, that are remarkable for the different ſenſes in which they are uſed; viz.

	Original Import.	Common Import.	Dia'ect.
Mungo,	Bread,	Negroe's name,	Mundingo.
Bumbo,	Alligator,	*Pudendum muliebre*,	*Idem*.
Coffee,	Goodmorrow,	Name of a plant, the berries of which yield an agreeable morning repaſt to many of the Negroes,	Fûli.
Guinnay, Guinee,	Devil,	Name of the ſlave country,	Jaloff, Fûli.
Sangara,	Brandy,	Sangree, or Strong Negus,	*Idem*
Tate,	The Poſteriors,	Tête, the head in French,	Jaloff.
Kénne-kénne,	Small-ſand,	Κόνις, Græc. *Cinis*, Lat.	Mundingo.
Buaw,	Devil,	Bullock (Negroe phraſe),	*Idem*.

Some good perſons have expreſſed their wiſhes, that the plantation Negroes might be all converted to the Chriſtian faith. The planters would be the laſt to oppoſe ſuch a ſcheme, if it were thought practicable; well knowing, that their becoming true Chriſtians would work no change of property, and might poſſibly amend their manners. But few, if any, of the African natives will liſten to any propoſition tending to deprive them of their favourite ſuperſtitions and ſenſual delights. The Portugueſe miſſionaries at Congo, perceiving, upon experience, that a religion, inculcating rigid precepts of morality, ſelf-denial, honeſty, and abſtinence from women and drunkenneſs, was not at all reliſhed, contrived to form a medly of Paganiſm and Chriſtianity; which was more acceptable, and has gained them many converts, only the exterior ceremonies and ſacraments being indiſpenſably enforced; while, in other reſpects, they are left to the antient modes of their country. I have known ſome Creole ſlaves deſire to be baptized; but they had no other motive than to be protected from the witchcraft of obeiah-men, or pretended ſorcerers; which affords a plain proof of the influence which ſuperſtition holds over their minds. But the mere ceremony of baptiſm would no more make Chriſtians of the Negroes, in the juſt ſenſe of the word, than a ſound drubbing would convert an illiterate faggot-maker into a regular phyſician. The Rev. Mr. Hughes ſupports the ſame opinion. "To bring them," ſays he, "in general, to the know-"ledge of the Chriſtian religion is undoubtedly a great and good "deſign, in the intention laudable, and in ſpeculation eaſy; yet, I "believe, for reaſons too tedious to be mentioned, that the diffi-"culties attending it are, and I am afraid ever will be, inſurmoun-"table." This will appear leſs extraordinary, when we conſider, that very few of the North-American Indians, who are far more civilized and enlightened people, have as yet been perſuaded to embrace Chriſtianity, notwithſtanding the inceſſant and indefatigable labours of French and Engliſh miſſionaries for ſo many years. Not many of theſe pious men have crowned their apoſtleſhip with any other iſſue than by becoming enrolled in the honourable liſt of martyrs. No perſuaſion, I am induced to think, can wholly recall them from purſuing the favourite bias of their minds

minds towards their preſent ſyſtem; which lays no penalty or penance on their ſenſual pleaſures, impoſes no reſtraint of decorum, and which tolerates their unlimited indulgence in thoſe vices and delightful abſurdities which are expreſsly reprobated by the Chriſtian doctrines. The laws of Jamaica require the planters to do their utmoſt for converting their Negroes, and cauſing them to be baptized, ſo ſoon as they can be put into a fit capacity of ſentiment to admit of it. But their general inappetency to become converts, together with their barbarous ſtupidity, and ignorance of the Engliſh language, which render them incapable of underſtanding or reaſoning upon what is ſaid to them, would foil the moſt zealous endeavours. Beſides, the planters are averſe to exert an authority and conſtraint over their minds, which might wear the appearance of religious tyranny. They do not think the cauſe of Chriſtianity at all honoured by adding involuntary proſelytes; they hold it rather for a ſhameful hypocriſy and inſult to the true worſhip. But, when any of their Negroes have made requeſt to be baptized, I never knew, nor heard, of a planter's having refuſed compliance with it. The Creole Negroes are the fitteſt ſubjects to work upon; and, with ſome pains (as they have better knowledge of the Engliſh tongue), they might probably be brought to retain ſome of the elements of Chriſtianity. It would certainly be productive of good conſequences, if the more ſenſible part of them were to be baptized, and occaſionally inſtructed, as far as they can be made to underſtand, in the morality and fundamental points of our holy faith. In order to this, the baptiſmal fees payable for Negroes ought to be fixed, by the juſtices and veſtry in each pariſh, at a very low rate; the preſent ordinary rate of 1 *l.* 3*s.* 9*d.*, paid by the owners, being enormouſly high. A Popiſh miſſionary would perform the ceremony *gratis*, and be happy at the occaſion; but, in ſome other eſtabliſhments, we too often find, that it is, *no fee, no holy water*; *no pay, no Swiſs*. Boſman ſhrewdly obſerves, "that, if it were "poſſible to convert the African Negroes to Chriſtianity, the "Roman Catholics would probably ſucceed much better than any "other ſect; becauſe they agree in ſome points, ſuch as abſtinence "from particular kinds of food on certain days, &c. and in their "mutual attachment for ceremony and ſuperſtition." In fact,

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the vulgar herd is much more affected by thoſe things which ſtrike the eye, than what are directed to the heart. Negroes are the apteſt ſubjects in the univerſe to be kept in ſubordination and diſcipline by the awful ceremonies, the indulgencies, injunctions, mummery, and legerdemain, of the Romiſh church and its miniſters. Hence it is, that, in the French ſettlements, we find them as much, if not more, reſtrained by the ſuperſtitions of that communion, than by the rigour of edicts and codes. I have ſeen many of them provided with ſtore of croſſes, relicks, and conſecrated annulets; to which they paid the moſt ſincere veneration, though wholly uninformed of any thing more than the efficacy of theſe baubles, the neceſſity of adoring the Bleſſed Virgin and a few choſen ſaints, the power of their prieſt to abſolve ſins, and the damnable ſtate of all heretics. They had alſo acquired a *Pater Noſter*, a few *Ave Maria's*, and the right method of croſſing themſelves, and counting their beads, morning and evening.

I doubt not but that, in the French churches belonging to their iſlands, they have images of *black ſaints*, like the Portugueſe at Madeira, for the particular devotion of theſe poor wretches. Theſe arts our eſtabliſhed church diſdains and abhors, it being founded on the principles of reaſon, and therefore adapted only to rational minds; which, by their own natural ſtrength, are capable to judge of its rectitude, and embrace it on account of its purity and refinement from that very groſsneſs which pleaſes, while it enſlaves, other minds, that are clouded with ignorance. Next to the Romiſh forms, perhaps thoſe ſyſtems, which are ſet off with abundance of enthuſiaſtic rant and geſticulation, would operate moſt powerfully on the Negroes; ſuch as Quakeriſm, Methodiſm, and the Moravian rites. The Romiſh practices we find at leaſt beneficial in the French iſlands, co-operating with ſtate-policy, and contributing ſtrongly to maintain their ſlaves in peaceable ſubjection. In our colonies, we are in want of ſo potent a co-adjutor to our municipal laws; and, from this cauſe, one ſhould think, are more liable to be diſturbed by inſurrections, than the French iſlands; to which end alſo another local difference would ſeem much to conduce. The Negroes in the foreign colonies are habituated to the ſight of a deſpotic frame of government, which controuls their maſters

maſters from higheſt to loweſt, and aſſimilates their condition nearer to that ſtate of ſervility under which they live themſelves. But, in our iſlands, the word *liberty* is in every one's mouth; the aſſemblies reſound with the clamour of, "liberty and property;" and it is echoed back, by all ranks and degrees, in full chorus. The Whites are nearly on a level; and the loweſt can find the way of bringing the higheſt to public juſtice for any injury or oppreſſion. The Negroes here grow habitually familiar with the term; and have that object ever obvious to their ſight, which is wholly withheld from, or at leaſt but dimly ſeen by, the French Blacks. To the ſame effect is the remark of Monteſquieu: "The multitude "of ſlaves has different effects in different governments. It is no "grievance in a deſpotic ſtate, where the political ſlavery of the "whole body takes away the ſenſe of civil ſlavery. Thoſe, who "are called freemen, are in reality little more ſo than they who "do not come within that claſs. This makes it therefore a matter "of indifference, whether, in ſuch ſtates, the ſlaves be few or nu"merous. But, in moderate ſtates, it is a point of the higheſt im"portance, that there ſhould not be a great number of ſlaves. The "political liberty of thoſe ſtates adds to the value of civil liberty; "and he, who is deprived of the latter, is deprived alſo of the for"mer. He ſees the happineſs of a ſociety, of which he is not ſo "much as a member: he ſees the ſecurity of others fenced in by "laws; himſelf, without any protection: he ſees his maſter has a "ſoul which can enlarge itſelf; while his own is conſtrained to "ſubmit to a continual depreſſion. Nothing more aſſimilates a "man to a beaſt, than living among freemen; himſelf a ſlave. "Such people as theſe are the natural enemies of the ſociety; and "their number muſt be dangerous. It is not therefore to be won"dered at, that moderate governments have been ſo frequently di"ſturbed by revolts of ſlaves; and that this ſo ſeldom happens in "deſpotic ſtates!".

It has been a matter of ſurprize to ſome, that the Negroes in our colonies do not increaſe in that natural proportion which is obſerved among mankind in other countries, and to a remarkable degree among the Blacks of Afric. Some writers, perceiving the large and continual importations made every year, and which are

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found expedient for the carrying on our plantations in theſe parts, attribute this waſte to the too ſevere labour and oppreſſion they are forced to undergo. But this is an erroneous conjecture: the authors, not having reſided in theſe colonies, were not ſufficiently informed, to attend to other cauſes, which prove more deſtructive than the ſevereſt toil; nor to thoſe which throw impediments in the way of a regular propagation.

It was computed formerly, that ſix new Negroes were required annually to every hundred, to keep up the ſtock in Barbadoes. The preſent import at Jamaica does not exceed, upon an average, ſix thouſand *per annum*; which is about the rate of four to one hundred.

In the year 1761, when a draught of two thouſand Negroes was made here, to be ſent on the Havannah ſervice, the whole number of ſlaves in the iſland, according to the account then taken, was ——— 146805

I do not exactly know the number that returned from that expedition. Several deſerted, and ſome were killed; but I ſuppoſe the non-returned, from the beſt enquiry I can make, amounted to about eight hundred; which, being deducted from the above total, there remained about - 146000

In 1768, by an account taken, there were found ——— 166904

So that the whole ſtock was augmented, in ſeven years, 20904

The import, at the average of 6000 *per ann.* [*x*], was 42000

From which deducting the augmentation, ——— 20904

There appears a dead loſs of ——— 21096

which is equal to about 3000 *per annum*; and, at 35*l.* ſterling *per* head, makes 105000*l.* annual loſs in value; a moſt aſtoniſhing ſum! Upon moſt of the old ſettled eſtates in this iſland, the number of births and deaths every year is pretty equal, except any malignant diſorder happens. The deaths, which conſtitute the

[*x*] I have put the average at 6000, though perhaps it is too ſmall a number, conſidering the briſkneſs of the African trade during part of the time, and that a great many French Negroes were brought in from the conquered iſlands. The average for ſome of the years in this ſeries was 9000; but others fell ſhort. In the preſent computation, the greater the average is proved to have been, the higher muſt the loſs appear. But I have choſen rather to be under than over.

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major part of the above annual balance, are of native Africans. Hence therefore appears the miſtake of the writers before-mentioned; for it is well known, that theſe new Negroes are always much indulged during the firſt two or three years after their arrival, being put to the gentleſt work, that they may be gradually ſeaſoned to the change of climate, and trained by a ſlow and eaſy progreſs to undergo the ſame degree of labour as the reſt. If then all this care and preparation be neceſſary, and not only neceſſary, but actually attended to, it may be aſked, by what means it comes to paſs, that we obſerve ſo great a decreaſe among them? In reply to this, ſeveral reaſons may be given.

Theſe Negroes are few of them exempt from a venereal taint; and very many have, at the time of their arrival, that dreadful diſorder, the *yaws*, lurking in their blood. It is ſaid (I know not with what truth), that the ſurgeons on board the Guiney ſhips uſe methods to repel it, by a mixture of iron-ruſt with gun-powder and lime-juice, in order to remove all external ſymptoms of it before they are expoſed to ſale. There is ſome reaſon for believing that ſuch wicked frauds have been practiſed; becauſe it is no uncommon thing to ſee a whole parcel of new Negroes, within a few weeks after they are brought on a plantation, break out all together with this diſorder, and eſpecially if they have drunk the cane-liquor in the boiling-houſe, which is very efficacious in throwing the venom out of the habit.

The plantation ſurgeons have depended chiefly on mercurial preparations for a cure; but it is found, that ſuch medicines break and impoveriſh their blood, and ſubject them to catch violent colds, which often ſtrike the matter in upon the nobler parts, and bring on the joint-evil. Sometimes they fall into dropſies, which generally prove mortal; for this diſorder requires a very nutritious diet; and experience proves, that, when left to nature, and the uſe of flour of brimſtone, to keep the humour in a conſtant elimination towards the ſkin, it gradually wears off in about three years. Mercurials interrupt this natural criſis, and, inſtead of curing, generally either fix the diſorder more rootedly in the habit, or give riſe to others of the moſt dangerous kind.

I have had occaſion, in the courſe of ſeveral years, to mark the fate of many hundred new Negroes; and am poſitive, that a third part of them have periſhed, within three years after their arrival, by this diſeaſe, through a miſtaken method of treating it, and the too eager deſire of their owners, or an affectation of extraordinary ſkill in their doctors, to make a ſpeedy cure of it by ſome mercurial *noſtrum*. Another miſtake has ariſen, by judging from the appearance of an acrimonious humour, ſo copiouſly diſcharged, that the patients required to have their juices corrected by proper ſweeteners of the blood, and a low, abſtemious diet. This error has but ſerved to haſten their death. Inſtead of oatmeal gruel, and ſuch weakening meſſes, they ought to have their ſtrength ſuſtained, during the progreſs of the eruption, and whilſt it continues, with hearty food, nouriſhing broths, and the like; which preſerve the blood in a balſamic, vigorous ſtate, and enable nature to throw out the latent *virus*. This diſtemper, there is reaſon to believe, holds a near affinity with the ſmall-pox; at leaſt, it has been remarked, that the natural ſmall-pox, in thoſe afflicted with the yaws, is commonly very mild.

Mercury has, in this climate, a great propenſity to ſalivate; and moſt of the Negroes, by frequently taking mercurials for venereal complaints, have their fluids ſo impregnated with them, that the utmoſt caution is neceſſary in adminiſtering ſuch medicines. For this reaſon too, they cannot bear frequent repetitions of ſtrong purgatives; the conſequence of ſuch copious evacuations being, almoſt always, a tendency to a dropſy.

The ſmall-pox has frequently made great ravage among them. Sometimes they have been landed with this diſeaſe upon them; and this has proved ſo fatal, that I have known ſeven in ten die of it, which is equal to ſeventy in a hundred, or fifty-ſix more than the computation made of thoſe who die in England by this diſorder taken in the natural way. The late method of inoculation, happily practiſed in this iſland, promiſes fair to put an end to ſuch dreadful examples of mortality; and I therefore only mention this, as one principal ſource of depopulation which exiſted here before inoculation was brought into general uſe, which was not long ago.

The

The removal of Negroes from a dry to a damp ſituation, from a South ſide to a North ſide pariſh, has often been fatal to many. New Negroes, ſent into the mountains immediately after their importation, eſpecially during a wet ſeaſon, are almoſt ſure of being afflicted with ſevere colds, pleuriſies, fluxes, and other diſtempers, which prove their bane. Even the Creoles do not bear theſe removals from places where, perhaps, they have reſided from the time of their birth. And it is inconceivable what numbers have periſhed, in conſequence of the law for recovery of debts; which permits Negroes to be levied on, and ſold at *vendue*. By this means, they are frequently torn from their native ſpot, their deareſt connexions, and transferred into a ſituation unadapted to their health, labouring under diſcontent, which co-operates with change of place and circumſtances to ſhorten their lives.

Some planters think it good policy to quarter their new Negroes among the old ſettled ones: but theſe hoſts generally make their gueſts pay dear for their lodging and maintenance, forcing them to be their "hewers of wood, and drawers of water;" and, in ſhort, impoſing on their ignorance without meaſure or mercy, until they ſink under the oppreſſion; whilſt the owner, a ſtranger to what paſſes, is ſurpriſed to ſee them continually on the decline, and gradually conſuming, without any ſuſpicion of the real cauſe.

The introduction of too many recruits at once has ſometimes proved fatal to them. It is very evident, that a ſmall number can be much eaſier and better provided for, lodged, fed, and taken care of, than a multitude. The planter therefore, who buys only eight or ten at a time, will in the end derive more advantage from them, than the planter who buys thirty; for, by the greater leiſure and attention in his power to beſtow upon them, he will greatly leſſen the ordinary chances againſt their life, and the ſooner prepare them for an effectual courſe of labour. The compariſon, indeed, founded upon fact and obſervation, is, that, at the end of three years, the former may poſſibly have loſt one fifth, but the other will moſt probably have loſt one half, of their reſpective numbers.

The women do not breed here as in Africa; for, in ſhort, it has never been the planter's care to proportion the number of females to males: upon ſome eſtates there are five men to one

woman. Now, the population of Afric, as has been ſhewn, is partly imputable to their larger proportion of women; inſomuch that, although the greateſt man among their provinces may have fifty, ſixty, or more wives or concubines, yet the meaneſt man is ſure of one at leaſt. The women here are, in general, common proſtitutes; and many of them take ſpecifics to cauſe abortion, in order that they may continue their trade without loſs of time, or hindrance of buſineſs; and, beſides, their admitting ſuch promiſcuous embraces muſt neceſſarily hinder, or deſtroy, conception. We may add to this the venereal diſeaſe; which, together with the medicines taken, either to repel, or carry off the *virus*, frequently kills the fœtus, and ſterilizes both men and women.

Worms are extremely fatal to children in this climate, and deſtroy more than any other diſeaſe. Others frequently periſh, within nine or ten days of their birth, by what is called here *jaw-falling*; which is cauſed by a retention of the *meconium*: by not keeping the infant ſufficiently warm; or by giving it rum, and aliment of hard digeſtion.

Moſt of the black women are very ſubject to obſtructions; from what cauſe I will not preſume to ſay; but, perhaps, they may be aſcribed, in part, to their uſing reſtringent baths, or waſhing themſelves in cool water at improper periods. Child-birth is not ſo eaſy here as in Afric; and many children are annually deſtroyed, as well as their mothers, by the unſkilfulneſs and abſurd management of the Negroe midwives.

Thus we find here are various cauſes which prevent the multiplication of Negroes on the plantations; not but that unſeaſonable work may ſometimes be added to the liſt; yet, in general, as it is happy for theſe people, that the planter's intereſt concurs with the obligations of humanity in moſt caſes that relate to the care of them; ſo it is unneceſſary to ſay, that in the time of geſtation, they are treated with more than common indulgence, to prevent any ſuch accidents.

The knowledge of the cauſe of any diſeaſe conducts us to the method of cure. To augment our Negroes therefore by procreation, we muſt endeavour to remedy thoſe evils which impede or fruſtrate its natural effect. And, to conclude, if the waſte of theſe men

ſhould become leſs, the price of them would fall; and the ſame annual demand might be kept up, by extending our plantations, which is now produced by the mortality of theſe people; eſtates would be gradually well-ſtocked, and rendered more flouriſhing; and the circumſtances of the planters totally changed for the better. The purchaſe of new Negroes is the moſt chargeable article attending theſe eſtates, and the true ſource of the diſtreſſes under which their owners ſuffer; for they involve themſelves ſo deeply in debt, to make theſe inconſiderate purchaſes, and loſe ſo many by diſeaſe, or other means in the ſeaſoning, that they become unable to make good their engagements, are plunged in law-ſuits and anxiety; while, for want of ſome prudent regulations in the right huſbanding of their ſtock, and promoting its increaſe by natural means, they entail upon themſelves a neceſſity of drawing perpetual recruits of unſeaſoned Africans, the expence of which forms only a new addition to their debts and difficulties.

I will not deny that thoſe Negroes breed the beſt, whoſe labour is leaſt, or eaſieſt. Thus the domeſtic Negroes have more children, in proportion, than thoſe on penns; and the latter, than thoſe who are employed on ſugar-plantations. If the number of hogſheads, annually made from any eſtate, exceeds, or even equals, the whole aggregate of Negroes employed upon it, but few children will be brought up on ſuch eſtate, whatever number may be born; for the mothers will not have ſufficient time to take due care of them; and, if they are put under charge of ſome elderly woman, or nurſe, as the cuſtom is in many places, it cannot be ſuppoſed that they meet with the ſame tenderneſs as might be expected from their parent. But, where the proportion of the annual produce is about half a hogſhead for every Negroe, there they will, in all likelihood, increaſe very rapidly; and not much leſs ſo, where the *ratio* is of two hogſheads to every three Negroes, which I take to be a good *meſne* proportion; agreeably to which, an eſtate, making, *communibus annis*, two hundred hogſheads, ought to muſter on its liſt, old and young, three hundred Negroes; and, if it makes three hundred hogſheads, four hundred and fifty ſuch Negroes: and ſo on. An eſtate, ſo handed, *may* not only, *cæteris paribus*, ſave the expence of buying recruits, but *may* every year afford ſome addition to the

firſt number, of which I have known inconteſtable examples in Jamaica; and although the nature of the ſoil here and there may cauſe ſome difference in reſpect to hard or eaſy labour, yet it will ſtill hold for a good general rule. There are very few plantations, whoſe ſoil is uniform throughout; and, where the ſoil is moſt ſtiff and laborious, perhaps the yielding in ſugar is equal on the whole; which works no objection to the rule. For example: if we ſuppoſe a North ſide eſtate of very ſtiff land, and compare it with one on the South ſide, whoſe ſoil is of a free texture, and that each of them yields, upon average, one hogſhead *per* acre round; the South ſide eſtate contains three hundred acres in canes, yields three hundred hogſheads, muſters four hundred and fifty Negroes; and the North ſide eſtate, three hundred acres, yields three hundred hogſheads, and muſters four hundred and fifty Negroes. Although the North ſide land is far more laborious, yet the annual plant being far leſs, on account of the rattoon canes, which ſtand ſeveral cuttings, the *meſne* proportion of labour upon both, for a given number of years, may be found very even; the South ſide eſtate being obliged, perhaps every year, to hole and plant double the quantity of ground.

The proportion, according to the before-mentioned rule, is one hundred and fifty Negroes to one hundred hogſheads. An eſtimate was made, not long ſince, on this ſubject, with reference to the produce of each diſtinct pariſh. I know not how far it may be depended on in regard to exactneſs; but, if it comes any thing near the truth, it proves that ſome have more, but very few leſs, than the rate propoſed. For better comprehending the table, I ſhall claſs the different pariſhes according to the general condition of their ſoils. The firſt claſs contains thoſe whoſe ſoil is, comparatively, the moſt ſtiff and heavy; the ſecond, ſuch as have the lighteſt; the third, thoſe whoſe ſoil may be eſteemed between both.

First Claſs.	Negroes to 100 Hhds.	
St. Mary,	150	at *par* 0
St. John,	168	exceeds by 18
Portland,	182	ditto 32
St. George,	158	ditto 8

Weſtmoreland,

First Claſs.	Negroes to 100 Hhds.		
Weſtmoreland,	141	leſs	9
Hanover,	142	ditto	8
Second Claſs,			
St. Catharine,	171	exceeds	21
St. Dorothy,	200	ditto	50
St. Thomas in the Vale,	180	ditto	30
Vere,	138	leſs	12
St. Anne,	200	exceeds	50
St. Andrew,	162	ditto	12
Port Royal,	250	ditto	100
St. David,	172	ditto	22
St. Elizabeth,	204	ditto	54
Third Claſs.			
Clarendon,	127	leſs	23
St. Thomas in the Eaſt,	120	ditto	30
St. James,	132	ditto	18

Thus, of the whole number, only ſix appear deficient. I muſt own, that ſuch general calculations are not entirely to be relied on; becauſe, in any individual pariſh, upon a ſurvey of the eſtates comprehended in it, ſome will appear to have more than their complement, and others to fall very ſhort of it. Much likewiſe depends on favourable or unfavourable ſeaſons, good or bad management. In regard to births, they are probably as many as can be expected, under the obſtacles which I have before enumerated; and, when I ſay that any eſtate, having the juſt proportion of hands to the average quantity of its produce, may require no purchaſed recruits, I muſt be underſtood with an exception to ſome or other of thoſe obſtacles; for, if its women are not numerous enough, or if they are rendered unprolific by diſeaſe or their own bad practices, or their children precluded from reaching to maturity, no ſuch population can of courſe enſue. It is worth every planter's attention, to encourage the mothers, by little helps, to take good care of their children. Some mark of diſtinction, or a reward, ſhould always be allowed to thoſe who have ſhewn the moſt aſſiduity in reſpect to their cleanlineſs and health. A premium might be aſſigned for every new-born child; and a ſmall annuity to be continued

tinued until its attaining the fourth or fifth year. Theſe politic gratuities would not only endear the owner to the parents, but prove a conſtant incitement to their care, and at the ſame time enable them to provide better, the ſeveral little neceſſaries wanted to keep their infants cleanly and decent. If theſe meaſures ſhould operate, as probably they would, to the increaſe of their families, the expence attending them would be amply repaid.

I have obſerved, in ſeveral accounts of our Weſt-India colonies, compariſons drawn between the condition of the ſlaves in them and in the French iſlands, very much to the diſadvantage of the former. It is ſaid, that the Negroes in the French colonies are not left ſo much to the planter's diſcretion; that their maſters are obliged to have them inſtructed in the principles of the Chriſtian religion; that there are methods taken, at once to protect them from the cruelty of their maſters, and preſerve the colony from any ill effects that might ariſe from treating them with a lenity not conſiſtent with their condition; that the *Code Noir*, or ſet of regulations, purpoſely framed for the Negroes, and eſtabliſhed by the royal edict, as well as other ordinances relative to theſe poor creatures, ſhew a very juſt and ſenſible mixture of humanity and ſteadineſs; and that theſe regulations have given the French, in their colonies, a reputation for good diſcipline and clemency; which degrades the Engliſh planters, when their laws are brought into compariſon. The Fench are thus held out as a pattern well deſerving the imitation of the Britiſh owners, and very properly, if all theſe encomiums are founded in truth. But there is ſome reaſon to doubt their good effects; and to believe, that, however they may glow with humanity and maxims of prudence, they are not efficaciouſly obeyed. Monſ. Boſſu, a French officer, who was at Hiſpaniola in 1751, gives ſome right to draw ſuch a concluſion; and I muſt ſay, that his teſtimony is of the greater weight, as the French are well known to be very cautious of revealing whatever can tend to diſhonour their countrymen. He condemns the brutal avidity of ſome French planters; "who," he tells us, "force their "wretched ſlaves to ſuch hard labour, that they refuſe to marry, in "order to avoid generating a race of beings to be enſlaved to ſuch "maſters, who treat them, when old and infirm, worſe than their "dogs

" dogs and horſes. I have ſeen, adds he, a planter, whoſe name " was *Chaperon*, who forced one of his Negroes to go into a heated " oven, where the poor wretch expired; and his jaws being ſhri- " veled up, the barbarous owner ſaid, " I believe the fellow " laughs," and took a poker to ſtir him up. Since this event, he " became the ſcarecrow among all the ſlaves, who, when they do " amiſs, are threatened by their maſters to be ſent to *Chaperon*." What are we to think of the edicts and ordinances of any country, where ſo horrid a monſter is ſuffered to live with impunity; and of how little efficacy is the celebrated *Code Noir*, in giving protection to the French Negroes? Such acts of wanton, diabolical cruelty, are a ſtanding reproach to the laws of any country; the fact might have ſeemed incredible, had it been related by any other than a Frenchman; and, I think, we are fairly warranted to judge from it, that what we have been told of their regulations is not entirely true; for how does it appear that their Negroes are protected from the cruelty of their maſters, whilſt ſuch atrocious examples of the contrary are to be ſeen in their colonies? This queſtion is impartially deduced, and proves, that ſo far as reſpects the perſonal well-being of the Negroes, theſe boaſted laws are ſpecious perhaps in their complexion, but ineffectual and feeble in their real operation. It is not enough to make laws; it is alſo neceſſary to provide for their execution.

However, we are ſo fond of depreciating our own colonies, that we paint our planters in the moſt bloody colours, and repreſent their ſlaves as the moſt ill-treated and miſerable of mankind. It is no wonder therefore that Jamaica comes in for a large ſhare of abuſe; and even our common news-papers are made the vehicles of it. I read in one of them not long ſince, " that the cruel uſage " inflicted on Negro ſlaves in Jamaica by their maſters, is the " reaſon why inſurrections there are more frequent than in the " French or other ſugar-iſlands." The firſt enquiry to be made in anſwer to ſo invidious a charge is, whether the fact here aſſerted be really true? and, 2dly, whether this frequency may not have been owing to ſome other cauſe?

Within a few years paſt, we have heard of them at Hiſpaniola, at Cuba, at the Braſils, at Surinam, and Berbice, and at the Britiſh iſlands of Tobago, Dominica, Montſerrat, and St. Vincent. If they ſhould happen oftener at Jamaica than in the ſmaller iſlands, it would not be at all ſurprizing, ſince it has generally contained more Negroes than all the Windward Britiſh iſles put together; and its importations in ſome years have been very great.

For inſtance, in the year 1764, the importation was, 10,223.
And from January 1765 to July 1766, one year and an half, 16,760.

So large a multitude as 27,000 introduced in the ſpace of two years and an half, furniſhes a very ſufficient reaſon, if there was no other, to account for mutinies and plots, eſpecially as no ſmall number of them had been warriors in Afric, or criminals; and all of them as ſavage and uncivilized as the beaſts of prey that roam through the African foreſts.

A general accuſation can only deſerve a general reply. If the author of it had particularized any certain ſpecies of barbarity tolerated by law or cuſtom, or in conſtant uſe at Jamaica, it would be incumbent on its advocates, either to diſprove, or admit, the exiſtence of ſuch particular facts. But a charge, which involves a whole country, ought to be well founded, and ſupported by evidence taken from notorious practice, or the ſyſtem of laws by which that country is regulated. If a foreigner, being told of a mother in England, ſo void of natural feeling, as to ſhut up her own children in a dungeon, ſtarve and cruelly beat them; of others, who ſtrangle their infants, cut their throats, or conſume them in ovens; of maſters and miſtreſſes ſo brutal as to whip their apprentices to death; of daughters poiſoning their fathers; nieces their uncles; wives butchering their huſbands, and huſbands their wives; with many other examples of barbarity, which the public chronicles have recorded from time to time; ſhould we not think the foreigner extremely void of impartiality and good ſenſe, if for this reaſon he was to charge all the people of England with being a moſt bloody, inhuman and unfeeling race? Yet there is full as much cauſe for it in this caſe, as in the former. The truth is, that ever ſince the introduction of Africans into the Weſt-Indies,

inſurrections

inſurrections have occurred in every one of the colonies, Britiſh as well as foreign, at times. But the calumniator has not been more erroneous in bringing the charge, than in the reaſons aſſigned to ſupport it; becauſe a faulty indulgence has been one leading cauſe of the diſturbances that have occurred in Jamaica; which is evidently proved by what is ſet forth in many of the laws paſſed in conſequence of them, reſtricting ſeveral ſports, and prohibiting certain feſtive aſſemblies, which the Negroes had freely enjoyed before, but were made ſubſervient to the forming and carrying on of dangerous conſpiracies. They were formerly allowed to aſſemble with drums and muſical inſtruments; to dance, drink, and be merry. This was permitted, becauſe it was thought an inoffenſive mode of recreation for them. But when theſe games were afterwards converted into plots, they were with great juſtice ſuppreſſed, as riotous aſſemblies of people are in England, and for the like reaſon; that, being perverted from their original intention to wicked and unlawful ends, they became inconſiſtent with the peace and ſafety of the community. Such prohibitions (of which there are ſeveral) prove undeniably, the great latitude of indulgence, that has been given to the Negroes of this colony; and ſhew the propriety, and indeed neceſſity, there has been of laying them under reſtrictions, when that liberty was abuſed. The innocent, it is true, were unavoidably involved with the guilty in theſe reſtraints; but they have ſtill ſufficient paſtimes and amuſements to divert them, without offending againſt the public welfare. In every country under the ſun the like commotions muſt happen, where licentiouſneſs among the moſt ignorant and profligate of the people is not repreſſed by the diſcipline of laws, and the energy of good government; and where drunkenneſs and luſt, thoſe great incentives to violence among this order of men, are ſuffered, as in Jamaica, to reign without controul.

The heedleſs practice formerly of keeping large ſtands of firearms and cutlaſſes upon the inland plantations, having only three or four white men upon them, became a ſtrong temptation to any diſaffected or enterprizing Africans. It might well be expected, that throwing ſuch magazines and ſtores of ammunition in their way, was a direct invitation to them to rebel. The turning ſo

many indefenſible houſes into arſenals for arming mutinous ſavages, was doubtleſs the very height of imprudence, tending not only to generate projects of hoſtility, but to afford the means of conducting them with probable hope of ſucceſs. Add to this, that many ſhopkeepers, from a ſtrange ſpirit of avarice, have been known to ſell gunpowder privately to ſuch conſpirators, although they muſt have foreſeen the uſe to which it might be applied; and, to gain a few ſhillings, even hazarded their own deſtruction; incredible as this may ſeem, yet it is certain that ſuch a practice has been carried on, as two laws were paſſed, one in 1730, the other in 1744, to put a ſtop to it.

Another cauſe of conſpiracy may have been, a remote hope of ſome Negroes, who, having heard of the freedom granted to the Marons after their obſtinate reſiſtance of ſeveral years, expected, perhaps, that by a courſe of ſucceſsful oppoſition they might obtain the like terms in the end, and a diſtinct ſettlement in ſome quarter of the iſland.

The vulgar opinion in England confounds all the Blacks in one claſs, and ſuppoſes them equally prompt for rebellion; an opinion that is groſſly erroneous. The Negroes, who have been chief actors in the ſeditions and mutinies, which at different times have broke out here, were the *imported Africans*; and, conſidering the numbers of them who were baniſhed their country for atrocious miſdeeds, and familiarized to blood, maſſacre, and the moſt deteſtable vices, we ſhould not be aſtoniſhed at the impatient ſpirit of ſuch an abandoned herd, upon being introduced to a life of labour and regularity. The numbers imported would indeed be formidable, if they continued in a body; but they are ſoon diſperſed among a variety of different eſtates many miles aſunder, by which means they remain a long time ignorant of each other's place of ſettlement. They often find themſelves mixed with many ſtrangers, differing from them in language; and againſt others they hold a rooted antipathy. But they are chiefly awed into ſubjection, by the ſuperior multitude of Creole Blacks, with whom they dare not confederate, nor ſolicit their concurrence in any plan of oppoſition to the white inhabitants.

The

The ringleaders of conſpiracy have been the native Africans, and of theſe the *Coromantins* ſtand the foremoſt. The Jamaica planters are fond of purchaſing the Negroes who paſs under this name, in preference to thoſe of the other provinces; but the French, and ſome other Weſt-India colonies, will not knowingly admit them; being ſenſible of their dangerous tempers and unfitneſs for the peaceable walk of huſbandry.

As the inſurrections which have happened in our iſland have been miſrepreſented, I ſhall give a ſummary account of them, which may ſerve to illuſtrate what has been advanced, and explain the motives of them not to have been founded in the manner they have been generally ſuppoſed, by perſons ill informed, or but little acquainted with Jamaica.

The *Maron* or wild Negroes, of whom I have given the hiſtory, were improperly called *rebellious*. The compilers of the *Modern Univerſal Hiſtory*, in their account of the iſland, have fallen into this miſtake, and, giving a detail of the inſurrection that happened in 1761, they ſpeak of it as "a revolt of thoſe Negroes, who, ſince the "late treaty with them in Mr. Trelawny's government, *not having* "*been ſufficiently watched*, had become ſo numerous and ſtrong, that "they now meditated no leſs than the extirpation of all the white "men in the iſland."

It is not an eaſy matter to diſcover what is meant by "their be-"coming too numerous and ſtrong, for want of being *watched*;" nor how the watching of them could either thin their numbers, or weaken them: however, the whole is erroneous, and the very reverſe is the truth; for theſe Negroes have, as far as we have any certain information, always adhered to the treaty, and were the principal inſtruments employed in ſuppreſſing that very inſurrection. The Jamaica laws have from the beginning termed them *rebellious*; but they did not deſerve the appellation, becauſe they were the free deſcendants from the aboriginal Spaniſh Negroes, who had never come under any ſubmiſſion or allegiance to the Britiſh government. The rebellions (properly ſpeaking) are confined to thoſe Negroe ſlaves, who have at different periods renounced obedience to their Britiſh maſters, and ſought to reſcue themſelves from a life of labour by force of arms; and all theſe diſturbances are extremely remarkable, in that they have been planned and conducted by the

Coromantin.

Coromantin Negroes, who are diſtinguiſhed from their brethren by their averſion to huſbandry, and the martial ferocity of their diſpoſition. The firſt rebellion of importance, on record, happened in the year 1690, when between three and four hundred ſlaves, belonging to Mr. Sutton's plantation in Clarendon, forced their way into the dwelling-houſe, killed the white man entruſted with the care of it, and ſeized upon a large ſtore of fire-arms, powder and ball, and four ſmall field-pieces, with ſome proviſions: at this time, the interior ſettlements, of which this was one, ſituated near the woods, were furniſhed in this manner with implements of defence to withſtand the aſſaults of the *Marons*, who frequently ſallied out in the night to attack them. The rebels, after this exploit, proceeded to the next plantation, and murdered the overſeer, but were diſappointed of being joined by the ſlaves belonging to it, who all betook themſelves to the woods; upon this they returned to Mr. Sutton's houſe, where they put every thing into a poſture of defence. By this time the white inhabitants of the neighbourhood, having taken the alarm, collected about fifty horſe and foot, marched to beat up their quarters; and, being joined by the way with freſh ſuccours, they increaſed to a formidable body. On the next day the militia began their attack, upon which the rebels withdrew to the cane pieces, and ſet fire to them, in order to cover their retreat; but a detachment of the militia having fetched a little compaſs, found means to aſſault them in flank, whilſt the reſt advanced upon them in front; unable to withſtand this double fire, the rebels immediately fled, but were ſo briſkly purſued, that many were killed, and two hundred of them threw down their arms, and begged for mercy; the reſt were afterwards either ſlain, or taken priſoners; and the ringleaders of the conſpiracy hanged. I find no rebellion of any conſequence for ſeveral years ſubſequent to this; one reaſon for which ceſſation probably was, that the Marons were endeavouring, by every means in their power, to bring over the ſlaves in different parts of the iſland to their cauſe; ſuch therefore as were diſcontented with their condition, deſerted to the Marons; but, ſeveral who took this ſtep, performed ſome previous act of outrage, by way of recommending themſelves to their new friends; none was more horrid than what was committed on Mr.

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B— of St. Anne; a gentleman diſtinguiſhed for his humanity towards his ſlaves, and in particular to one of his domeſtics, on whom he had beſtowed many extraordinary marks of kindneſs. Yet this ungrateful villain, at the head of a gang who were equally diſpoſed to revolt, aſſaulted his maſter whilſt he was in bed; Mr. B— defended himſelf for ſome time with his broad ſword, but being overpowered by numbers, and diſabled by wounds, he fell at length a victim to their cruelty; they cut off his head, ſawed his ſkull aſunder, and made uſe of it as a punch-bowl; and, after doing as much further miſchief as they were able, they retreated into the woods.

After the pacification made with governor Trelawney, no inſurrection of moment occurred for many years. Some trifling diſturbances happened, and ſome plots were detected, but they came to nothing; and indeed the ſeeds of rebellion were in a great meaſure rendered abortive, by the activity of the Marons, who ſcoured the woods, and apprehended all ſtraggling and vagabond ſlaves, that from time to time deſerted from their owners. But in the year 1760, a conſpiracy was projected, and conducted with ſuch profound ſecreſy, that almoſt all the Coromantin ſlaves throughout the iſland were privy to it, without any ſuſpicion from the Whites. The pariſh of St. Mary was fixed upon, as the moſt proper theatre for opening their tragedy. It abounded with their countrymen, was but thinly peopled with Whites, contained extenſive deep woods, and plenty of proviſions: ſo that as the engaging any conſiderable number heartily in the ſcheme, would depend chiefly on the ſucceſs of their firſt operations, they were likely to meet with a fainter reſiſtance in this pariſh than in moſt others; and ſhould the iſſue of the conflict prove unfavourable to them, they might retreat with ſecurity into the woods, and there continue well ſupplied with proviſions, until their party ſhould be ſtrengthened with ſufficient reinforcements, to enable their proſecution of the grand enterprize, whoſe object was no other than the entire extirpation of the white inhabitants; the enſlaving of all ſuch Negroes as might refuſe to join them; and the partition of the iſland into ſmall principalities in the African mode; to be diſtributed among their leaders and head men. A principal inducement

ducement to the formation of this ſcheme of conqueſt was, the happy circumſtance of the *Marons*; who, they obſerved, had acquired very comfortable ſettlements, and a life of freedom and eaſe, by dint of their proweſs. On the night preceding Eaſter-Monday, about fifty of them marched to Port Maria, where they murdered the ſtorekeeper of the fort (at that time unprovided with a garriſon), broke open the magazine, and ſeized four barrels of powder, a few muſquet-balls, and about forty fire-arms. Proceeding from thence to the bay, which lies under the fort, they met with ſome fiſhing-nets, from which they cut off all the leaden ſinkers, made of bullets drilled. Theſe Negroes were moſtly collected from Trinity plantation, belonging to Mr. Bayley; Whitehall, and Frontier, belonging to Mr. Ballard Beckford; and Heywood Hall, the property of Mr. Heywood. Mr. Bayley had been called up by one of his domeſtics, and, mounting his horſe, rode towards the bay, in hopes that, by expoſtulating calmly with the rebels, he might perſuade them to diſperſe and return to their duty; but their plan was too deeply laid, and they had conceived too high an opinion of it, to recede.

Upon his nearer approach, he perceived they were determined to act offenſively, and therefore galloped back with great expedition; a few random-ſhots were diſcharged after him, which he fortunately eſcaped, and rode directly to the neighbouring eſtates, alarming them as he went, and appointing a place of rendezvous. In this he performed a very eſſential piece of ſervice to the white inhabitants, who before were entire ſtrangers to the inſurrection, and unprepared againſt ſurprize; but this notice gave them ſome time to recollect themſelves, and to conſult meaſures for ſuppreſſing the inſurgents. In the mean while, the latter purſued their way to Heywood-Hall, where they ſet fire to the works and cane-pieces, and proceeded to Eſher, an eſtate of Mr. William Beckford, murthering on the road a poor white man, who was traveling on foot. At Eſher they were joined by fourteen or fifteen of their countrymen. The Whites on that eſtate had but juſt time to ſhut themſelves up in the dwelling-houſe, which they barricadoed as well as they could; unhappily they were deſtitute of ammunition, and therefore incapable of making any reſiſtance. The rebels, who knew

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their ſituation, ſoon forced an entrance, murthered the overſeer and another perſon, and mangled the doctor, till they ſuppoſed him dead; in this condition they drew him down ſeveral ſteps by the heels, and threw him among the other murthered perſons; his limbs ſtill appearing to move, one of the rebels exclaimed, that "he had as many lives as a *puſs*;" and immediately diſcharged four or five ſlugs through his back, ſome of which penetrated the bladder. This gentleman was ſo dreadfully wounded, that the two ſurgeons, who afterwards attended him, were every day fatigued with the multiplicity of bandages and dreſſings, neceſſary to be applied upon almoſt all parts of his body; ſo that his recovery was next to miraculous.

After this exploit, they raviſhed a Mulatto woman, who had been the overſeer's kept miſtreſs; but ſpared her life, at the requeſt of ſome of the Eſher Negroes, who alledged, in her favour, that ſhe had frequently ſaved them from a whipping, by her interceſſion with the overſeer; conſidering the hands into which ſhe had fallen, this was thought an act of very extraordinary clemency; and, in fact, not owing really to any merit on her part, as the overſeer had only choſe to let his forgiveneſs appear rather to come through the importunity of another, than from the lenity of his own diſpoſition. The doctor, notwithſtanding his wounds, recovered afterwards. Yankee, a truſty ſlave belonging to this eſtate, behaved on the occaſion with ſignal gallantry; he was very active in endeavouring to defend the houſe, and aſſiſt the white men; but, finding they were overpowered, he made his eſcape to the next eſtate, and there, with another faithful Negroe, concerted meaſures for giving immediate notice to all the plantations in the neighbourhood, and procuring auxiliaries for the white inhabitants. The rebels, after this action, turned back to Heywood Hall and Ballard's Valley, where they picked up ſome freſh recruits, ſo that their whole party, including women, increaſed to about four hundred. The fatigues of the opening their campaign had ſo exhauſted their ſpirits by this time, that they thought proper to refreſh themſelves a little before they renewed their hoſtilities; having therefore a good magazine of hogs, poultry, rum, and other plunder of the like kind, they choſe out a convenient ſpot, ſurrounded with trees, and a little retired from the road, where they ſpread their proviſion, and began to carouze. The white inhabitants, alarmed by Mr. Bayley, had aſſembled in the mean

time about 70 or 80 horſe, and had now a fair opportunity of routing the whole body; they advanced towards the place where the rebels were enjoying themſelves, and luckily diſcovered them by their noiſe and riot, or they might have fallen into an ambuſcade. The Coromantins did not exhibit any ſpecimen of generalſhip upon this occaſion; on the appearance of the troop, they kept cloſe in the wood, from whence they poured an irregular fire, which did no execution. The drilled bullets, taken from the fiſhing nets, deſcribed an arch in their projection, and flew over the heads of the militia. After keeping their ranks for ſome time, it was propoſed that they ſhould diſmount, and puſh into the wood; but on examining their ammunition, the militia found their whole ſtock, if equally divided, did not amount to more than one charge each man; they therefore held it more adviſeable, for the major part to ſtand their ground on the reſerve, while their ſervants, and ſome others well armed, advanced into the wood cloſe to the rebels, ſeveral of whom they killed; a Mulatto man was ſaid to have ſlain three with his own hand, and a brave North Briton about the ſame number. The rebels, intimidated with this bold attack, retreated; but it was not judged proper at that time to purſue them.

During all theſe tranſactions, two Negroes, belonging to Mr. Beckford, having taken horſe at the firſt alarm, were on the road to Spaniſh Town, and traveled with ſuch expedition through very bad ways, that they brought the intelligence to lieut. governor Sir Henry Moore, by one o'clock the ſame day, who immediately diſpatched two parties of regulars, and two troops of horſe militia, by different routs, to the pariſh; orders at the ſame time were ſent to the *Marons* of Scot's-Hall Town, to advance by another road from the Eaſtward, and a party from the Leeward Towns were directed to enter by the Weſt. All theſe detachments were in motion as early as poſſible, and no meaſures could have been more effectually taken. The lieutenant governor happily poſſeſſed, in addition to great abilities, uncommon preſence of mind, prudence, and bravery, a moſt conſummate knowledge of the geography of the iſland, and of every road and avenue in its ſeveral diſtricts. By this means, he was enabled to take every fit precaution, and form the moſt proper diſpoſition of the forces, as well for reducing the inſurgents, as protecting the eſtates in thoſe parts,

where the flame might be expected to kindle afreſh. Theſe detachments, by forced marches, ſoon made their appearance in St. Mary, and damped at once all the ideas of conqueſt, which at firſt had elevated the rebels. They kept in the woods, rambling from place to place, ſeldom continuing many hours on one ſpot; and when they perceived themſelves cloſe beſet on all ſides, they reſolved to ſell their lives as dear as poſſible. The *Marons* of Scot's-Hall behaved extremely ill at this juncture; they were the firſt party that came to the rendezvous; and, under pretence that ſome arrears were due to them, and that they had not been regularly paid their head-money allowed by law, for every run-away taken up, they refuſed to proceed againſt the rebels, unleſs a collection was immediately made for them; ſeveral gentlemen preſent ſubmitted to comply with this extraordinary demand, rather than delay the ſervice; after which they marched, and had one engagement with the rebels, in which they killed a few. A party of the 74th regiment lay quartered at a houſe by the ſea ſide, at a ſmall diſtance from the woods; in the night the rebels were ſo bold, that they crept very near the quarters, and, having ſhot the centinel dead, retired again with the utmoſt agility from purſuit. Not long after this accident the regulars, after a tedious march through the woods, which the ſteepneſs of the hills, and heat of the weather, conſpired to render extremely fatiguing, came up with the enemy, and an engagement enſued, in which ſeveral of the rebels were killed, and lieut. Bevil of the regulars wounded. The different parties continued in chaſe of the fugitives, and ſkirmiſhes happened every day; but in the mean while, the ſpirit of rebellion was ſhewing itſelf in various other parts of the iſland, there being ſcarcely a ſingle pariſh, to which this conſpiracy of the Coromantins did not extend. In St. Mary's pariſh a check was fortunately given at one eſtate, by ſurprizing a famous obeiah man or prieſt, much reſpected among his countrymen. He was an old Coromantin, who, with others of his profeſſion, had been a chief in counſeling and inſtigating the credulous herd, to whom theſe prieſts adminiſtered a powder, which, being rubbed on their bodies, was to make them invulnerable: they perſuaded them into a belief, that Tacky, their generaliſſimo in the woods, could not poſſibly be hurt by the white men, for that he caught all the bullets fired at him in his hand, and hurled them back with deſtruction to his foes.

This old impoſtor was caught whilſt he was tricked up with all his feathers, teeth, and other implements of magic, and in this attire ſuffered military execution by hanging: many of his diſciples, when they found that he was ſo eaſily put to death, notwithſtanding all the boaſted feats of his powder and incantations, ſoon altered their opinion of him, and determined not to join their countrymen, in a cauſe which hitherto had been unattended with ſucceſs. But the fame of general Tacky, and the notion of his invulnerability, ſtill prevailed over the minds of others, as that hero had eſcaped hitherto in every conflict without a wound. The true condition of his party was artfully miſrepreſented to the Coromantins, in the diſtant pariſhes; they were told that every thing went on proſperouſly, that victory attended them, and that nothing now remained but for all their countrymen to be hearty in the cauſe, and the iſland muſt ſpeedily be their own. Animated with theſe reports, the Coromantins on capt. Forreſt's eſtate, in Weſtmoreland, broke into rebellion. They ſurrounded the manſion-houſe, in which Mr. Smith, attorney to Mr. Forreſt, with ſome friends, was ſitting at ſupper; they ſoon diſpatched Mr. Smith and the overſeer, and terribly wounded captain Hoare, commander of a merchant ſhip in the trade, who afterwards recovered. Three other Negroes belonging to this eſtate made their eſcape privately, and alarmed the neighbouring ſettlements, by which means the white perſons upon them provided for their lives, and took meaſures which prevented the Negroes on three contiguous eſtates from riſing. A gentleman, proprietor of one of theſe eſtates, remarkable for his humanity and kind treatment of his ſlaves, upon the firſt alarm, put arms into the hands of about twenty; of whoſe faithful attachment to him, he had the utmoſt confidence: theſe were all of them Coromantins, who no ſooner had got poſſeſſion of arms, than they convinced their maſter how little they merited the good opinion he had entertained of them; for having ranged themſelves before his houſe, they aſſured him they would do him no harm, but that they muſt go and join their countrymen, and then ſaluting him with their hats, they every one marched off. Among the rebels were ſeveral French Negroes, who had been taken priſoners at Guadaloupe, and, being ſent to Jamaica for ſale, were purchaſed by capt. Forreſt. Theſe men were the more dangerous, as they had been in arms at Guadaloupe, and ſeen ſomething of military operations; in

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which they acquired ſo much ſkill, that, after the maſſacre on the eſtate, when they found their partiſans of the adjacent plantations did not appear to join them, they killed ſeveral Negroes, ſet fire to buildings and cane-pieces, did a variety of other miſchief, and then withdrew into the woods, where they formed a ſtrong breaſt-work acroſs a road, flanked by a rocky hill; within this work they erected their huts, and ſat down in a ſort of encampment; a party of militia, who were ſent to attack them, very narrowly eſcaped being all cut off. The men were badly diſciplined, having been haſtily collected; and falling into an ambuſcade, they were ſtruck with terror at the diſmal yells, and the multitude of their aſſailants. The whole party was thrown into the utmoſt confuſion, and routed, notwithſtanding every endeavour of their officers; each ſtrove to ſhift for himſelf, and whilſt they ran different ways, ſcarcely knowing what they were about, ſeveral were butchered, others broke their limbs over precipices, and the reſt with difficulty found their way back again. This unlucky defeat raiſed the ſpirits of the Coromantins in this part of the country, and encouraged ſo many to join the victorious band, that the whole number very ſoon amounted to upwards of a thouſand, including their women, who were neceſſary for carrying their baggage, and dreſſing their victuals. This conſequence ſhewed, how ill judged it was, to make the firſt attack upon them with a handful of raw, undiſciplined militia, without advancing at the ſame time a party in reſerve, to ſuſtain their efforts, and cover their retreat. In ſuppreſſing theſe mutinies, the firſt action has always been of the utmoſt importance, and therefore ſhould never be confided to any except tried and well-trained men. The winning the firſt battle from the rebellious party, uſually decides the iſſue of the war; it diſconcerts the conſpirators, not as yet engaged, and who keep aloof, irreſolute whether to join or not; and it intimidates all that are in arms, and moſt commonly plunges them into deſpondency: the reverſe is ſure to follow a defeat of the Whites on the firſt encounter; and nothing can add greater ſtrength to rebellion, or tend more to raiſe the authority of the prieſts and leaders who have ſet it on foot. Theſe remarks have been fully verified, in courſe of the preſent, and every other inſurrection that has occurred in this iſland. The inſurgents in St. Mary, who opened the campaign, were repulſed in the firſt conflict, and from that time grew diſheartened,

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and diminiſhing in their numbers; their confederates in that pariſh looked upon their rout as ominous, and would not venture to aſſociate with them in the undertaking, whilſt thoſe of Weſtmoreland, who would probably have given up the cauſe, if they had met with a ſevere check at their firſt outſet, were now become fluſhed with a confidence in their ſuperiority, and gathered reinforcements every day. However, they were not ſuffered to remain long in this aſſurance of ſucceſs; a detachment of the 49th regiment, with a freſh company of militia, and a party of the Leeward *Marons*, marched to attack them. The regulars led the van, the militia brought up the rear, whilſt the *Marons* lined the wood to the right and left, to prevent ambuſcades. The rebels collected behind their fortification, made ſhew of a reſolution to defend their poſt, and fired inceſſantly at their opponents, though with no other injury than wounding one ſoldier. The officer, captain Forſyth, who commanded the detachment, advanced with the utmoſt intrepidity, ordering his men to reſerve their fire, till they had reached the breaſt-work; at which time, they poured in ſuch a volley, that ſeveral of the rebels immediately fell, and the reſt ran as faſt as they could up the hill. A Mulatto man behaved with great bravery in this action; he leaped on the breaſt-work, and aſſaulted the rebels ſword in hand. Having gained a lodgement, the troops declined a purſuit, and careleſsly entered the huts, where they ſat down to refreſh themſelves with ſome proviſions, of which they found a large ſtore; the rebels, perceiving this, diſcharged ſeveral random ſhot from the hill above them, which paſſed through the huts, and had very near been fatal to ſome of the officers: the *Marons*, upon this, penetrated the wood at the foot of the hill, and aſcending it on the oppoſite ſide, and ſpreading themſelves, ſuddenly aſſaulted the rebels in flank, who were inſtantly routed, and a great number killed, or taken priſoners. During the attack at the breaſt-work, Jemmy, a Negroe belonging to the late Mr. Smith, gave proof of his fidelity and regard to his maſter, whoſe death he revenged by killing one of the rebels, and other ſervices, for which he was afterwards rewarded with his freedom, and an annuity for life, by the aſſembly. After this overthrow, the Weſtmoreland rebels were never able to act any otherwiſe than on the defenſive; ſeveral ſkirmiſhes happened, in which they were conſtantly put to flight; their numbers were gradually reduced, and many

many deſtroyed themſelves. About the time of their breaking out, ſeveral other conſpiracies were in agitation: in the Vale of Luidas, in St. John's, the Coromantins had agreed to riſe, ravage the eſtates, and murther the white men there; they fixed a certain day for commencing hoſtilities, when they were to break open the houſe at Langher's plantation, *and ſeize the fire arms lodged there*; after which, they were to ſlay all the Whites they could meet with, fire the houſes and canepieces, and lay all the country waſte. Three Negroes, who were privy to this machination, diſcloſed it to their overſeer, in conſequence of which, the ringleaders were taken up, and, upon conviction, executed; others, who turned evidence, were tranſported off the iſland: and thus the whole of this bloody ſcheme was providentially fruſtrated.

In the pariſh of St. Thomas in the Eaſt, a Negroe, named Caffee, who had been preſſed by ſome Coromantins there to join with them in rebelling, and deſtroying the eſtates and white inhabitants, declined at firſt being concerned; but recollecting that ſome advantages might be gained to himſelf by a thorough knowledge of their intentions, he afterwards pretended to have thought better of their propoſals, and, profeſſing his zeal to embrace them, he aſſociated at their private cabals from time to time, till he became maſter of the whole ſecret, which he took the firſt opportunity to diſcover, and moſt of the conſpirators were apprehended.

Conſpiracies of the like nature were likewiſe detected in Kingſton, St. Dorothy, Clarendon, and St. James, and the partizans ſecured.

In Kingſton, a wooden ſword was found, of a peculiar ſtructure, with a red feather ſtuck into the handle; this was uſed among the Coromantins as a ſignal for war; and, upon examining this, and other ſuſpicious circumſtances, to the bottom, it was diſcovered, that the Coromantins of that town had raiſed one Cubah, a female ſlave belonging to a Jeweſs, to the rank of royalty, and dubbed her *queen of Kingſton*; at their meetings ſhe had ſat in ſtate under a canopy, with a ſort of robe on her ſhoulders, and a crown upon her head. Her majeſty was ſeized, and ordered for tranſportation; but, prevailing on the captain of the tranſport to put her aſhore again in the leeward part of the iſland, ſhe continued there for ſome time undiſcovered, but at length was taken up, and executed. Theſe circumſtances ſhew the great extent of the conſpiracy, the ſtrict correſpondence which had been carried

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on by the Coromantins in every quarter of the iſland, and their almoſt incredible ſecreſy in the forming their plan of inſurrection; for it appeared in evidence, that the firſt eruption in St. Mary's, was a matter preconcerted, and known to all the chief men in the different diſtricts; and the ſecret was probably confided to ſome hundreds, for ſeveral months before the blow was ſtruck.

Some perſons ſurmiſed, that they were privately encouraged, and furniſhed with arms and ammunition, by the French and Spaniards, whoſe piccaroons were often ſeen hovering near the coaſt; but there ſeems no juſt foundation for ſuch an opinion: it is certain, the rebels found an eaſier means of ſupplying themſelves with large quantities of powder, ball, lead, and ſeveral ſtands of arms, on the different eſtates where they broke out; on ſome of theſe, they found two or three dozen muſquets and cutlaſſes, which were not guarded by more than two or three white men. The planters, as I have before remarked, very imprudently kept theſe magazines, which were by far too many for their neceſſary defence, and attracted the notice of the Coromantins, who are practiſed in the uſe of arms from their youth in their own country, and are at all times diſpoſed for mutiny.

A freſh inſurrection happened in St. James's, which threatened to become very formidable, had it not been for the activity of brigadier Witter of the militia, and lieut. colonel Spragge of the 49th, who diſperſed the inſurgents, and took ſeveral priſoners; but the reſt eſcaped, and, uniting with the ſtragglers of the other defeated parties, formed a large gang, and infeſted Carpenter's Mountains for ſome time. Another party of twelve Coromantins in Clarendon, whom their maſter, from a too good opinion of their fidelity, had imprudently armed, at their own earneſt intreaty, and ſent in queſt of a ſmall detached band of rebels, of whoſe haunt he had gained intelligence, deſerted to their countrymen, but were ſoon after ſurprized, and the greater part of them killed or taken. Damon, one of the Weſtmoreland chiefs, with a ſmall gang, having poſted himſelf at a place called Mile Gully in Clarendon, a voluntary party, under command of Mr. Scot and Mr. Greig, with three or four more, went in queſt of them. They had a long way to march in the night, through the woods, and acroſs a difficult country; but, having provided themſelves with a truſty guide, they came up to the haunt about midnight, attacked the rebels without

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loſs of time, killed the chief, and one of his men, wounded another, and took two priſoners; for which ſervice, the aſſembly made them a genteel recompence, beſides a good reward to the Negroes who aſſiſted them in this enterprize.

The rebels in St. Mary's, under general Tacky, ſtill maintained their ground. Admiral Holmes had diſpatched a frigate to Port Maria, which proved of great uſe for the ſafe cuſtody of priſoners, who were too numerous to be confined on ſhore, and required too large a party of militia to guard them; but after they were removed on board, where they were well ſecured, the militia were ready to be employed on more active ſervice: no meaſure, therefore, could be more ſeaſonable and judicious; and it was one good effect of the harmony then ſubſiſting between the commander of the ſquadron and the lieutenant governor. The rebels now thought only of concealing themſelves, and made choice of a little glade, or cockpit, ſo environed with rocky ſteeps, that it was difficult to come at them; but, in this ſituation, a party of militia and *Marons*, with ſome ſailors, aſſaulted them with hand grenades, killed ſome, and took a few priſoners. Soon after this, they ſuffered a more deciſive overthrow; the *Marons* of Scot's-Hall, having got ſight of their main body, forced them to an engagement; the rebels ſoon gave way, and Tacky, their leader, having ſeparated from the reſt, was cloſely purſued by lieut. Davy of the *Marons*, who fired at him whilſt they were both running a full ſpeed, and ſhot him dead. His head was brought to Spaniſh Town, and ſtuck on a pole in the highway; but, not long after, ſtolen, as was ſuppoſed, by ſome of his countrymen, who were unwilling to let it remain expoſed in ſo ignominious a manner. The loſs of this chief[y], and of Jamaica, another of their captains, who fell in the ſame battle, ſtruck moſt of the ſurvivors of their little army with deſpair; they betook themſelves

[y] He was a young man of good ſtature, and well made; his countenance handſome, but rather of an effeminate than manly caſt. It was ſaid, he had flattered himſelf with the hope of obtaining (among other fruits of victory) the lieutenant governor's lady for his concubine. He did not appear to be a man of any extraordinary genius, and probably was choſen general, from his ſimilitude in perſon to ſome favourite leader of their nation in Africa. A gentleman, ſeveral years ſince, having ſet up in a conſpicuous part of his plantation a bronzed ſtatue of a gladiator, ſomewhat larger than the natural ſize, the Coromantins no ſooner beheld, than they were almoſt ready to fall down, and adore it. Upon enquiry, the gentleman learnt, that they had diſcovered a very ſtriking likeneſs between this figure and one of their princes, and believed that it had been copied from him.

themſelves to a cave, at the diſtance of a mile or two from the ſcene of action, where it was thought they laid violent hands on one another, to the number of twenty-five; however, the *Marons*, who found them out, claimed the honour of having ſlain them, and brought their ears to the lieutenant governor, in teſtimony of their death, and to entitle themſelves to the uſual reward. A few miſerable fugitives ſtill ſculked about the woods, in continual terror for their fate; but at length, they contrived to ſend an embaſſy to a gentleman of the pariſh (Mr. Gordon), in whoſe honour they repoſed implicit confidence, and expreſſed their readineſs to ſurrender upon the condition of being tranſported off the iſland, inſtead of being put to death. This gentleman had a congreſs with their leaders unarmed, and promiſed to exert his endeavours with the lieutenant governor; on their part, they ſeemed well pleaſed to wait his determination, and gave aſſurance of their peaceable demeanour in the mean while. The lieutenant governor's conſent was obtained; but under an appearance of difficulty, to make it the more deſireable; and, upon intimation of it at the next private congreſs, they one and all ſubmitted, and were ſhipped off, purſuant to the ſtipulation. The remains of the Weſtmoreland and St. James's rebels ſtill kept in arms, and committed ſome ravages. In September therefore (1760) the lieutenant governor convened the aſſembly, and in his ſpeech informed them, "That the various ſcenes of diſtreſs, occaſioned by the inſurrections which broke out in ſo many different parts of the country, would have engaged him ſooner to call them together; but he was obliged to defer it, as their preſence was ſo neceſſary in the ſeveral diſtricts, to prevent the ſpreading of an evil ſo dangerous in its conſequence to the whole iſland.

"That he had the ſatisfaction to acquaint them, his expectations had been fully anſwered, by the vigilance and bravery of the troops employed during the late troubles; that the many difficulties they had to encounter, only ſerved to ſet their behaviour in a more advantage-

Two of the St. Mary's ringleaders, Fortune and Kingſton, were hung up alive in irons on a gibbet, erected in the parade of the town of Kingſton. Fortune lived ſeven days, but Kingſton ſurvived till the ninth. The morning before the latter expired, he appeared to be convulſed from head to foot; and upon being opened, after his deceaſe, his lungs were found adhering to the back ſo tightly, that it required ſome force to diſengage them. The murders and outrages they had committed, were thought to juſtify this cruel puniſhment inflicted upon them *in terrorem* to others; but they appeared to be very little affected by it themſelves; behaving all the time with a degree of hardened inſolence, and brutal inſenſibility.

ous light; and the plan now propoſed for carrying on their operations, had the faireſt proſpect of totally ſuppreſſing, in a very ſhort time, all the diſturbers of the public repoſe.

" That the ready aſſiſtance he had received from rear-admiral Holmes, in tranſporting troops and proviſions, and in ſtationing his majeſty's ſhips where they could be of moſt ſervice, enabled him to make uſe of ſuch vigorous meaſures, and employ to advantage ſuch a force, that, notwithſtanding the formidable number of rebels which had appeared in arms, and the many combinations which were formed among the ſlaves throughout the iſland, *their projects were rendered abortive*, and tranquillity again reſtored, where total deſtruction had been threatened.

" That nothing had been omitted to render the martial law as little grievous as poſſible to the inhabitants, although the long continuance of it could not fail of being ſeverely felt by the community in general; but the public ſecurity required it; and to that, every other conſideration gave place.

" That the care which had been taken to introduce a proper diſcipline among the militia, had now put them on ſo reſpectable a footing, that they only required the aid of legiſlature, to make them truly uſeful. The great defects of the laſt militia law were never more apparent than during the late misfortunes, when the private ſoldier was ſupported in diſobedience of his commanding officer's orders; and, when called upon for his country's ſervice, empowered, on the payment of an inconſiderable fine [z], to withdraw that aſſiſtance, for which he was enliſted."

The latter part of the lieutenant governor's ſpeech alludes principally to the conduct of ſeveral privates in the militia, and particularly the Jews, who refuſed to turn out and appear under arms on their ſabbath, and other feſtivals or faſts, making a religious ſcruple of conſcience their pretext, though it was well known that they never ſcrupled taking money and vending drams upon thoſe days; others wilfully abſented themſelves, and paid the fine, which came to much leſs than their profits amounted to by ſtaying at home, and attending their ſhops. I muſt not here omit a little anecdote relative to theſe people: one of the rebel leaders, having been taken priſoner in Weſtmoreland,

[z] Ten ſhillings for non-appearance at muſter.

was confined in irons, in the barrack at Savannah la Mar, to wait his trial. It happened that, on the night after his captivity, a Jew was appointed to ſtand centry over him: about midnight the rebel, after reconnoitering the perſon of his guard, took the opportunity of tampering with him, to favour his eſcape. "You Jews, ſaid he, and our "nation (meaning the Coromantins), ought to conſider ourſelves as "one people. You differ from the reſt of the Whites, and they hate "you. Surely then it is beſt for us to join in one common intereſt, "drive them out of the country, and hold poſſeſſion of it to ourſelves. "We will have (continued he) a fair diviſion of the eſtates, and we "will make ſugar and rum, and bring them to market. As for the "ſailors, you ſee they do not oppoſe us, they care not who is in poſ-"ſeſſion of the country, Black or White, it is the ſame to them; ſo "that after we are become maſters of it, you need not fear but they "will come cap in hand to us (as they now do to the Whites) to "trade with us. They'll bring us things from t'other ſide the ſea, "and be glad to take our goods in payment." Finding the Jew's arguments, in objection to this propoſal, not ſo difficult to ſurmount as he had expected, he then finiſhed his harangue with an offer, that, "if he would but releaſe him from his irons, he would conduct him "directly to a ſpot, where he had buried ſome hundred of piſtoles, "which he ſhould have in reward." The Jew was very earneſt to know whereabouts this hidden treaſure lay, that he might firſt ſatisfy his own eyes, that what he had been told was true, before he ſhould take any further ſtep; but the priſoner flatly refuſed to let him into the ſecret, unleſs he was firſt ſet at liberty; which condition the Iſraelite was either too honeſt or too unbelieving to comply with, but the next day reported what had paſſed, to his officers.

The lieutenant-governor recommended to the houſe, the putting the iſland into a better poſture of defence, and the paſſing ſuch new regulations for remedying thoſe defects in the laws, which the late calamities had pointed out, as might beſt ſeem adapted to prevent future attempts of the like nature.

The aſſembly immediately addreſſed him, to proclaim martial law, in order to put an end to the rebellion ſtill ſubſiſting in the Leeward part of the iſland. They tranſmitted the thanks of their houſe to admiral Holmes for the aſſiſtance he had given; who returned a very

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polite anſwer, and aſſured them, " that his greateſt pleaſure would " conſiſt in the execution of his duty againſt his majeſty's enemies, " and in giving the utmoſt protection in his power to the trade and " commerce of the iſland."

They likewiſe expreſſed their moſt grateful ſentiments of the lieutenant-governor's vigilance and conduct, which had ſo happily contributed to the reduction of the rebels in one part, and would, they hoped, very ſhortly effect their total ſuppreſſion. For this end, they applied their deliberations, and received the propoſals of William Hynes, a millwright by trade, who had been uſed to the woods, and very ſerviceable againſt the rebels in St. Mary's. He propoſed that he ſhould be empowered by the lieutenant-governor to beat up for volunteers, and raiſe among the free Mulattos and Negroes a party of one hundred ſhot; with which he would march againſt the rebels in Weſtmoreland, and do his utmoſt to reduce them.

He deſired to have two lieutenants and one enſign to be in ſubordinate command; that the reward for their ſervice ſhould be equal, and that his party ſhould be furniſhed at the public expence with ſuitable arms and accoutrements, money to provide neceſſaries, and a ſtated premium for every rebel they ſhould take or deſtroy. This ſcheme was approved of, and a bill paſſed for carrying it into immediate execution. At the ſame time ſeven companies, of thirty men each, were draughted from the militia, and fifteen baggage-Negroes allotted to each company, making in all three hundred and fifteen, who were ſtationed by the lieutenant-governor in the moſt advantageous poſts; and troopers were diſpoſed in ſuch a manner, as to carry diſpatches to and from them, with the beſt expedition. The aſſembly granted 450 *l.* to be divided among the Marons of Trelawny and Accompong Towns, in payment of their arrears due to them, and to encourage their future ſervices. Captain Hynes, with his party, went in ſearch of the rebels, and was four months on the ſcout; at laſt, after a tedious purſuit, he ſurprized them in their haunt, killed and took twelve, and the remainder were afterwards either ſlain or taken priſoners by other parties, or deſtroyed themſelves, which latter was the cataſtrophe of numbers; for the parties of militia frequently came to places in the woods, where ſeven or eight were found tied up with withes to the boughs of trees; and

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previous to theſe ſelf-murders, they had generally maſſacred their women and children. The aſſembly ordered 562 *l.* 12 *s.* 6 *d.* to be paid captain Hynes, for his diſburſements, and as a recompence for his ſervices. Thus terminated this rebellion; which, whether we conſider the extent and ſecreſy of its plan, the multitude of the conſpirators, and the difficulty of oppoſing its eruptions in ſuch a variety of different places at once, will appear to have been more formidable than any hitherto known in the Weſt Indies; though happily extinguiſhed, in far leſs time than was expected, by the precaution and judgement of the lieutenant-governor in the diſpoſition of the forces, the prompt aſſiſtance of the admiral, and the alacrity of the regulars, ſeamen, militia, and Marons, who all contributed their ſhare towards the ſpeedy ſuppreſſion of it. The lieutenant governor, under whoſe prudent conduct this inteſtine war was ſo ſucceſsfully brought to a concluſion, was a native of the iſland, and had a property in it at ſtake; but if this may detract any thing from the merits of his exertion, it proves at leaſt, how much more may reaſonably be hoped from the aſſiduity of a gentleman of the iſland, who is intereſted in its welfare, and in whom a perfect knowledge of the country is ſuperadded to natural ability and public ſpirit, than from others, who, having nothing to loſe in it, may be leſs anxious for its preſervation. There fell, by the hands of the rebels, by murder, and in action, about ſixty white perſons; the number of the rebels who were killed, or deſtroyed themſelves, was between three and four hundred. Few in proportion were executed, the major part of the priſoners being tranſported off the iſland [*a*]. Such as appeared to have been involuntarily compelled to join them, were acquitted; but the whole amount of the killed, ſuicides, executed and tranſported, was not leſs than one thouſand; and the whole loſs ſuſtained by the country, in ruined buildings, cane-pieces, cattle, ſlaves, and diſburſements, was at leaſt 100,000 *l.* to ſpeak within compaſs.

[*a*] Moſt of them were ſent to the Bay of Honduras, which has long been the common receptacle of Negroe criminals, baniſhed from this iſland; the conſequence of which may, ſome time or other, prove very troubleſome to the logwood cutters; yet they make no ſcruple to buy theſe outcaſts, as they coſt but little. It is difficult to find a convenient market for ſuch ſlaves among the neighbouring foreign colonies; but, if poſſibly it could be avoided, theſe dangerous ſpirits ſhould not be ſent to renew their outrages in any of our own infant ſettlements.

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The aſſembly, upon the lieutenant governor's recommendation, proceeded to frame and paſs an act, to remedy the evils ariſing from irregular meetings of ſlaves; to prevent their carrying arms, or having ammunition, or going from place to place without tickets; to prohibit the practices of *obeiah* (or the arts of pretended conjurors); to reſtrain overſeers from leaving eſtates under their management on certain days (Sundays and holidays); and to oblige all free Negroes, Mulattoes, and Indians, to regiſter their names in the veſtry books of their reſpective pariſhes, and carry about them a certificate, and wear (the croſs) a badge of their freedom; and, laſtly, to prevent any captain, maſter, or ſupercargo, of any veſſel, from bringing back convict tranſported ſlaves. All theſe regulations were extremely prudent and neceſſary; but they explain the *defects* hinted in the lieutenant governor's ſpeech to the houſe, and evince the abuſe which has been made by the Negroes of the indulgencies hitherto allowed them. The aſſembly further voted, that the ſeveral ſlaves, ſent out againſt the rebels during the late rebellion, ſhould receive the ſame rewards for killing, or taking them alive, as the *Marons* were entitled to, upon producing a certificate to the commanding officer, of their having effected ſuch ſervice. They alſo paſſed an act, for purchaſing from their owners, and granting freedom, to about twenty Negroe ſlaves, for their fidelity to the public; they ſettled upon each of them an annuity for life, and gave them a circular badge, or medal of ſilver, on which was engraved the date of the year, with the words, "*Freedom for being Honeſt*," on one ſide, and on the reverſe, "*By the Country*."

As theſe inſurrections and conſpiracies had, for the moſt part, appeared upon eſtates belonging to perſons reſident in England, and the expences attending their ſuppreſſion occaſioned a very enormous ſum to be levied in taxes, it was thought but equitable, that the proprietors, who, by their abſence, had left their ſlaves in want of a due controul, and the perſonal influence of a maſter, and their eſtates to be defended by the perſonal ſervices and hardſhips of other men, while they themſelves were repoſing in eaſe and affluence, beyond the reach of danger, ought to compenſate for their non-reſidence, by paying a larger ſhare of the public charges, incurred in ſome meaſure through their means. They accordingly reſolved to double the deficiency tax for the year 1761; and allow every proprietor reſident within the

the iſland to ſave his own deficiency for 30 ſlaves, or 150 head of cattle; and all proprietors, under twenty-one years of age, ſent off for the benefit of their education, to ſave half a deficiency. By this meaſure they threw an extraordinary weight of taxation, for that year, upon the abſentees. They likewiſe addreſſed his majeſty, that he would be pleaſed to give directions, that the company of the 49th regiment, ſtationed at the Moſquito ſhore, and four companies of the 74th, at the coaſt of Africa, might repair to, and join, their reſpective regiments in Jamaica. They repreſented, that many gentlemen, of large eſtates in the iſland, were non-reſidents, whoſe influence over their ſlaves, if reſident, would, in all probability, contribute much to the prevention of the miſchiefs ariſing from rebellious conſpiracies and inſurrections; and that they found themſelves under indiſpenſable neceſſity of ſoliciting his majeſty for another regiment, for the better ſecurity of the iſland; and the rather, as they had paſſed a bill, obliging the inhabitants of the ſeveral pariſhes to erect barracks for the reception and accommodation of more troops. They voted a large ſum for ſtrengthening the fortifications, ordered a ſupply of ſtores for the forts, and directed a powder magazine to be built at Spaniſh Town.

On the 12th of October, 1761, the aſſembly met again; when the lieutenant governor, in his ſpeech, informed them, that he had delayed their meeting beyond the uſual time, in order that every meaſure might be enforced, which could tend to the preſervation of the general tranquillity, at that time happily reſtored again, *by the total ſuppreſſion of the rebellion*, and to give them opportunity of ſupporting, by their preſence in their ſeveral diſtricts, thoſe reſolutions, which were taken for the internal ſecurity of the iſland, and the prevention of future attempts, to involve them again in calamities of the like nature. That the advantages which muſt attend the erection of barracks in the different pariſhes, and the cantoning his majeſty's troops according to the plan then laid down, were ſo evident, that no one, intereſted in the welfare of that community, could diſapprove of ſo prudent a meaſure.

Thus, every meaſure that could be ſuggeſted, either for remedying the diſorders under which the iſland had ſuffered ſo much, or for baffling the machinations of future inſurgents, or putting the forts and fortifications into a reſpectable ſtate of defence againſt foreign enemies,

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was profecuted as far as the lieutenant governor's authority could give it ſanction, or the aſſembly ſecond his recommendations. Mr. Lyttelton arrived as governor the following year (February, 1762); and the public tranquillity remained undiſturbed by inſurrections for ſome time. It was however well known, that ſeveral Coromantins, who had actually been in arms during the late commotion, whilſt their cauſe wore a promiſing aſpect, ſlunk away afterwards, and returned again again to their duty, affecting great abhorrence at the behaviour of their countrymen, and even pretending that they had been exerting themſelves in oppoſition to the rebels. With good reaſon therefore it was ſuſpected, by many perſons in St. Mary's, that theſe deſerters, who had taken the *fetiſhe*, or oath, which they regard as inviolable, would diſſemble their genuine ſentiments for the preſent, and wait a favourable opportunity to execute their bloody purpoſes. Some time in July, 1765, there was a private meeting in that pariſh, of ſeveral Coromantin headmen, who entered into a conſpiracy for a freſh inſurrection, to take place immediately after the Chriſtmas holidays; they bound the compact with their fetiſhe, according to cuſtom, and received aſſurances from all or moſt of the Coromantins in the pariſh, that they would join. But the impatience of ſome among them to begin the work, hurried them on to riſe before the day appointed, and diſconcerted their whole plan; for, on the 29th of November, at night, a Coromantin, named Blackwall, belonging to Whitehall plantation, who had been tried formerly on ſuſpicion of being concerned in the rebellion of 1760, and acquitted for want of ſufficient evidence, having previouſly ſeduced to his party nine Coromantins on the ſame eſtate, but a little before imported from Africa, ſet fire to the works and traſh-houſes, with a view to decoy the overſeer, and other white perſons there, from their beds, to extinguiſh it; and then to cut off their retreat to the dwelling-houſe, ſecure the arms lodged there, and proceed to murther them, without fear of reſiſtance.

Upon the firſt alarm of fire, the overſeer and white ſervants repaired to the works, as had been foreſeen; where they met with Blackwall (who held a poſt of ſome authority on the eſtate), bemoaning the ſad accident, and ſhewing great alertneſs in fetching water to ſupply the Whites, whom he adviſed to get upon the roofs, where they

might throw it on the flames with the beſt advantage; the overſeer, not having the ſmalleſt diſtruſt of him, and wholly employed about extinguiſhing the fire, readily purſued his advice. In the dwelling-houſe were Mr. B——, and his ſiſter Mrs. B——d, who had haſtily ſlipped on their cloaths, and were ſtanding in the piazza, at the front of the houſe, and looking towards the conflagration; when, all at once, the nine confederates broke through the back-door, all ſtark-naked, with the moſt hideous yells, and ſharpened bills in their hands; Mr. B—— was unfortunately very infirm, and had no chance of eſcaping; while therefore he turned to expoſtulate with them, they ſurrounded and hacked him into a thouſand pieces. The pleaſure they enjoyed in mangling the body of this unhappy gentleman (who had only lodged here, by accident, in his way to Spaniſh Town) afforded Mrs. B——d an opportunity to jump out of the piazza, and run towards the bottom of the hill on which the houſe ſtood; but, before ſhe could reach ſo far, ſhe fell down; in this ſituation ſhe was ſeen by two faithful Negroe men, her domeſtics, who flew to her aſſiſtance; upon their coming up to her, ſhe concluded no leſs than that ſhe was in the hands of the rebels, and deſtined for immediate butchery; but, whilſt ſhe was imploring for mercy, the ſervants ſeized her in their arms, and, with great preſence of mind, haſtened with her as faſt as they could to the ſide of a neighbouring river, where they concealed her amongſt the ſedge and graſs, that grew very thick, injoining her to lie cloſe, whilſt they were gone to look for more aſſiſtance. The rebels, in the mean time, diſpatched another gentleman, who, upon the cry of fire, had come from the next eſtate, and fell into their cluthces. But the overſeer, and other Whites, on hearing the groans of Mr. B——, and the ſhouts of his murtherers, fled to Ballard's Valley, which eſtate joins Whitehall; where they called up the white men to ſecure themſelves, and prepare for their defence. The flames, which were ſeen at a great diſtance, ſerved as a ſignal to other conſpirators; ſo that their number was now augmented to fifty or ſixty; who, with the moſt horrid acclamations, (having got poſſeſſion of all the arms at Whitehall, with powder and ball) began their march, paſſed cloſe by the place of Mrs. B——d's concealment, without perceiving her, and proceeded on to Ballard's Valley. When they were got to a ſufficient diſtance, one of her truſty ſervants returned, with great caution,

caution, to the ſtable, where, finding a horſe, he fixed on a pillion, and, coming to his miſtreſs, carried her through bye-ways to another eſtate, and brought to the white people there the firſt intelligence of what had happened. Conſidering the great danger to which that lady was expoſed, and that the moſt trifling noiſe, at the time when the rebels paſſed her retreat, might have betrayed it, her eſcape appears almoſt miraculous; and it ſeems as if the hand of Providence had interpoſed, to protect her life, and make her two ſervants the inſtruments of preſervation, whoſe fidelity and addreſs cannot be too highly extolled. The rebels, being arrived at the valley, laid cloſe ſiege to the overſeer's houſe, which was garriſoned with about ten white men. This houſe was erected upon a ſtone foundation, raiſed ſome height from the ground, and furniſhed with loop-holes. The little garriſon made proper diſpoſitions for defence, and placed ſome of their party at the loop-holes below. The rebels were joined by ſeveral of their countrymen on this eſtate; and, ſurrounding the houſe, began to uſe the moſt inſulting language in their power, to provoke the Whites to come forth, that they might enjoy the ſatisfaction of killing them; but finding this ineffectual, they prepared for burning the houſe about their ears; for this purpoſe they collected a parcel of dry traſh, which they faſtened to the extremity of a long pole, and one of their leaders ſetting his back to a loop-hole, kindled the traſh, and applied it to the wood-work of the roof. At that inſtant he was perceived by one of the centries poſted below, who diſcharged his piece at him; the ball ſtruck againſt the lock of a gun, which the rebel had in his hand, and recoiling into his body, killed him upon the ſpot. His fall threw the reſt of the conſpirators into diſmay, for he was one of their chiefs; upon which the garriſon, taking advantage of their ſuſpence, ſallied out with great ſpirit, killed two or three, and diſperſed the reſt, who immediately fled into the woods. Blackwall, the principal of the gang, finding how matters were likely to end, detached himſelf from his brethren, and a few hours afterwards preſented himſelf before his overſeer in ſeeming terror, pretending he had narrowly eſcaped being put to death by his countrymen; to avoid whoſe fury, he had crawled into a cane-piece, and there hid himſelf till that inſtant. Parties were ſpeedily collected, who purſued the rebels into the woods, and reduced them with but little difficulty.

Suſpicions ariſing, that this conſpiracy was more extenſive than at firſt appeared, and upon recollection that there had been a merry meeting of the Negroes at Ballard's Valley two nights preceding the inſurrection, and that the Coromantins had ſeparated from the reſt, a ſtrict inquiry was entered into; and upon examining ſome Coromantins, who were moſt ſuſpected, they impeached ſeveral of their countrymen; freſh evidences produced further diſcoveries, and at length the plot was partly unraveled. It appeared that the Coromantins on no leſs than ſeventeen eſtates in that pariſh were engaged in the confederacy; that Blackwall was the principal inſtigator; and that the premature riſing at Whitehall was owing to the impetuoſity of one Quamin, belonging to their gang, who would not wait the appointed time; ſo that it is probable, if they had not met a repulſe ſoon after their firſt outrage, the inſurrection would have been general, from the encouragement their better ſucceſs would have given to the reſt of the conſpirators. Some among them regretted exceedingly the precipitate eagerneſs of Quamin, and threw out inſinuations that the *Marons* were in the ſecret, and that the inſurrection was intended to have opened at once in three different places, at a certain day ſoon after Chriſtmas; that three days previous notice was to be given of the exact hour of riſing; and as they hoped to find the white people off their guard, and to get poſſeſſion of ſufficient arms and powder, in the ſeveral dwelling-houſes, they had full confidence, that, by their precautions, and ſecrecy, they ſhould carry all before them, and make amends for their former diſappointment; they knew, that a large ſtock of fire arms and ammution would be abſolutely neceſſary; one of their firſt attempts therefore was to be, the ſurprize of the fort at Port Maria, which was garriſoned by only a ſmall number of ſickly ſoldiers, whom they ſuppoſed incapable of making any reſiſtance; theſe they were to drive into the ſea with their bill-hooks, and then proceed to maſſacre all the Whites in that neighbourhood. A ſecond party were to ravage the Eaſtern quarter of the pariſh, quite down to the very coaſt; whilſt a third band ſhould take their route through the Southern diſtrict, and penetrate by the woods to Sixteen-mile-walk, where they pretended to have ſeveral aſſociates in readineſs; then, uniting their forces, they were to ſlaughter, or force the white inhabitants to take refuge on board the ſhips, after which they were to divide the conquered coun-

try with the *Marons*, who, they alledged, had made choice of the woody uncultivated parts, as being moſt convenient for their hog-hunting; the Coromantins were to enjoy all the remainder, with the cattle and ſheep, and live like gentlemen; at leaſt they flattered themſelves, that the governor would apply to the king of the white men, to put the Coromantins upon the ſame eſtabliſhment as the *Marons*, who, they ſaid, were diſguſted at the little reſpect ſhewn them, and wanted the Coromantins to be incorporated with them, in order to become of more conſequence in the eyes of the white inhabitants.

This account of the defection of the *Marons* was ſo improbable, that the white people would not give any credit to it: in the firſt place, it appeared not at all likely that the *Marons*, who had always received the higheſt encouragement from the legiſlature and private perſons, would hazard the loſs of their liberty and lives, by a treaſonable breach of the treaty; and upon the uncertain iſſue of an inteſtine war, by the event of which, if ſucceſsful to them, they could gain nothing more than what they already enjoyed; ſecondly, they were to admit a dangerous ſet of confederates, diſtinct in intereſt, and ſuperior to them in number, by twenty to one, who would undoubtedly give the law to, and hold them in perpetual ſubjection. The ſtory was therefore ſuppoſed to be either the reſult of a deep-laid policy, to ſtir up a jealouſy and difference between the *Marons* and white people, from which ſome advantage might accrue to the Coromantins in ſome future inſurrection; or elſe, if the *Marons* did really aſſociate in any ſuch plan, they muſt have done ſo, from a wicked deſign of embroiling the Coromantins in freſh rebellion, in the ſuppreſſion of which they might reap a conſiderable emolument, as they had heretofore experienced, by killing or taking priſoners. Something like ſuch a project uſed to engage the frontier Indians in North America, who were never ſo happy as when the French and Engliſh were at war, becauſe they were ſure of employment and reward, on one ſide or other; and for this reaſon alone, many of their tribes were exceedingly out of humour with the laſt treaty of peace, which gave the finiſhing blow to theſe contentions for the maſtery, and to their mercenary artifices. If therefore the *Marons* had any concern in the plot, it is moſt reaſonable to believe that ſuch muſt have been their true deſign. The importance of this evidence naturally made the

parishioners desirous of examining still further, in order to get additional lights, and guard themselves against a repetition of these horrid attempts, which it appeared they had just grounds to apprehend; but the number of their militia was so inconsiderable, that, after providing the proper guards for the different estates most exposed to danger, they had so few left to take charge of the Negroe prisoners, that the latter were treble their number; so that the magistrates, whilst they were sitting on the trial of the rebels, were not without fear for their own safety, as they had no protection against any sudden insurrection made in favour of the prisoners; and, from the testimony already given, it was certain, that a very considerable body of the Coromantins had enlisted in the conspiracy, besides those who were in custody. Remonstrances were repeatedly made upon this head, and the expediency stated of sending round a ship of war to Port Maria, as had been done in the former rebellion, to receive the prisoners, there being no gaol in the parish, and only eighteen soldiers at the fort, who were in too feeble a condition to render them any service. At this time, there were no less than four companies quartered in Spanish town, besides what lay in the different forts adjacent, so that it was thought a detachment might very well have been spared; but the commander of the squadron sent no ship, nor was a single man detached to reinforce the parishioners, who were therefore left to take care of themselves; and, desisting from further examination, through a regard to their own imminent danger, what remained to be known of this black affair was smothered at once, to the no small joy of the conspirators [*b*].

A committee of the assembly, appointed to enquire into the rise and progress of this rebellion some time afterwards, reported, That it had originated (like most or all the others that had occurred in the island) with the Coromantins; whose turbulent, savage, and martial temper was well known:

That their outrages had tended very much to discourage the effectual settlement of the island; and, as a remedy in future, they proposed "that a bill should be brought in for laying an additional higher "duty upon all Fantin, Akim, and Ashantee Negroes, and all others "commonly called Coromantins, that should, after a certain time, be "imported, and sold in the island."

[*b*] Thirteen were executed, thirty-three transported, and twelve acquitted.

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Such a bill, if paſſed into a law, would doubtleſs have ſtruck at the very root of the evil; for, by laying a duty equal to a prohibition, no more Coromantins would have been brought to infeſt this country; but, inſtead of their ſavage race, the iſland would have been ſupplied with Blacks of a more docile, tractable diſpoſition, and better inclined to peace and agriculture; ſo that, in a few years, the iſland might in all likelihood have been effectually freed of all ſuch dangerous combinations. Whether the conceit of ſome few planters, in regard to the ſuperior ſtrength of the Coromantins, and greater hardineſs to ſupport field labour, ought to outweigh the public tranquillity and ſafety, or ſhould be thought to atone for the blood of murthered white inhabitants, the ruin of others, the deſolation of eſtates, and the intolerable charges of taxation thereby thrown upon the public, not to ſpeak of the obſtruction of all trade and buſineſs during the martial law, muſt be left to the ſerious conſideration of a diſpaſſionate legiſlature; the ſuppreſſion of the Coromantins, in 1760 and 1761, coſt the iſland 15,000*l.* I have before eſtimated the expence of making good loſſes ſuſtained, &c. at 100,000*l.*; and the erecting of parochial barracks, in conſequence of that inſurrection, coſt as much more. In the whole, the iſland expended not much leſs on that account than appears from the earlieſt accounts to have been diſburſed on the reduction of the *Marons*; for this was no more than 240,000*l.*

No bill however was paſſed, the meaſure was oppoſed, and it dropped; but the firſt fruits of this oppoſition burſt forth the very next year (1766), in a freſh diſturbance, that happened on a gentleman's eſtate in Weſtmoreland; where thirty-three Coromantins (for no other were concerned), moſt of whom had been newly imported, ſuddenly roſe, and, in the ſpace of an hour, murthered, and wounded, no leſs than nineteen white perſons; but they were ſoon defeated, ſome killed, and the remainder executed or tranſported. So that the owner ſuſtained a very conſiderable loſs, and would himſelf have fallen a ſacrifice, had he been on the eſtate; for they entered his dewelling-houſe, and hacked every thing they found in it to pieces. If ſuch reiterated examples will not convince men of their errors, we muſt ſay, with an old Latin author, that,

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It is worthy our remark, that the ringleaders of the St. Mary's rebellion, in 1760, belonged to a gentleman diſtinguiſhed for his humanity, and exceſſive indulgence towards his ſlaves in general, and thoſe in particular; his lenity ſo far influenced him, that, upon their complaint, he never failed to diſcharge their overſeer, and employ another more agreeable to them. No pretence of ill uſage was alledged by any of the priſoners, in any of theſe inſurrections, by way of extenuating their miſconduct; the ſole ground, and object of their taking arms, as they *unanimouſly* concurred in acknowledging, was, the vain-glorious deſire of ſubduing the country; and they wanted neither ambition nor ſelf-confidence, to doubt their ability, or ſucceſs, in accompliſhing this project. It muſt be allowed, that conſpiracies ſo extenſive could not have been conceived, methodized, and concluded upon, without various meetings of the conſpirators, in different parts of the iſland; and hence, there muſt appear to have been a very culpable inattention among the white inhabitants, who neglected to keep a vigilant eye over the Coromantins in general, during their hours of leiſure or recreation; for a ſeaſonable regard to their private cabals and ſeparate aſſociations might have proved the means of detecting their plot, long before it was ripe for execution; and to prevent, is always better, as well as eaſier, than to remedy ſuch evils. They ſhould remember the dying words of one of the Coromantins executed in 1765, who repented his having been concerned in the rebellion, and cautioned the white perſons preſent, "never to truſt any of his countrymen." Much having been ſaid of this claſs of Negroes, who have indeed been the heroes of my tale, it may not be unacceptable to give ſome account of their origin, and qualities.

The Negroes who paſs under this general deſcription are brought from the Gold coaſt; but we remain uncertain, whether they are natives of that tract of Guiney, or receive their ſeveral names of Akims, Fantins, Aſhantees, Quamboos, *&c.* from the towns ſo called, at whoſe markets they are bought. That diſtrict is populus and extenſive; and may therefore afford a conſiderable number of criminals every year for tranſportation; however, whether they are brought from ſome diſtance inland, or are the refuſe and outcaſt of the ſeveral provinces whoſe names they bear; it is certain they are marked with

with the ſame characters, which authors have given to the natives of this part, who are ſaid to be the moſt turbulent and deſperate of any on the coaſt of Guiney; and that, were it not for their civil diviſions, they would become dangerous neighbours to all the ſurrounding ſtates. *Boſman* ſays, "they are bold, hardy, and ſtick at nothing, "where revenge or intereſt is concerned; they are lazy, rapacious, "cunning, and deceitful; much addicted to theft, drunkenneſs, "gluttony, lying, flattery, and luſt; vain and haughty in their "carriage; envious and malicious in the higheſt degree, diſſembling "their reſentments, for many years, until a fit opportunity offers of "gratifying their thirſt of revenge; they are the moſt treacherous "villains, and conſummate knaves, yet known on that continent."

War and contention are their favourite amuſements; inured very early to the uſe of fire arms, they are good markſmen; they go naked, and their bodies by this means acquire a ſurprizing degree of hardineſs, and ability to undergo fatigue; but they have an invincible averſion to every kind of labour, and particularly agriculture, which they leave to their women. Their prieſts, or *obeiah-men*, are their chief oracles in all weighty affairs, whether of peace, war, or the purſuit of revenge. When aſſembled for the purpoſes of conſpiracy, the obeiah-man, after various ceremonies, draws a little blood from every one preſent; this is mixed in a bowl with gunpowder and grave dirt; the fetiſhe or oath is adminiſtered, by which they ſolemnly pledge themſelves to inviolable ſecrecy, fidelity to their chiefs, and to wage perpetual war againſt their enemies; as a ratification of their ſincerity, each perſon takes a ſup of the mixture, and this finiſhes the ſolemn rite. Few or none of them have ever been known to violate this oath, or to deſiſt from the full execution of it, even although ſeveral years may intervene. If defeated in their firſt endeavours, they ſtill retain the ſolicitude of fulfilling all that they have ſworn; diſſembling their malice under a ſeeming ſubmiſſive carriage, and all the exterior ſigns of innocence and chearfulneſs, until the convenient time arrives, when they think it practicable to retrieve their former miſcarriage. If at length their ſecret deſigns are brought to light, and that hypocriſy can no longer ſerve their turn, they either lay violent hands on themſelves, or reſiſt till they are diſabled.

To their other illaudable qualities, they add thoſe of ingratitude, and implacable anger. Not the mildeſt treatment, the moſt condeſcending indulgence, can make the ſmalleſt impreſſion upon them, conciliate their friendſhip, or divert their avidity for revenge, after they have received what they think an injury; they are utterly incapable of forgetting or forgiving; the higheſt marks of favour produce in them no ſenſe of obligation or gratitude. Prompted by theſe qualifications, and this infernal diſpoſition, they are always foremoſt in plotting, and heading mutinies; and the ſame cauſes generating the ſame invariable effects, there is no doubt but they will ever ſupport an uniformity of character, and be found, by repeated experience, the moſt unruly, inſolent, ſtubborn, and diſaffected ſet of labourers, that can poſſibly be introduced upon our plantations.

Their language is copious, and more regular than any other of the Negroe dialects; their muſic too is livelier, and their dances entirely martial, in which they reſemble the North Americans; like them too they deſpiſe death (more through ſtupidity than fortitude), and can ſmile in agony [c]. Their perſons are well made, and their features very different from the reſt of the African Negroes, being ſmaller, and more of the European turn. Their dances ſerve to keep alive that military ſpirit, for which they are ſo diſtinguiſhed; and the figure conſiſts in throwing themſelves into all the poſitions and attitudes, cuſtomary to them in the heat of an engagement. Is it not then a very injudicious and impolitic obſtinacy in the planters, who perſiſt, in defiance of reaſon and experience, to admit theſe dangerous ſpirits among them? Nature does not inſtruct the farmer to yoke tigers in his team, or plough with hyænas; ſhe gives him the gentle ſteed, and patient ox: but it would be no leſs abſurd for him to make uſe of wild beaſts for theſe purpoſes, than it is for the planter ſo vainly to attempt the taming of ſuch ſavage minds to peaceful induſtry, and humble ſubmiſſion to his authority. But, if he will perverſely continue to employ them, ſome effectual regulations ought to be provided, in order to break that ſpirit of con-

[c] Barbarians always die without regret: what attachment have they to life? They feel not the pleaſures of ſociety, the ties of affection, or of nature; their faculties are in ſuch a perpetual ſtate of infancy, that the ſpace between their birth and death is ſcarcely perceptible.

Voltaire, Les Sauvages d'Europe.

federacy,

federacy, which keeps theſe Negroes too cloſely aſſociated with one another. On many eſtates, they do not mix at all with the other ſlaves, but build their houſes diſtinct from the reſt; and, herding together, are left more at liberty to hold their dangerous cabals, without interruption. Their houſes ought to be intermixed with the reſt, and kept divided from one another, by interpoſing thoſe of the other Negroes, who by this means would become continual ſpies upon their conduct. A particular attention ſhould alſo be had to their *plays*, for theſe have always been their rendezvous for hatching plots, more eſpecially whenever on ſuch occaſions any unuſual reſort is obſerved of their countrymen from other plantations; and very particular ſearch ſhould be made after their obeiah-men, who, whenever detected, ſhould be tranſported without mercy. The employers of this deteſtable race owe theſe cautions at leaſt to the public, who have ſuffered ſo much in times paſt from the total neglect of them. From the foregoing detail, which I have given upon the moſt credible and authentic teſtimonies in my power to procure, every candid perſon may judge, with how little regard to truth the inſurrections, that have happened in Jamaica, are aſcribed to extraordinary cruelties exerciſed over the ſlaves in that iſland; I think it will appear from inconteſtable proofs, that ſo impudent a calumny could have no other foundation than malevolence, complicated with ignorance.

CHAP. IV.

FRANCIS WILLIAMS.

I Have forborne till now to introduce upon the ſtage a perſonage, who made a conſpicuous figure in this iſland, and even attracted the notice of many in England. With the impartiality that becomes me, I ſhall endeavour to do him all poſſible juſtice; and ſhall leave it to the reader's opinion, whether what they ſhall diſcover of his genius and intellect will be ſufficient to overthrow the arguments, I have before alledged, to prove an inferiority of the Negroes to the race of white men. It will by this time be diſcovered, that I allude to *Francis Williams*, a native of this iſland, and ſon to John and Dorothy Williams, free Negroes. Francis was the youngeſt of

three ſons, and, being a boy of unuſual lively parts, was pitched upon to be the ſubject of an experiment, which, it is ſaid, the Duke of Montagu was curious to make, in order to diſcover, whether, by proper cultivation, and a regular courſe of tuition at ſchool and the univerſity, a Negroe might not be found as capable of literature as a white perſon. In ſhort, he was ſent to England, where he underwent a regular diſcipline of claſſic inſtruction at a grammar ſchool, after which he was fixed at the univerſity of Cambridge, where he ſtudied under the ableſt preceptors, and made ſome progreſs in the mathematics. During his abode in England, after finiſhing his education, it is ſaid (I know not with what truth) that he compoſed the well-known ballad of "Welcome, welcome, brother debtor, *&c.*" But I have likewiſe heard the ſame attributed to a different author. Upon his return to Jamaica, the duke would fain have tried his genius likewiſe in politics, and intended obtaining for him a privy ſeal, or appointment to be one of the governor's council; but this ſcheme was dropped, upon the objections offered by Mr. Trelawny, the governor at that time. Williams therefore ſet up a ſchool in Spaniſh Town, which he continued for ſeveral years, where he taught reading, writing, Latin, and the elements of the mathematics; whilſt he acted in this profeſſion, he ſelected a Negroe pupil, whom he trained up with particular care, intending to make him his ſucceſſor in the ſchool; but of this youth it may be ſaid, to uſe the expreſſion of Feſtus to Paul, that "much learning made him mad." The abſtruſe problems of mathematical inſtitution turned his brain; and he ſtill remains, I believe, an unfortunate example, to ſhew that every African head is not adapted by nature to ſuch profound contemplations. The chief pride of this diſciple conſiſts in imitating the garb and and deportment of his tutor. A tye perriwig, a ſword, and ruffled ſhirt, ſeem in his opinion to comprehend the very marrow and quinteſſence of all erudition, and philoſophic dignity. Probably he imagines it a more eaſy way of acquiring, among the Negroes, the reputation of a great ſcholar, by theſe ſuperficial marks, which catch their eye, than by talking of Euclid, whom they know nothing about.

Conſidering the difference which climate may occaſion, and which Monteſquieu has learnedly examined, the noble duke would have

made the experiment more fairly on a native African; perhaps too the Northern air imparted a tone and vigour to his organs, of which they never could have been ſuſceptible in a hot climate; the author I have mentioned will not allow, that in hot climates there is any force or vigor of mind neceſſary for human action, "there is (ſays "he) no curioſity, no noble enterprize, no generous ſentiment."

The climate of Jamaica is temperate, and even cool, compared with many parts of Guiney; and the Creole Blacks have undeniably more acuteneſs and better underſtandings than the natives of Guiney. Mr. Hume, who had heard of Williams, ſays of him, "In Jamaica indeed "they talk of one Negroe as a man of parts and learning; but 'tis "likely he is admired for very ſlender accompliſhments, like a parrot "who ſpeaks a few words plainly." And Mr. Eſtwick, purſuing the ſame idea, obſerves, "Although a Negroe is found in Jamaica, or "elſewhere, ever ſo ſenſible and acute; yet, if he is incapable of moral "ſenſations, or perceives them only as beaſts do ſimple ideas, without "the power of combination, in order to uſe; it is a mark that diſtin-"guiſhes him from the man who feels, and is capable of theſe moral "ſenſations, who knows their application, and the purpoſes of them, "as ſufficiently, as he himſelf is diſtinguiſhed from the higheſt ſpecies "of brutes [*d*]." I do not know, if the ſpecimen I ſhall exhibit of

[*d*] The diſtinction is well marked by Biſhop Warburton, in theſe words:

"1ſt, The MORAL SENSE: (is that) whereby we conceive and feel a pleaſure in *right*, and a "diſtaſte and averſion to *wrong*, prior to all reflexion on their natures, or their conſequences. This "is the firſt inlet to the *adequate idea of morality*; and plainly the moſt extenſive of all. When in-"ſtinct had gone thus far, 2d, The REASONING FACULTY improved upon its dictates; for re-"flecting men, naturally led to examine the foundation of this *moral ſenſe*, ſoon diſcovered that there "were real, eſſential differences in the qualities of human actions, eſtabliſhed by nature; and, con-"ſequently, that the love and hatred, excited by the *moral ſenſe*, were not capricious in their opera-"tions; for that the eſſential properties of their objects had a ſpecific difference." Hence aroſe a ſenſe of moral obligation in ſociety, &c. *Divine Legation, vol. I. p. 37.*

It is this inſtinct which diſcriminates mankind from other animals who have it not, whereas in other inſtinctive impulſes *all agree.* But the queſtion is, whether all the ſpecies of the human kind have this inſtinctive ſenſe in equal degree? If the brutal inſtincts impel the African to ſatisfy his appetites, to run from danger, and the like; why does he not exhibit equally the tokens of this *moral inſtinct*, if he really poſſeſſes it? would it not inſenſibly have gained admittance into their habits of living, as well as the other inſtincts, and have regulated and directed their general manners? But we have no other evidence of their poſſeſſing it, than what ariſes from the vague conjectural poſitions, "that all men are equal, and that the diſparity between one man and another, or "one race of men and another, happens from accidental means, ſuch as artificial refinements, edu-"cation, and ſo forth." Certain however it is, that theſe refinements muſt neceſſarily take place, where the moral ſenſe and reaſoning faculty are moſt abundant, and extenſively cultivated; but cannot happen, where they either do not exiſt at all, or, are not diſtributed in ſuch due portion, as to work the proper aſcendancy over the more brutal ſpecies of inſtinct.

his

his abilities will, or will not, be thought to militate againſt theſe poſitions. In regard to the general character of the man, he was haughty, opinionated, looked down with ſovereign contempt on his fellow Blacks, entertained the higheſt opinion of his own knowledge, treated his parents with much diſdain, and behaved towards his children and his ſlaves with a ſeverity bordering upon cruelty; he was fond of having great deference paid to him, and exacted it in the utmoſt degree from the Negroes about him; he affected a ſingularity of dreſs, and particularly grave caſt of countenance, to impreſs an idea of his wiſdom and learning; and, to ſecond this view, he wore in common a huge wig, which made a very venerable figure. The moral part of his character may be collected from theſe touches, as well as the meaſure of his wiſdom, on which, as well as ſome other attributes to which he laid claim, he had not the modeſty to be ſilent, whenever he met with occaſion to expatiate upon them. Of this piece of vanity, there is a very ſtrong example in the following poem, which he preſented to Mr. Haldane, upon his aſſuming the government of the iſland; he was fond of this ſpecies of compoſition in Latin, and uſually addreſſed one to every new governor. He defined himſelf "a *white* man acting under a *black* ſkin." He endeavoured to prove logically, that a Negroe was ſuperior in quality to a Mulatto, or other caſt. His propoſition was, that "a ſimple white or a ſimple black complexion was reſpectively perfect: but a Mulatto, being an heterogeneous medley of both, was imperfect, *ergo* inferior."

His opinion of Negroes may be inferred from a proverbial ſaying, that was frequently in his mouth; "Shew me *a Negroe*, and I will ſhew you *a thief*." He died, not long ſince, at the age of ſeventy, or thereabouts.

I have ventured to ſubjoin ſome annotations to his poem, and particularly to diſtinguiſh ſeveral paſſages in the claſſic authors, to which he ſeems to have been indebted, or to have had alluſion; there may be other paſſages which have eſcaped my notice; I have added an Engliſh tranſlation in verſe, wherein I have endeavoured to retain the ſenſe, without wilfully doing injuſtice to the original.

Integerrimo et Fortiſſimo
Viro
GEORGIO HALDANO, ARMIGERO,
Inſulæ *Jamaicenſis* Gubernatori;

Cui,

Cui, omnes morum, virtutumque dotes bellicarum,
In cumulum acceſſerunt,

CARMEN.

DENIQUE venturum fatis volventibus annum [e]
Cuncta per extenſum læta videnda diem,
Excuſſis adſunt curis, ſub imagine [f] clarâ
Felices populi, terraque lege virens.
[g] Te duce, [h] quæ fuerant maleſuadâ mente peracta
Irrita, conſpectu non reditura tuo.
Ergo omnis populus, nec non plebecula cernet
[h] Hæſurum collo te [i] *relĕgāſſe* jugum,
Et mala, quæ diris quondam cruciatibus, inſons
Inſula paſſa fuit; condoluiſſet onus
Ni victrix tua Marte manus prius inclyta, noſtris
Sponte [k] ruinoſis rebus adeſſe velit.
Optimus es ſervus *Regi* ſervire *Britanno*,
Dum gaudet genio [l] *Scotica* terra tuo:
Optimus herôum populi [m] fulcire ruinam;
Inſula dum ſupereſt ipſe [n] ſuperſtes eris.
Victorem agnoſcet te *Guadaloupa*, ſuorum
Deſpiciet [o] meritò diruta caſtra ducum.
Aurea vexillis flebit jactantibus [p] *Iris*,
Cumque ſuis populis, oppida victa gemet.

[e] *Aſpice venturo lætentur ut omnia* Sæclo. *Virg. E.* iv. 52.

[f] *Clara* ſeems to be rather an improper epithet joined to *Imago*.

[g] *Te duce*, ſi qua manent ſceleris veſtigia noſtri
Irrita, perpetua ſolvent formidine terras. *Virg. E.* iv. 13.

[h] Alluding perhaps to the conteſt about removing the ſeat of government and public offices from *Spaniſh Town* to *Kingſton*, during the adminiſtration of governor Kn——s.

[i] Pro *rĕlĕvāſſe*.

[k] Quem vocet divûm populus *ruentis*
Imperî *rebus*. *Hor. Lib.* I. *Od.* ii.

[l] Mr. Haldane was a native of North Britain.

[m] Tu Ptolomæe potes magni *fulcire ruinam*. Lucan. *Lib.* viii. 528.

[n] This was a promiſe of ſomewhat more than antediluvian longevity. But the poet proved a falſe prophet, for Mr. Haldane did not ſurvive the delivery of this addreſs many months.

[o] Egerit *juſto domitos* triumpho. *Hor. Lib.* I. *Od.* xii.

[p] *Iris*. Botanic name of the *fleur-de-luce*, alluding to the arms of France.

Crede, [q] meum non eſt, vic *Marti* chare! [r] *Minervæ*
Denegat *Æthiopi* bella ſonare ducum.
Concilio, caneret te *Buchananus* et armis,
Carmine *Pelcidæ* ſcriberet ille parem.
Ille poeta, decus patriæ, tua facta referre
Dignior, [s] altiſono vixque *Marone* minor.
[t] Flammiferos agitante ſuos ſub ſole *jugales* [u]
Vivimus; eloquium deficit omne focis.
Hoc demum accipias, multâ fuligine fuſum
Ore ſonaturo; non cute, corde valet.
Pollenti ſtabilita manu, ([w] Deus almus, eandem
Omnigenis animam, nil prohibente dedit)
Ipſa coloris egens virtus, prudentia; honeſto
Nullus ineſt animo, nullus in arte color.
Cur timeas, quamvis, dubiteſve, nigerrima celſam
Cæſaris occidui, ſcandere [x] *Muſa* domum?
[y] Vade ſalutatum, nec ſit tibi cauſa pudoris,
[z] *Candida quod nigrâ corpora telle geris!*
Integritas morum [a] *Maurum* magis ornat, et ardor
Ingenii, et *docto* [b] *dulcis in ore decor*;

[q] *Phœbus*, volentem prælia me ſoqui
Victas et urbes, ipcrepuit lyrâ
Ne. *Hor.*

[r] Invitâ Minervâ. *Hor. de Art. Poet.*

[s] *Maronis altiſoni* carmina. *Juv. Sat.* xi. *ver.* 178.

[t] *Flammiſeras* rotas toto cælo *agitat.*

[u] I apprehend Mr. Williams miſtook this for *jŭbără*, ſun beams.

[w] This is a *petitio principii*, or begging the queſtion, unleſs with Mr. Pope,

" All are but parts of one ſtupendous whole,
" Whoſe body nature is, and God the ſoul."

But,

" Far as creation's ample range extends,
" The *ſcale* of ſenſual *mental* powers aſcends."

[x] Mr. Williams has added a *black Muſe* to the Pierian choir; and, as he has not thought proper to beſtow a name upon her, we may venture to announce her by the title of madam *Æthiopiſſa*.

[y] *Vade ſalutatûm* ſubitò perarata parentem
Litera. *Ovid.*

[z] See his apophthegms before-mentioned.

[a] *Maurus* is not in claſſic ſtrictneſs proper Latin for a *Negro*.

[b] *Mollis* in ore *decor*. *Incert.*

Hunc,

Hunc, magè *cor ſapiens*, *patriæ* virtutis amorque,
[*c*] Eximit è ſociis, conſpicuumque facit.
[*d*] Inſula me genuit, celebres aluere *Britanni*,
Inſula, te ſalvo non dolitura [*e*] patre!
Hoc precor; o [*f*] nullo videant te fine, regentem
Florentes populos, terra, Deique locus!

FRANCISCUS WILLIAMS.

The ſame, tranſlated.

To
That moſt upright and valiant Man,
GEORGE HALDANE, Eſq;
Governor of the Iſland of *Jamaica*;
Upon whom
All military and moral Endowments are accumulated.

An ODE.

AT length revolving fates th' expected year
Advance, and joy the live-long day ſhall cheer,
Beneath the foſt'ring law's auſpicious dawn
New harveſts riſe to glad th' enliven'd [*g*] lawn.
With the bright proſpect bleſt, the ſwains repair
In ſocial bands, and give a looſe to care.
Raſh councils now, with each malignant plan,
Each faction, that in evil hour began,
At your approach are in confuſion fled,
Nor, while you rule, ſhall rear their daſtard head,
Alike the maſter and the ſlave ſhall ſee
Their neck reliev'd, the yoke unbound by thee.
Ere now our guiltleſs iſle, her wretched fate
Had wept, and groan'd beneath th' oppreſſive weight

[*c*] Me *doctarum* ederæ præmia frontium
. . . . . .
. . . . . .
Secernunt populo. *Hor. Lib. I. Od.* 1.

[*d*] Mantua me genuit, Calabri rapuêre. *Virg.*

[*e*] Hic ames dici *pater* atque princeps. *Hor.*

[*f*] Serus in cœlum redeas, *diuque*
Lætus interſis populo. *Hor.*

[*g*] Lawn is uſed here in the ſenſe given it by Johnſon, viz. "*an open ſpace between woods*;" which has a peculiar propriety applied to the cane-fields in Jamaica.

Of cruel woes; ſave thy victorious hand,
Long fam'd in war, from Gallia's hoſtile land;
And wreaths of freſh renown, with generous zeal,
Had freely turn'd, to prop our ſinking weal.
Form'd as thou art, to ſerve *Britannia's* crown,
While *Scotia* claims thee for her darling ſon;
Oh! beſt of heroes, ableſt to ſuſtain
A falling people, and relax their chain.
Long as this iſle ſhall grace the Weſtern deep,
From age to age, thy fame ſhall never ſleep.
Thee, her dread victor *Guadaloupe* ſhall own,
Cruſht by thy arm, her ſlaughter'd chiefs bemoan;
View their proud tents all level'd in the duſt,
And, while ſhe grieves, confeſs the cauſe was juſt.
The golden *Iris* the ſad ſcene will ſhare,
Will mourn her banners ſcatter'd in the air;
Lament her vanquiſht troops with many a ſigh,
Nor leſs to ſee her towns in ruin lie.
Fav'rite of *Mars!* believe, th' attempt were vain,
It is not mine to try the arduous ſtrain.
What! ſhall an *Æthiop* touch the martial ſtring,
Of battles, leaders, great atchievements ſing?
Ah no! *Minerva,* with th' indignant *Nine,*
Reſtrain him, and forbid the bold deſign.
To a *Buchanan* does the theme belong;
A theme, that well deſerves *Buchanan's* ſong.
'Tis he, ſhould ſwell the din of war's alarms,
Record thee great in council, as in arms;
Recite each conqueſt by thy valour won,
And equal thee to great *Peleides'* ſon.
That bard, his country's ornament and pride,
Who e'en with *Maro* might the bays divide:
Far worthier he, thy glories to rehearſe,
And paint thy deeds in his immortal verſe.
We live, alas! where the bright god of day,
Full from the zenith whirls his torrid ray:
Beneath the rage of his conſuming fires,
All fancy melts, all eloquence expires.

Yet may you deign accept this humble ſong,
Tho' wrapt in gloom, and from a falt'ring tongue;
Tho' dark the ſtream on which the tribute flows,
Not from the *ſkin*, but from the *heart* it roſe.
To all of human kind, benignant heaven
(Since nought forbids) one common ſoul has given.
This rule was 'ſtabliſh'd by th' Eternal Mind;
Nor virtue's ſelf, nor prudence are confin'd
To *colour*; none imbues the honeſt heart;
To ſcience none belongs, and none to art.
Oh! *Muſe*, of blackeſt tint, why ſhrinks thy breaſt,
Why fears t' approach the *Cæſar* of the *Weſt!*
Diſpel thy doubts, with confidence aſcend
The regal dome, and hail him for thy friend:
Nor bluſh, altho' in garb funereal dreſt,
Thy body's white, tho' clad in ſable veſt.
Manners unſullied, and the radiant glow
Of genius, burning with deſire to *know*;
And learned ſpeech, with modeſt accent worn,
Shall beſt the ſooty *African* adorn.
An heart with wiſdom fraught, a patriot flame,
A love of virtue; theſe ſhall lift his name
Conſpicuous, far beyond his kindred race,
Diſtinguiſh'd from them by the foremoſt place.
In this prolific iſle I drew my birth,
And *Britain* nurs'd, illuſtrious through the earth;
This, my lov'd iſle, which never more ſhall grieve,
Whilſt you our common friend, our father live.
Then this my pray'r—" May earth and heaven ſurvey
" A people ever bleſt, beneath your ſway!"

FRANCIS WILLIAMS.

There is, in this performance, a ſtrain of ſuperlative panegyric, which is ſcarcely allowable even to a poet. *Buchanan* is compared with *Virgil*, and Mr. *Haldane* made equal to *Achilles*; nay, exalted ſtill higher, for he is hailed the *Cæſar* or emperor of *America*. The author has taken care, whilſt he is dealing about his adulation, not to forget himſelf. His ſpeech is repreſented erudite and modeſt;

his heart is filled with wiſdom; his morals are immaculate; and he abounds with patriotiſm and virtue.

To conſider the merits of this ſpecimen impartially, we muſt endeavour to forget, in the firſt place, that the writer was a *Negroe*; for if we regard it as an extraordinary production, merely becauſe it came from a *Negroe*, we admit at once that *inequality* of genius which has been before ſuppoſed, and admire it only as a rare phænomenon.

" What woeful ſtuff this madrigal would be
" In ſome ſtarv'd, hackney ſonneteer, or me!
" But let a *Negroe* own the happy lines,
" How the wit brightens! how the ſtyle refines!
" Before his ſacred name flies ev'ry fault,
" And each exalted ſtanza teems with thought!"

We are to eſtimate it as having flowed from the poliſhed pen of one, who received an academic education, under every advantage that able preceptors, and munificent patrons, could furniſh; we muſt likewiſe believe it to be, what it actually was, a piece highly laboured; deſigned, modeled, and perfected, to the utmoſt ſtretch of his invention, imagination, and ſkill.

Should we, or ſhould we not, have looked for ſomething better from one, upon whom (to borrow his own phraſe) *omnes* artium, ſcientiarumque *dotes* Atticarum *in cumulum acceſſerunt?* or, is it at all ſuperior, in claſſic purity of ſtyle and numbers, in ſentiment and propriety, in poetic images and harmony, to any compoſition we might expect from a middling ſcholar at the ſeminaries of Weſtminſter or Eaton? It is true, *poeta naſcitur, non fit*: but the principal forte and excellence of this man lay in verſification; however, as I mean not to prejudge the cauſe, I ſhall leave it to the fair verdict of a jury of critics. The Spaniards have a proverbial ſaying, " *Aunque Négros* " *ſomos génte*;" " though we are Blacks, we are men." The truth of which no one will diſpute; but if we allow the ſyſtem of created beings to be perfect and conſiſtent, and that this perfection ariſes from an exact ſcale of gradation, from the loweſt to the higheſt, combining and connecting every part into a regular and beautiful harmony, reaſoning them from the viſible plan and operation of infinite wiſdom in reſpect to the human race, as well as every other ſeries in the ſcale, we muſt, I think, conclude, that,

"The general *order*, ſince the whole began,
"Is kept in *nature*, and is kept in *man*.
"*Order* is heaven's firſt law; and, this confeſt,
"*Some are*, and *muſt be*, *greater* than the reſt."

CHAP. V.

SECT. I.

An Abſtract of the Jamaica *Code Noir*, or Laws affecting Negroe and other Slaves in that Iſland.—And, firſt of, PENAL CLAUSES.

Anno
1696 N° 1. Straggling ſlaves, apprehended without a ticket (or paſs), are to be puniſhed with *moderate* whipping.

2. Striking or doing violence to a white perſon (except by command of their maſter or employer, or in defence of his perſon or goods), puniſhable at diſcretion of two juſtices and three freeholders, according to circumſtances.

3. Stolen goods found in the cuſtody of a ſlave—ſuch ſlave on conviction of receiving, knowing them to have been ſtolen, to ſuffer death, tranſportation, diſmembering [*b*], or other puniſhment, at the diſcretion of two juſtices and three freeholders.

4. Wilfully returning from tranſportation, *death*.

5. Compaſſing or imagining the death of a white perſon, and being attainted thereof by *open deed* (or *ouvert act*), before two juſtices and three freeholders, *death*.

6. [*i*] On complaint made to a juſtice of any felony, burglary, robbery,

[*b*] This inhuman penalty is entirely obſolete, and never of late inflicted. It is, however, reproachful to the laws, and ought to be expunged. Fugitives were formerly puniſhed here with amputation of their toes. This execrable barbarity hindered them from *running* away, but it prevented them likewiſe from rendering effectual ſervice to their owner; and for this reaſon, perhaps, more than from a juſt ſenſe of its impropriety, it was diſcontinued. Men are too often diſpoſed to be cruel, of their own depraved hearts; and it becomes a Chriſtian legiſlature not to inflame and encourage, but to repreſs as much as poſſible, this ſanguinary diſpoſition, by giving example throughout its penal ordinances, of *juſtice in mercy*.

[*i*] The reaſon of not allowing a jury, inſtead of this mode, probably was, the ſcarcity of Whites ſpread over the country, and that, in a time of inſurrection and rebellion, the proceedings could not be too ſummary. The ſummoning twenty or thirty Whites, in order to make ſure of 12 appearances on the panel, would have required too much time and delay, and have often been impracticable. Add to this, that the Whites never conſidered themſelves as the *pares* of the Blacks. The preſent mode, by two juſtices, and three freeholders, five perſons in all, of whom the party immediately intereſted can never be one, who are indifferent and unbiaſſed, and upon oath to judge uprightly, according to evidence, is perhaps ſufficient to anſwer all the ends of impartial judicature with reſpect to theſe people.

robbery; burning of houſes, canes; rebellions; conſpiracies; or other capital offences; the juſtice is to iſſue his warrant to apprehend the offenders, and for ſummoning the evidence before him. The evidence of one ſlave to be admitted againſt another ſlave; and if, upon examination, it appears, *primâ facie*, that the offenders are guilty, he is to commit them to priſon, certify accordingly, and aſſociate himſelf with another juſtice. Theſe two are then to cite three freeholders, intimating the cauſe, and appointing a certain day and place for the trial to be held; and if, upon full and due hearing of the matter (the freeholders being firſt ſworn, by the juſtices, to judge uprightly, and according to the evidence), they deem the culprits guilty, judgement is then forthwith to be given, of death, tranſportation, or other puniſhment, as they, in their judgement, ſhall think meet to inflict.

7. All *petit* crimes, treſpaſſes, and injuries, committed by a ſlave, are to be heard and determined by any of his majeſty's juſtices within the iſland.

1711 8. Slaves, deſtroying fiſh by poiſoning, uſing nets of meſhes leſs than one inch and a quarter, or deſtroying turtle eggs, or killing pigeons, in the months of May, June, or July, are puniſheable with [*k*] *thirty-one laſhes* on the bare back, on conviction before a juſtice of the peace.

9. To put a ſtop to the wanton ſlaughter of old breeding cattle and marked young ones, with other abuſes of the like ſort, no ſlave to keep any horſes, mares, mules, aſſes, or cattle, on penalty of forfeiting the ſame.

10. No ſlave to hire himſelf out to work to another, without conſent of his owner, or employer. Penalty, upon conviction before a magiſtrate, whipping at the magiſtrate's diſcretion, not exceeding *thirty-one laſhes* [*k*].

11. Hawking about and ſelling goods [*l*] (except proviſions, fruits, and other enumerated articles) to be puniſhed,

[*k*] By the Jewiſh laws, a wicked man, worthy to be beaten, was to be beaten before the judge, according to his fault: *forty* ſtripes might be inflicted; and not to exceed. Deut. xxv. 3. In another place, we are told, the puniſhment was *forty* ſtripes, *ſave one*. Numb. xxv.

[*l*] This reſtraint is conſtrued to extend only to beef, veal, mutton, and ſalt-fiſh; and to manufactures, except baſkets, ropes of bark, earthen pots, and ſuch like.

on

on conviction before a magiſtrate, by whipping, not exceeding *thirty-one laſhes*. See N° 20.

12. Selling, or giving away, ſugar or ſugar-canes, without a ticket; on conviction, whipping as above.

13. Free perſons, or ſlaves [*m*] buying ſuch goods, to forfeit 10*l*., and ſuffer puniſhment by whipping, not exceeding *twenty laſhes*.

1749 14. [*n*] A ſlave of eighteen years of age, or upwards, being a native of the iſland, or reſident in it three years from the time of importation, running away and abſenting himſelf for ſix whole months, is to be tried as for a capital offence; and, upon due proof and conviction, is to ſuffer *death*, or ſuch other puniſhment as the court ſhall think fit to adjudge; provided that proſecution be commenced within three months after his being taken or returned; and, further, that no owner ſhall be repaid for any ſlave ſo executed, but that the loſs ſhall fall upon ſuch owner [*o*].

15. A

[*m*] Some Jews, however, have been known to accumulate ſeveral caſks of ſugar in a year, purloined, in ſmall quantities at a time, by the Negroes, who were handſomely rewarded for robbing their maſters.

[*n*] There ſeems a great degree of hardſhip on the face of this clauſe, in ſubjecting ſlaves to the penalty of a capital crime, who perhaps may be ignorant of the penalty they incur. The policy on which it is founded is, that all penal laws are made *in terrorem*, and for prevention: ſo is this. If one ſlave might elope into the woods, there abide with impunity, and form a ſettlement; ſo might ten thouſand, to the ruin of the colony. A law to the ſame effect, paſſed thirty-two years before, ſet forth, "that many crimes, committed by ſlaves, which were puniſhable with "death, often remained undetected, by omiſſion of their owners to proſecute." The owner is neceſſarily the proſecutor; and the proviſo, which ſubjects him to the entire loſs of the value of his ſlave, if he proſecutes to conviction, effectually prevents ſuch proſecutions from being commenced; for which reaſon, this clauſe is *felo de ſe*, and utterly non-effective. And, conſidering the ſeverity which it breathes, it is beſt it ſhould be ſo; or elſe be repealed, and the puniſhment altered to tranſportation: for to inflict *death* on a poor wretch, for a tranſgreſſion, committed perhaps through mere ignorance of the law, or enormous ill uſage, is highly tyrannical and cruel.

[*o*] It ſeems to be an imperfection in theſe clauſes, that the puniſhment is, in many caſes, left undefined and arbitrary. The plain meaning of the legiſlature in the ſtructure of them, where an alternative is admitted, was to give room for a mitigation, or commutation of the penalty expreſſed, according to the circumſtances of each caſe, and the greater or leſs degree of guilt that might appear. This was commendable, and conſonant to the penal clauſes which govern the navy and army of Great-Britain. But it is a great defect in them, not to require theſe reſtrictions, and penalties, to be duly promulgated among the Negroes; for how can they reaſonably be condemned upon laws which they never ſee or know? Unleſs they are duly apprized of what they

15. [o] A ſlave, harbouring, concealing, or entertaining, a runaway ſlave, *knowing him to be ſuch*, upon due conviction and proof before two juſtices and three freeholders, to ſuffer *death*, or be otherwiſe puniſhed at the diſcretion of the court; provided that the proſecution be commenced within one month next after the diſcovery of ſuch offence.

16. [q] Slaves, hunting cattle, horſes, mares, &c. with lances, guns, cutlaſſes, or other inſtruments of death, unleſs in company with their maſter, &c. or other white perſon by him or them deputed, on conviction before two juſtices and three freeholders, to be adjudged guilty of felony, and be tranſported.

17. No ſlave to carry fire-arms about the iſland without a ticket from his owner or employer, under penalty of ſuch corporal puniſhment (not extending to life or limb) as two juſtices ſhall think meet to inflict.

18. [r] A perſon killing a ſlave in the fact of ſtealing, or running away, or found in the night out of his owner's or employer's eſtate, or on the road, and refuſing to ſubmit, ſuch perſon not liable to action or damage for the ſame.

they are to do, and what they are not to do, and are admoniſhed of the certain puniſhment they will incur by doing ſo and ſo; theſe unlettered ſavages might as well be condemned on the laws of Japan or Crim-Tartary. I ſhould, however, have excepted this particular act, which the *cuſtos* of every pariſh is directed to take the moſt effectual methods for making public.

[p] So, Exod. xxi. 16, "He that ſtealeth a man, and ſelleth him, or if he be found in his hand, "he ſhall ſurely be put to death." This, I preſume, extended as well to ſtealing another Jew's ſlave, as ſtealing a fellow-Jew, in order to ſell him for a ſlave to a Gentile nation. By ver. 8, it appears, that a Jew might ſell his own daughter for a ſlave, except to a Gentile or ſtrange nation. Deut. xxiii. 15, "Thou ſhalt not deliver unto his maſter the ſervant which is eſcaped from his "maſter unto thee." "He ſhall dwell with thee." This muſt be underſtood of a ſlave belonging to a ſtranger, or Gentile, and not to a brother Jew; for, otherwiſe, it would be repugnant to the ſenſe of the preceding ſtatute.

[q] By act 14 George II. cap. 6, ſtealing of ſheep and cattle is made felony without benefit of clergy. And 15 George II. cap. 34, explaining the former act, declares ſheep and cattle to extend to any bull, cow, ox, ſteer, bullock, heifer, calf, and lamb. So horſe-ſtealers are excluded from clergy.

[r] So, Exod. xxii. 2, 3, "If a thief be found breaking-up" in the *night*, "and be ſmitten that "he die, there ſhall no blood be ſhed for him." But, if in the *day-time*, ſuch killing is murder. The penalty on the thief, in this caſe, is reſtitution of the things ſtolen, or the value; or, having not wherewithal to pay the value, then to be ſold for a ſlave.

19. A

19. A ſlave, *maliciouſly* giving poiſon to any free perſon, or ſlave, and being convicted thereof before two juſtices and three freeholders, to be adjudged guilty of murder, and to ſuffer death.

20. A ſlave, felling in any public place, or market, any other goods than ſuch as properly belong to his owner, or for his owner's uſe, and that are not expreſſed in a ticket, upon complaint and conviction before a juſtice, to be *whipped* by order of ſuch juſtice. See N° 11.

1760 21. [s] *Obeiah-men*, pretended conjurors, or prieſts, upon conviction before two juſtices and three freeholders of their practiſing as ſuch, to ſuffer death, or tranſportation, at the diſcretion of the court.

22. Slaves, convicted before two juſtices and three freeholders of having in their cuſtody fire-arms, gun-powder, bayonet, ſword, or other military offenſive weapon (except in company with, or under the direction of, a white perſon, or having a ticket, or licence, in writing, from their owner, overſeer, or employer), to ſuffer *death*, or other puniſhment, at the diſcretion of the court.

1768 23. Slaves, attempting to deſert from the iſland in any ſhip, boat, &c. and being convicted before two juſtices and three freeholders, to ſuffer *death*, or other puniſhment, at the diſcretion of the court.

1769 24. Slaves, taking ſtones or ballaſt from the *Palliſadoes*, *impriſonment*, not exceeding three months.

25. Slaves, found ſelling freſh-fiſh in any part of Kingſton, except at the fiſh-market, within the market-hours of eight in the morning and two in the afternoon, puniſhable at the diſcretion of any of the magiſtrates in that pariſh; and ſuch fiſh to be forfeited, and diſtributed to the poor.

[s] Many of theſe incendiaries, called marbûts, or marabouts, on the coaſt of Guiney, are baniſhed from their own country for mal-practices.

SECT. II.

Distributive and Munerary.

Anno.

1696 1. Male slaves are to have jackets and drawers; and female slaves, jackets and petticoats; supplied them once a year, under penalty of five shillings, to be paid by the owner or master for every default [*t*].

2. Constables are to present all such defaulters every year to the justices; and such constables to be charged on oath, by the justices, to do their duty herein.

3. All masters, owners, &c. are to have [*u*] one acre of ground, well planted with provisions, for every *five* slaves belonging to them, under penalty of 40*s.* for every such acre deficient.

4. Gaol-keepers, having custody of run-away slaves, are to supply them with convenient food, water, and dry lodging, on penalty of 40*l.* for every default.

5. A slave, taking up a run-away, and bringing to the owner or to the next gaol, shall receive one shilling *per* mile for the first five miles, and eight-pence *per* mile for every other, so that the whole does not exceed 40*s.* And any person, depriving or defrauding the slave of such reward, shall forfeit *treble* the value.

6. A slave, taking prisoner or killing a rebellious slave, to receive 40*s.*, and a coat with a red cross upon it. By a subsequent act, the reward is raised to 10*l.*

7. Female convicts, pregnant, to be respited from execution until after their delivery.

[*t*] On every well-regulated plantation they are allowed, besides a suit of warm woollen cloaths, hats, caps, checks, handkerchiefs, working aprons to the boilers, beads, needles, thread, knives, scissars, pipes, tobacco, iron pots, salt, sugar, rum, &c. As to holiday-suits and finery, the settled Negroes are very able to afford them out of their own profits. Tradesmen and chief Negroes receive a stated weekly allowance of beef, herring, or salt-fish; the rest occasionally. Every such estate has a convenient hospital for the sick; where they are duly provided with medicines, nurses, and suitable diet, and necessaries.

[*u*] In England one acre of good land is deemed sufficient to maintain four persons, or three oxen, or two asses, or twelve sheep. The superior fertility of the West-India land makes a considerable difference.

8. All maſters, miſtreſſes, owners, employers, &c. are to endeavour, as much as poſſible, the inſtruction of their ſlaves in the principles of the Chriſtian religion; and facilitate their converſion; and do their utmoſt to fit them for baptiſm; and, as ſoon as convenient, cauſe all ſuch to be baptized as they can make ſenſible of a Deity, and the Chriſtian faith [*w*].

9. The juſtices, at their firſt ſeſſion in every year, are to appoint the number of holidays to be given to ſlaves at Chriſtmas, Eaſter, and Whitſuntide [*x*].

1735

[*w*] All the Creole ſlaves ought to be baptized, under a high penalty on their owners for neglecting it; and the baptiſmal fees ſhould be fixed by law at a low rate; for example, at ſix-pence each; which, ſuppoſing there are now one hundred thouſand unbaptized Creoles in the iſland, would bring in to the clergy there 2500 *l.*

"In all civilized ſtates two things may be obſerved, which may be conſidered as the great foun-
"dation and ſupport of political ſociety: the firſt of theſe, the ceremonies that accompany the
"union of a man with a woman, which fix and regulate the ties of marriage, and the ſtate of chil-
"dren; the ſecond, the ceremonies of public worſhip ſolemnly paid to the Deity. Theſe two
"have been found, by legiſlators, the wiſeſt and moſt effectual means for the ſupport and good go-
"vernment of ſtates." Goguet.

[*x*] The Negroes are ſo ſenſible of their right to theſe, and their leiſure-hours of each day in the intervals of work, that they call them emphatically *their own time*. Nor is it ever borrowed from them but in ſome very particular emergency, when they are either paid for it, as may be agreed upon, or allowed an equal portion of time on ſome other day. They generally begin work at ſix in the morning, and leave off at ſix in the afternoon, having half an hour at breakfaſt, and on moſt eſtates two hours at noon. Thus their day's work is nine hours and a half in general. Their leiſure-times, on moſt eſtates, are Saturday afternoon, except in caſe of very urgent buſineſs; every Sunday throughout the year; three days at Chriſtmas, two at Eaſter, and two at Whitſuntide; and, at ſome eſtates, a jubilee-day, on finiſhing crop: ſo that the whole number of days, they have to themſelves in the courſe of the year, is about eighty-ſix. The Jews allow their ſlaves Saturday (which is their ſabbath), and Sunday (which is the Chriſtian's): their ſlaves have therefore about one hundred and eleven holidays in the year at leaſt; which amount to more than three months out of the twelve. The uſual groſs value of a Negroe's labour, hired *per diem*, being about two ſhillings; a Chriſtian's Negroe (ſuppoſing him not more conſcientious than barbers, tavern-keepers, inn-keepers, ſtable-keepers, and many ſhop-keepers, are on the Lord's-day in England) gains for himſelf 8*l.* 12*s.* in value of his labour, and a Jew's ſlave 11*l.* 2*s.*, *per annum*. But it is well known, that many of them gain infinitely more, ſince the produce of one day's labour for themſelves will turn out more worth than a fortnight's hire.

An ingenious writer obſerves hereupon, "The principal time I would have reſerved, for indul-
"gence to the ſlaves, is Sunday, which is prophaned in a manner altogether ſcandalous in our co-
"lonies. On this day ſome pains ſhould certainly be taken to inſtruct them, to the beſt of their
"comprehenſion, eſpecially the children, in ſome of the principles of religion and virtue, parti-
"cularly in the humility, ſubmiſſion, and honeſty, which become their condition. And, if one
"whole day in the week, or two half-days at proper diſtance, were allowed for their private labour
"in their grounds, in lieu of Sundays, they would more chearfully bear fatigue during the other

1735 10. Slaves may carry about, and ſell, all manner of proviſions, fruits, freſh fiſh, milk, poultry, and other ſmall ſtock of all kinds, having a ticket from their owner, or employer.

11. No ſlave to be diſmembered at the will and pleaſure of his owner, maſter, or employer, under penalty of 100*l.* payable to the informer.

1751 12. To prevent the bloody, inhuman, and wanton killing of ſlaves, any perſon, ſo offending, to be adjudged, for the firſt offence, on conviction, guilty of felony, and have benefit of clergy; and ſuffer the further puniſhment of impriſonment, as the court ſhall award, not exceeding the term of twelve months; and, for the ſecond offence, ſuch perſon to ſuffer death, but not to work corruption of blood, nor forfeiture of lands, chattels, &c. [*y*].

SECT.

" five days; and, by means of theſe intervals, have time to recruit their ſtrength, ſo as, on the " days appropriated to their maſters labour, to go through more work, and perform it better, than " they commonly are able to do under their preſent regulations; for it is eaſy to conceive, that, " with moderate intervals of reſt, any man will better, and with leſs hurt to his body, execute a " given quantity of work, than he can poſſibly perform without them; ſo that, at the week's end, " the ſame quantity of labour, at leaſt, would be gone through, with no injury to their healths, " nor waſte of ſpirits, which is now poſſibly performed with injury to both. With a tincture of " religious precepts, as far as can be adapted to their capacity, they would grow more honeſt, " tractable, and leſs of eye-ſervants; unleſs it can be proved (contrary to univerſal experience), " that the ſanctions of religion, and doctrines of morality, and all the habits of an early inſtruc- " tion, are of no advantage to mankind." Theſe opinions are founded in policy and truth; but difficulties would attend the adoption of them in practice, although far from being inſurmountable. It is certain, that the ſabbath-day, as at preſent it is paſſed, is by no means a day of reſpite from labour: on the contrary, the Negroes, either employing it in their grounds, or in traveling a great diſtance to ſome market, fatigue themſelves much more on that day, than on any other in the week. The forenoon of that day, at leaſt, might be given to religious duties; but I think it rather deſirable than otherwiſe, that the after-part of it ſhould be ſpent in their grounds, inſtead of being uſeleſsly diſſipated in idleneſs and lounging, or (what is worſe) in riot, drunkenneſs, and wickedneſs. If ſuch an alteration ſhould take place, Thurſday might be aſſigned for the market-day, inſtead of the ſabbath, and prove of great advantage to all the Chriſtian ſhop-keepers and retailers; the Jews now engroſſing the whole buſineſs of trafficking with the Negroes every Sunday, at which time there is a prodigious reſort of them to the towns, and a vaſt ſum expended for drams, neceſſaries, and manufactures. This alteration would therefore place the Chriſtian dealers upon an equal, fair footing, which they do not at preſent enjoy. The whole number of Negroe holidays in the year would then amount to one hundred and eleven, which is no more than the Jews at preſent allow to their ſlaves; and, by this diviſion of the time, they would probably grow improved in their behaviour, as well as in their ability and willingneſs to ſerve their Chriſtian owners.

[*y*] So, Exod. xxi. 20, 21. " If a man ſmite his ſervant with a rod; and he die under his " hand, he ſhall ſurely be puniſhed." But in what manner the text does not explain; though it is evident

SECT. III.

Remarks on the Negroe Regulations.

THE Negroe code of this iſland appears originally to have copied from the model in uſe at Barbadoes; and the legiſlature of this latter iſland, which was the firſt planted by the Engliſh, reſorted to the Engliſh *villeinage* laws, from whence they undoubtedly transfuſed all that ſeverity which characterizes them, and ſhews the

evident no *capital puniſhment* is here meant. But, "If he continue a day or two" *alive*, "he ſhall "not be puniſhed; for he is his money." Strange (ſays Monteſquieu), that a civil law ſhould thus relax the law of nature!

One Lockwood (who was afterwards proved to be a lunatic) inhumanly butchered his ſlave; which gave riſe to this act. I remember one inſtance of a man convicted upon it; and, it being his firſt offence, he was burnt in the hand.

By the law of Pennſylvania, a white owner, who kills his Negroe ſlave with malice prepenſe, is liable to ſuffer *death* for it. There is not, however, any example there of an owner having been executed for this crime. A few years ago, a maſter murdered his ſlave; upon which, his friends, and even the magiſtrates, ſecretly adviſed him to leave the country, as, otherwiſe, they could not avoid apprehending him; in which caſe, he muſt be adjudged to die, according to the law, without any hope of ſaving him. This lenity (ſays Kalm) was employed, that the Negroes might not have the ſatisfaction of ſeeing a maſter executed for killing his ſlave; for this would lead them to dangerous deſigns againſt their maſters, and to ſet too high a value upon themſelves. I muſt beg leave here to differ a little in opinion from this writer. An impartial execution of juſtice, and the law, upon thoſe who wantonly ſhed innocent blood, muſt inevitably attract a high veneration to ſuch a law from the Negroes, and induce them to regard *murder* in the moſt atrocious light, when they ſee it puniſhed with ſuch exemplary ſeverity without reſpect of perſons; for, ſurely, no pretence can juſtify ſuch execrable deeds: the guilty perſon puts himſelf out of all protection of human law, when he commits the crime; he ceaſes to be conſidered as a man; he becomes a ſavage beaſt; and, whatever may be his complexion, the good of ſociety and ſound policy require he ſhould ſuffer *capitally*, as an example of terror to Black as well as White. At preſent, a Negroe ſees only what may juſtify him in retaliation. The law of the Whites plainly tells him, "If a white man murders a white man, he ought to *die* for it; but, if a white "man murders a black man, he ought to be *acquitted!*" Is not the Negroe led to eſpouſe the very ſame principle and creed *ex converſo?* "I believe," he may ſay, "that it is a very great "crime for a Negroe to murder a Negroe; but for a Negroe to murder a white man is no crime "at all; at leaſt, I infer as much from the law of the Whites, which meaſures the extent of guilt, "not according to reaſon, but according to the tincture of the ſkin; they favour the White, and "we the Black, with equal propriety and juſtice."

It was, I think, very much to the honour of government, that the following inſtructions were given to ſome of the firſt commanders in chief of this iſland:

"You ſhall endeavour to get a law paſſed for reſtraining of any inhuman ſeverity, by reaſon of "ill maſters or overſeers, that may be uſed towards their Chriſtian ſervants, or other ſlaves. And "you are alſo, with the aſſiſtance of the council and aſſembly, to find out the beſt means to faci-"litate and encourage the converſion of Negroes to the Chriſtian religion."

"And

the abject ſlavery which the common people of England formerly laboured under. In the 34th of Edward III, for example, a labourer, or ſlave, fleeing from his maſter's ſervice into any town or city, the chief officer of the place was required to deliver him up to his maſter; ſo, if he eloped into another country, he was to be burned in the forehead with the letter F. Whoever ſerved in huſbandry till the age of twelve, was to continue in that ſtation ever after; and not be bound or put out to any trade, or artifice. By another act, 12 Richard II, *anno* 1388, no artificer, labourer, or ſervant, was allowed to paſs from one hundred to another, without a permit under the king's ſeal, unleſs ſent on buſineſs by his lord, or maſter, on pain of being ſet in the ſtocks, and compelled to return. But the moſt remarkable badge of ſervility was impoſed, in the 1ſt of Edward VI, by the ſtatute againſt vagabonds; which adjudges them abſolutely and expreſsly ſlaves; inflicts ſeveral violent puniſhments, by beating, chaining, &c. to force them to work for their owner; puniſhes run-aways, for the firſt offence, by branding on the cheek with a red-hot iron; and, for the ſecond offence, by *death*. This law likewiſe empowers the maſter to put an iron ring about his ſlave's neck, arm, or leg, for ſafer cuſtody; and lays a penalty of 10*l*. on any perſon taking it off without the maſter's conſent. A man, detaining or harbouring another's run-away ſlave, knowing him to be ſuch, is made liable to an action of treſpaſs, and 10*l*. damages. The ſervice of ſuch ſlaves might be hired out, ſold, or bequeathed, as any other moveable goods and chattels. And any ſuch ſlave, conſpiring to murder, kill, or maim, his maſter or miſtreſs, or to burn their houſes, barns, or corn, lying in wait with a weapon, or committing any overt act leading to ſuch effect, was to ſuffer death as a felon. If the father, mother, nurſe, or bearer about, of a child

" And whereas, amongſt other laws paſſed in Jamaica the 5th of April, 1683, an act for regu-
" lating ſlaves was tranſmitted unto his late majeſty, who did not think fit to confirm the ſame, by
" reaſon of a clauſe therein contained, whereby ſuch, as wantonly and wilfully kill a Negroe,
" are only liable to a fine and three months impriſonments; which penalties, not being equal to
" the guilt, might encourage the wilful ſhedding of blood; for which it is neceſſary ſome better
" proviſion be made, to deter all perſons from ſuch acts of cruelty; you are therefore to ſignify
" the ſame unto the next aſſembly, and further propoſe to them the enacting a ſtricter clauſe in
" that behalf, which may be fit for our royal confirmation." The law is certainly not yet ſevere enough in this reſpect.

adjudged

adjudged a ſlave, ſhould ſteal, or entice, away ſuch child from its maſter; ſuch father, mother, &c. were to be adjudged ſlaves to ſuch child's maſter for ever. I think the word *ſlave* occurs no leſs than *thirty-eight* different times in the courſe of this ſtatute. But this is not the only inſtance of legiſlative barbarity at home. In the 13th of Elizabeth, 1571, upon reading a bill then before the houſe for ſuppreſſion of vagabonds, Mr Sandys endeavoured to prove the above-mentioned law of Edward VI. to be too ſharp and bloody, ſtanding much on the care which is to be had for the poor. Wilſon, maſter of the requeſts, argued thus: that poor, of neceſſity, we muſt have; and as true it is, that beggars by God's word might not be among his people, *ne ſit mendicans inter vos*; that it was no charity to give to a ſtranger; and that even as thieves did the Greeks judge of them. In the following year, the law paſſed which enacted, "that every perſon above the age of *fourteen*, "being taken begging, or going about as a vagrant, ſhould, for the "firſt offence, be grievouſly whipped, and burned through the "griſtle of the right ear with an hot iron of an inch compaſs; "and, if of *eighteen* years of age, if he afterwards fall into a "roguiſh life, to be adjudged a *felon*." A ſtatute of 8 Elizabeth, c. 3, enacted, that perſons, bringing, delivering, ſending, receiving, or taking, or procuring to be brought, &c. into any ſhip, or bottom, to be carried out of the kingdom, any ram, ſheep, or lamb, alive, ſhould, for the firſt offence, forfeit all their goods for ever, ſuffer a year's impriſonment, and at the year's end have their left hands cut off in a market-town, to be there publickly nailed up; and, for the ſecond offence, ſhould ſuffer death. The modes of puniſhment in theſe ſtatutes, and the general proviſions contained in the ſtatute of Edward VI, have ſo near an affinity to the Barbadoes law reſpecting Negroe ſlaves, as to leave ſcarcely any doubt but that the legiſlature of that iſland tranſcribed from theſe precedents, which they found in the mother ſtate. At the time we firſt entered on the ſettlement of Barbadoes, the idea of ſlavery could hardly be extinguiſhed in England; the firſt emigrants to the Weſt-Indies, it is natural to think, carried with them ſome prejudices in favour of the villeinage ſyſtem, ſo far as it might ſeem to coincide with the government of Negroe-labourers. They

perceived

perceived very ſtrong traces of it in the before-cited ſtatutes; and the expediency and propriety of rigorous penalties, were pointed out to them, from time to time, after the reign of Elizabeth, by the ſtar-chamber judgements. Many other veſtiges beſides remained ſtill freſh in the mother-country, which were ſupported by law; in the regulation, diſcipline, and puniſhment (for example) of vagabonds, of labourers, of apprentices, of ſoldiers, ſeamen, the workers in coal and ſaltmines; all which ſavoured much of the antient coercions under which they had lain, and which indeed to the preſent hour have been little more relaxed, except by mitigating the cruelty of ſome puniſhments, and giving a protection in life and limb againſt wanton violences, which in truth is no contemptible triumph over the extreme ſeverity of their primitive bondage. The penal laws in England were always ſanguinary, and ſtill retain this ſavage complexion; which has given occaſion to an ingenious author to aſſert, "that they ſeem "rather calculated to keep *ſlaves* in awe, than to govern *freemen*; "they ſeem to contradict all notions of juſtice, and confound all "diſtinctions of morality. By the ignominy they impoſe in many "caſes, they bend the mind to the loweſt ſtate of ſervitude; by the "rigour thay indiſcriminately inflict, they adopt the principles of "deſpotiſm, and make *fear* the motive of obedience [z]."

One of the greateſt imputations againſt the Negroe laws is, that, in many caſes, they leave the puniſhment to be inflicted arbitrarily by their judges. This is preciſely adopted from the law-martial, enacted for the diſcipline of the fleet and army, which leaves the puniſhment to be invented, as well as proportioned, by the court. The Negroes in our colonies might, perhaps, have fared better, if their maſters had taken the Athenian ſlave code for their guide, inſtead of ranſacking the ſtatute-law of England for modes of judging and chaſtizing them. But the idea of aſſimilating to the practice of the mother-ſtate influenced them to this conformity in thoſe points, which perhaps leſs merited their imitation than any other. It was a further diſadvantage, that the firſt form of government, exerciſed in theſe colonies, was of the military kind; whoſe ſanctions did not tend in the leaſt to diminiſh their judicial aſpe-

[z] Conſiderations on Criminal Law.

rity. The Africans, firſt imported, were wild and ſavage to an extreme: their intractable and ferocious tempers naturally provoked their maſters to rule them with a rod of iron; and the earlieſt laws enacted to affect them are therefore rigid and inclement, even to a degree of inhumanity. By what means it happened, that, from the firſt colonization in the Weſt-Indies, this race of men were ſo degraded as we find them, is not entirely clear. The Engliſh, probably, did no more than follow the ſteps of the Portugueze and other nations, who had begun, long before, to trade in Negroes as a commodity, and to hold them as mere chattels and moveables. Perhaps the depravity of their nature, much more than their colour, gave riſe to a belief of their inferiority of intellect; and it became an eſtabliſhed principle to treat thoſe as brute beaſts, who had ſo little pretenſions to claim kindred with the human race, except in the ſhape of their bodies, and their walking upon two legs inſtead of four. However it might be, certain it is, that the planters of that age thought it no greater crime to kill a Negroe, than to knock a monkey on the head.

So ſoon as the African trade became a national concern, from its importance, the parliament of Britain fell in with the general idea, and conſidered Negroes, purchaſed from that continent, as a lawful commercial property; and this in ſo ſtrong a ſenſe, that the greateſt oppreſſion, under which our Negroes in the iſlands at preſent labour, ariſes materially from the ordinance of that ſtatute [*a*], which declares them to be as houſes, lands, hereditaments, aſſets, and perſonal eſtate, transferrable, and amenable to payment of debts due to the king or his ſubjects. Since the *major* part of theſe Negroes, eſpecially in the older colonies, by having been born and trained up in them, have appeared more humanized than their anceſtors, the laws in theſe places have worn a milder aſpect: yet, as thouſands are every year introduced from Guiney, who differ not at all from the earlieſt imported in barbarity of manners; ſo the ſeverity of the firſt inſtitutions has ſtill been retained in ſeveral reſpects, which chiefly affect the Blacks of this claſs, although all are equally bound by them without exception. This obſervation leads me to enquire, whether ſome diſtinction might not be taken,

[*a*] 5 Geo. II. c. 7. and likewiſe 13 Geo. III. c. 14.

by our colony-laws, between the native or Creole Blacks and the imported ſavages; and whether the laws might not be mitigated in favour of the former claſs, and (without a weak or effeminate indulgence) be ſo tempered, as to make their ſervitude approach near to a well-regulated liberty. This would conſiſt in giving them ſuch a ſecurity for life and limb, and ſuch an attachment to the place of their birth, as may ſerve to ſweeten their toils, and engage them by the ſtrongeſt ties to be faithful ſervants and defenders of the country. All puniſhments by *mutilation* ſhould be utterly aboliſhed and prohibited, becauſe they are ſcandalouſly cruel, not warranted by neceſſity, nor juſtified by utility; for it cannot be proved, that they are more effectual than more humane methods; and, when the laws of any country either dictate ſuch inhumanities, or connive at them, they lend encouragement for individuals to feed a bloody and vindictive ſpirit, which is diſgraceful to the members of a civilized ſociety.

The puniſhment by *whipping* ſhould be brought within ſome limit; ſo that overſeers might not with impunity tranſgreſs, through the heat of rage, a fit degree of juſt correction; and as the degree, ſo the *inſtrument*, ſhould be aſcertained, and none permitted which may lacerate or diſfigure the body.

A white perſon, found guilty of wantonly *murdering* a Negroe, ſhould be adjudged a felon, and ſuffer *death*. If convicted of wantonly maiming or diſmembering (death not enſuing), and the owner be the offender, the ſlave ſo maimed ſhould be adjudged to enjoy his freedom, beſides a compenſation for his maintenance, if he ſhould be ſo diſabled as to be incapable of earning a livelihood. But, if the offence ſhould be committed by another perſon, fine and impriſonment, with an adequate ſatisfaction in money to the owner, may be thought no inequitable puniſhment.

The penalty of *death* for *running away*, or abſenting for a certain ſpace, ſhould be commuted to ſome milder for the firſt offence; and, for the ſecond, tranſportation: but the inveigling, harbouring, and concealing, ſuch fugitives, might remain under the ſame rigorous penalties as at preſent.

The ſevereſt puniſhments ought, in juſtice and policy, to fall on rebels, murderers, conſpirers againſt the public tranquillity, in-

cendiaries,

cendiaries, and rioters; runaways, found carrying unlawful weapons; and ſuch as ſtubbornly and wilfully refuſe to labour; for it is inconſiſtent with the general welfare, that any ſhould be rebellious, guilty of outrage and violence, idle, or vagrant.

Lenity in ſome points, rigid ſeverity in others, protection to the well-diſpoſed, and diſcouragement to the abandoned and diſaffected, might prove the means of poliſhing their manners, inciting them to induſtry, and enſuring their voluntary obedience. But nothing would more effectually operate to theſe purpoſes, than the admitting ſome alteration in the preſent laws for recovery of debts.

I have already pointed out, that making Negroes liable to be ſeized for bond and ſimple contract debts, and hurried from one part of the iſland to another, conſtitutes the chief oppreſſion under which they labour; renders their ſervitude more bitter, and intolerable; and produces a very great annual loſs to the public, by the mortality which it occaſions.

I am ſenſible, that the exigency of commercial contracts, and the mixt nature which the laws of commerce have aſſigned to Negroes, combat ſtrongly againſt an alteration. But the law of humanity, and the general intereſt of the iſland, plead more forcibly in favour of it; and ſince the utmoſt a creditor can deſire, is the payment of his debt, or as good ſecurity for it as his debtor can give, no injury is done him, by changing an oppreſſive mode, for one that is not ſo.

If, for example, Negroes were made *glebio adſcriptitii*, affixed to the ſoil, and only liable to paſs with it; it is evident, they ſtill might paſs in deſcent, or payment of contracts, or in ſale. If bonds and ſimple contracts were left to take their remedy ſolely againſt other perſonal aſſets, or againſt the produce of the Negroes labour; or, theſe proving deficient, that then the whole eſtate, land, and Negroes, were liable to be ſold collectively, for yielding full ſatisfaction; would the bond or ſimple contract creditor be put into any worſe ſituation than a mortgagee, who has at preſent identically the ſame remedy? Perhaps no ſcheme might anſwer the intention better, than the committing debtors eſtates *in truſt*, as I have propoſed in the courſe of this work: a variety of plans indeed might be formed, for ſaving the creditor harmleſs; none however could be

carried into execution, unleſs the act of parliament, before cited, was firſt new modeled, and Negroes, more eſpecially the natives of our iſlands, diſtinguiſhed ſome degrees above ſheep and oxen. To make this improvement in the ſyſtem of our colony laws, were ſurely not unbecoming that liberal ſpirit, which digniſies the preſent age: but the reform ſhould begin *at home*; and doubtleſs would without difficulty be aſſented to by parliament, if the provincial aſſemblies were, upon the conviction of its utility, to facilitate their concurrence, by ſubſtituting an equivalent ſecurity to the creditor. The circuity of action and delay, that attend recovery of mortgage debts, might probably be abridged, and mortgage deeds be made as negotiable in commerce, and as ſummary in their proceſs, as common bonds; nor is there any juſt reaſon to be aſſigned, why that mode of ſecurity ſhould not then be given for a debt of fifty pounds, as well as for five hundred pounds; in the colonies, many obſtacles, that prevail in the mother country, are removed at once by the office where ſuch contracts, and their aſſignments from hand to hand, are duly regiſtered. So long as Negroes are ſeverable from the land, every colony is retarded in its progreſs; for, as I have before remarked, it matters not (in a general view) how often the ownerſhip of a Weſt-India eſtate changes hands, *provided the Negroes paſs with the land*; but it is their ſeverance from it, which is eſſentially a depreciation of both, and extremely hurtful to the progreſs of induſtry and ſettlement in theſe iſlands, particularly in Jamaica, where property

"puncto mobilis horæ
"Nunc prece, nunc pretio, nunc vi, nunc morte ſuprema,
"Permutat dominos, et cedit in alteta jura [*b*]."

"Shifting every hour,
"By gift, by purchaſe, force, or fate's commands,
"Changes its lord, and falls to other hands."

To aſcertain the Negroes who ſhould paſs in this manner, would not be difficult; ſince every planter and landholder might be compelled to deliver annually to the juſtices and veſtry upon oath, a liſt of the Negroes *bonâ fide* belonging to, and ſettled upon, his reſpective lands; and where any doubt or diſpute might ariſe, the *onus probandi*

[*b*] Hor. lib. II. Epiſt. ii.

might

might lie on the landholder. It is true, it may be ſaid, that every landholder has the remedy at preſent in his own hands; he has only to make his contracts by mortgage, inſtead of bond or note; but the prolixity of mortgage deeds, which enumerate all the parcels of property, and contain a multitude of covenants and clauſes, make them leſs convenient for ordinary tranſactions in borrowing and lending, eſpecially for ſmall ſums; perhaps ſuch deeds might be ſhortened without loſing their efficacy; but, if this be impracticable, we muſt then turn back to the firſt propoſition, in regard to bonds, and give them effective operation againſt the planter's cattle, furniture, and implements, or (theſe failing) againſt the annual produce, by ſequeſtration, until they are fully ſatisfied. The iniquitous advantages which have been taken of the laws, as they now ſtand, are innumerable: among the multitude of planters, ſome will be found, whoſe hearts are petrified with avarice, and rapacity; whoſe views all center in ſelf; and who ſoar around with the keen appetite of vultures, ſeeking whom they may devour. I remember one of theſe harpies, who, in order to ſtock his eſtate with ſeaſoned Negroes, went ſyſtematically to work. He engaged the deputy marſhal in his intereſt, and having bought up judgements, extant againſt ſeveral inferior ſettlers in his neighbourhood, cauſed their ſlaves to be levied on, and ſold; he himſelf was the underhand purchaſer, and thus found means to advance his own fortune, upon the certain ruin of many induſtrious ſettlers, who threw up their lands after being ſtripped of their labourers; and this furniſhed him with a further opportunity of driving advantageous bargains, by engroſſing the contiguous acres at a cheap rate.

The fallacy of their opinion, who ſuppoſe, that no harm is done by the ſhifting of property, may be demonſtrated in numberleſs inſtances more than I have already given; and they all tend to prove theſe maxims: "That changing the property of lands from one "owner to another, can be of no injury to this iſland, in hindering "the ſettlement and improvement of thoſe lands, ſuppoſing the ſkill "in huſbandry pretty equal at an average.

"But changing the property of labouring Negroes from one "owner to another, living in different places, obſtructs the ſettle- "ment of lands; turns thoſe already ſettled into ruinate; leſſens the "number

"number of planters, diminiſhes the ſtock of labouring Negroes, "and produces a certain loſs to the community in various ways."

There is every year a certain number of theſe negroes, whoſe labour (if I may ſo expreſs myſelf) is in *abeyance*, from the time of heir being taken upon a writ of *venditioni*, to the time of their being being brought to a regular courſe of work again, at the place to which they are removed by their purchaſer. The number of ſlaves ſo levied on, one year with another, I compute, upon the beſt grounds, four hundred; and that their loſs of labour is equal at leaſt to one month each in the year, without taking into account the time frequently ſpent in their concealment, to prevent their falling into the marſhal's hands. In ſeven years the account will therefore ſtand thus:

Levied	Negroes	2,800	Value of loſs, computed at leaſt at 84,000 *l.* currency.	
Loſs of labour;	Months	7		

Of theſe Negroes, it is not eaſy to diſcover how many periſh by change of place, nor the loſs on the ſale ſuſtained by their owners; but the latter muſt be conſiderable; for, at an average, the Negroes, thus ſold, have not yielded above 26 *l.* to 30 *l.* trett, which probably was not more than one third of their real worth, or what they would have been appraiſed at, upon their ſale with the land.

To conclude; ſince Negroes are the ſinews of Weſt-India property, too much care cannot be taken of them; and it well becomes a Chriſtian legiſlature, at the ſame time that it conforms its policy to what may reſpect their health, and ability for labour, to ſoften by every reaſonable means the obduracy of their ſervitude, ſo as to make them forget the very idea of ſlavery; together with this, I acknowledge that ſtrict juſtice and equitable inſtitutions ought to guarrantee all legal contracts entered into either by the planter, or the merchant, or other individuals: but if the rigorous exactions of payment can admit of any alleviating meaſures; if lands can be made more transferable by writ of *elegit*, or other ſcheme of *extent*, or bonds and ſimple contract debts be payable by other means, than hauling the Negroe labourers from one part of the country to another, tearing them from their ſettlement and family, aggravating the hardſhip of their condition, and obſtructing the population and culture of the iſland; it well deſerves the interpoſition of legiſlative wiſdom and humanity, to amend the law, to let juſtice flow in a ſmooth eaſy current,

current, or to reſtrain, where it tranſgreſſes its bounds. It has been the opinion of very ſenſible writers, that the intereſt of our colonies demands, that the Negroes ſhould be better treated, and even raiſed to a better condition; this, however, muſt be underſtood with ſome exceptions againſt the imported Blacks, whoſe ſavage manners render them incapable of thoſe benefits conſiſtent with the ſafety of the colonies, which perhaps might be granted to the natives or Creoles, to a certain limit, without any ill conſequence. Some *medium*, it is ſaid, might be ſtruck, between liberty, and that abſolute ſlavery which now prevails; in this *medium* might be placed *all Mulattos*, after a certain temporary ſervitude to their owner; and ſuch *native Blacks*, as their owners, for their faithful ſervices, ſhould think proper to enfranchiſe. Theſe might have land allotted to them, or ſome ſort of fixed employment, from either of which they ſhould be obliged to pay a certain moderate rent to the public. Whatever they acquired beyond this, to be the reward of their induſtry. The neceſſity of paying a rent, would keep them employed; and when once men are ſet to work through neceſſity, they will not ſtop there; but will gradually ſtrive for conveniencies, and ſome even for ſuperfluities. All this muſt add to the conſumption of manufactures, and the cultivation of lands; and the colonies would be ſtrengthened by the addition of ſo many men, who have an intereſt of their own to fight for.

It becomes the gentlemen of Jamaica to ſet the example, and raiſe their iſland to the ſame rank of ſuperiority in the wiſdom and mildneſs of its laws, as it already enjoys in its extent and opulence, above the other Britiſh territories in the Weſt-Indies; let them boldly purſue every meaſure, which will tend to multiply their people, or to ſtrengthen their country againſt foreign enemies; let them, in order to prevent domeſtic ones, conciliate the attachment of their Negroes by protection and encouragement, rather than ſeek to exact an involuntary obedience by auſterity and terror. In the diſtribution of our gratitude, we are bound to beſtow ſome ſhare on thoſe, whom God has ordained to labour. The juſt ſubordination, within the line of which our Negroes muſt be kept, does by no means diſpenſe with our loving, and treating them humanely. We are obliged to it, both from reaſon and ſelf-intereſt; bodily ſtrength,

and their adaptation to the climate, would enable them to paſs from the loweſt to the higheſt ſtations, and give the law to their maſters, if they were willing unanimouſly to attempt it; but when thoſe who fill the loweſt rank, are uſed with equity and benevolence, ſo far from becoming dreadful, by flocking together in order to trample upon us, they comply with whatever we require of them; they offer themſelves willingly to be our defenders, and are themſelves the inſtruments made uſe of to reſtrain one another within the bounds of their allotted condition. Among all the nations of antiquity, ſlaves were no where treated with greater humanity than at Athens, ſo celebrated for the wiſdom of its laws, and the refined manners of its inhabitants.

Their ſlaves had an action againſt their owners, for acts of outrage and ill uſage; if the fact was proved, the owner was obliged to ſell his ſlave, who while the proceſs depended, might retire into an aſylum appointed to ſecure him from all intermediate violence [c]. The liberty of which the Athenians were ſo jealous was not interdicted to their ſlaves; the latter were authorized to purchaſe their freedom, in deſpite of their owners, whenever they had amaſſed the ſum which the law had fixed for that purpoſe. It was not even unuſual for a patron, who was content with the ſervices of his ſlave, to grant him his liberty for a reward; this was a ſtate of ſervitude ſo mildly regulated, that it differed but little in eſſentials from abſolute freedom. Let the planters copy from this bright example, as far as prudence, and the diſpoſition of Negroes, can admit; if the native ſlaves in our colony can with ſafety be brought under an enlarged degree of protection, and ſecured by rational proviſions from violence and barbarity; or be permitted to redeem themſelves from perpetuity of ſervitude, with the fair and honeſt earnings of their private induſtry; it ſeems highly juſt, humane, and politic, to favour them; that their allegiance to the country and white inhabitants, may be more firmly engaged; after obtaining their freedom, it ſtill remains by legal regulations to enforce their employing themſelves in ſome honeſt courſe of livelihood; they will then contribute largely not to the ſtrength alone, but to

[c] This reſembles the proceſs under the antient Engliſh writ *de libertate probanda*, pending which, the villein, laying claim to freedom, was protected from the vexation of the ſuitor who challenged him.

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the wealth and proſperity of the iſland, and to the profits of Great Britain.

CHAP. VI.

REGULATIONS for preſerving HEALTH in JAMAICA.

SECT. I.

PLACE of HABITATION and AIR.

OBSERVATION of the effects which the change from a cold to a hot climate produces on hard inanimate ſubſtances, ſuch as wood, iron, and the like, muſt naturally teach us to expect, that the human body, a ſyſtem of tubes and glands, or matter delicately organized, cannot paſs rapidly from the one to the other, without being affected in a proportionate degree.

As the heated air between the Tropics acts upon metals by expanſion; ſo, when it acts upon the human body, it relaxes the ſolid parts, and rarefies the fluid, increaſes the velocity of the blood's circulation, cauſes an unuſual diſcharge of the bile, and a regurgitation of it into the ſtomach, violent acute pains in the head, loathing of food, and ſickneſs; hence feveriſh diſorders may enſue, which would be ſoon and eaſily cured, if no other prediſpoſing cauſes ſupervened.

The authors, who have treated on this ſubject with moſt diſcernment, agree pretty uniformly, in aſcribing the malignancy of Weſt India fevers to a vitiated air, either at ſea, or on ſhore.

At ſea, occaſioned by noxious exhalations, raiſed during long continued calms, when the water, not being agitated as uſual by the trade winds, is ſubject to become corrupt near the ſurface, where it is leſs charged with ſalt, to preſerve it from ſtinking.

On ſhore, by the like exhalations, excited by the heat of the ſun, from foul, oozy ſhores, the nauſeous ſtagnant water of lagoons, and the fetid mud or ſoil of low, ſwampy grounds.

This morbid air, admitted into the lungs and circulation, may induce a diſpoſition to putreſcency, and render thoſe diſorders of the frame malignant, which otherwiſe, perhaps, the efforts of nature alone, or but ſlightly aſſiſted, might have thrown off.

Such an air may therefore be conſidered truly poiſonous to the human conſtitution; for which reaſon, a firſt and principal caution is, to avoid it as much as poſſible; or, at leaſt, to correct its baneful quality, or tendency, as much as may be, by ſuitable antiſeptic remedies.

As we remark, that water, whether on ſhore, or in the ocean, will grow corrupt in this climate, if, for any length of time, it is not put in motion; ſo the fluids in the human body will become putreſcent, if due exerciſe is too long neglected: hence we may conclude, that habitual indolence and inactivity are likewiſe to be reckoned among the prediſpoſing cauſes of bad fevers, in a hot climate. There are practical irregularities in regard to the reſt of what phyſicians have called the *non-naturals*, which may tend either to generate or exaſperate ſuch fevers, and which I ſhall occaſionally advert to. Men who commit theſe, ſin with their eyes open: but from the evils of a noxious atmoſphere; numbers cannot fly, by reaſon of the duties of ſervice, and the exigencies of buſineſs. I ſhall therefore give a firſt attention to the injuries deriveable from this ſource; and, bringing together ſuch general remarks on the means of ſhunning or counteracting them, as gentlemen of the faculty, the moſt eminent for their ſkill and knowledge in the ſubject, have beneficently given to the public, apply them more particularly to this iſland. In this detail I ſhall endeavour to ſecond the humanity of their deſign; claiming indulgence, at the ſame time, for thoſe ſupplemental precepts and ſtrictures which may be interſperſed, and meant to correſpond to the ſame view.

The ingenious Doctor Lind remarks, that every country has its healthy and unhealthy ſituations; and he inſtances, in reſpect to the former claſs, the iſland of Portſea, near Portſmouth, and the town of Brading, in the iſle of Wight; he might have added the marſhes of Kent, Eſſex, Lincolnſhire, and Cambridgeſhire, and perhaps ſome other ſpots in England. In the Weſt Indies ſuch low ſwampy ſpots are ſtill more fatal; and they are infeſted with muſkeetos, which ſeem as if placed there by the hand of Providence, to aſſault with their ſtings, and drive away, every human being, who may ignorantly venture to fix his abode among them. It is moſt dangerous to paſs the night in ſuch places, and it is at ſuch time that theſe inſects collect in ſwarms, and make war on every daring intruder. In ſome parts of the

South American continent the torments they inflicted were ſo intolerable, that many houſes, and even whole villages, were obliged to be deſerted by the Spaniards and Indians; of which Ulloa gives an account, who, in his paſſage from Guayaquil to Caracol, ſuffered inexpreſſibly from the multitudes which infeſted the marſhy banks of the river of Guayaquil, inſomuch that their ſtings penetrated through all his cloathing, and would not permit him to take one moment's repoſe. Such places in Jamaica are to be deemed unfit for reſidence; but, in ſo extenſive an iſland, we meet with few of them in proportion, nor does it abound with ſituations that can be juſtly ſtigmatized for a natural inſalubrity.

There are various reaſons to be aſſigned, why the inhabitants of this iſland were formerly afflicted with frequent viſitations of epidemic ſickneſs. When Europeans reſorted hither in great numbers, they were crowded into two towns, and inconveniently accommodated. A buccaneering intercourſe ſubſiſted with the baleful coaſts about Carthagena and Porto Bello. In 1671, when the fleet commanded by Sir Henry Morgan returned from that coaſt, his crews brought with them the malignant fever of Porto Bello, and the greater part of them died of it; the contagion ſpread to thoſe on ſhore, where it produced a terrible mortality. In 1741, a very great ſickneſs prevailed here from a ſimilar diſorder, imported by the troops, on their return from the Carthagena expedition; and the like had happened before in 1704, when admiral Neville's ſquadron was on this ſtation. The houſes were inconveniently built, the diſeaſes of the Weſt Indies were very little underſtood, and ſuch contagious diſtempers were often fatal, for want of thoſe remedies which were afterwards invented. Many lives muſt have been loſt, by theſe putrid fevers, before the Jeſuits bark was brought into general uſe, or copious bleeding exploded; hundreds periſhed by the ravages of the ſmall pox, before the art of inoculation grew into practice; multitudes have been formerly ſtifled to death in this climate, by confinement in cloſe hot rooms, under loads of bed-cloaths, and poiſoned with their own atmoſphere, while the freſh air, which was their beſt remedy, was moſt induſtriouſly excluded. Nor is Jamaica ſingular in having ſuffered great depopulations by peſtilential maladies, imported into it from other parts. In 1691, the iſland of Barbadoes was invaded with a contagion, brought by an Engliſh

fleet, which continued to rage there more or leſs for twelve years, and ſwept off above a third part of the white inhabitants. In the year 1740, the South Sea galleons, having touched at Guayaquil, in order to ſecure their treaſure, on account of the war between Spain and Great Britain, brought with them a putrid malignant fever, which had never been known at that place before, and numbers died of it: it is needleſs to multiply examples of what muſt have happened to every country carrying on any conſiderable trade; this cauſe is very diſtinct from local maladies, excited and nouriſhed by ſomething pernicious to human health, in the ſoil or atmoſphere. In regard to the latter, a foreigner, ſays Lind, who fixes his abode on a ſickly ſpot in England, as for inſtance at *Hilſea Barracks*, muſt not call the climate of England unhealthy, becauſe he ſuffers from the diſadvantages of a bad ſituation; ſo, to apply this remark to Jamaica, an European, who fixes his reſidence at Greenwich near Kingſton, or in the near neighbourhood of a lagoon, ought not to reckon the climate of this iſland unhealthy, becauſe he has ſuffered by an injudicious choice. The fact really is, as before has been ſtated, that healthy as well as unhealthy ſituations are to be found in all countries; but that the Engliſh, for the convenience chiefly of their trade, and ſometimes through ignorance, have generally fixed on the moſt unwholeſome ſpots, for the ſituation of their towns in the Weſt Indies. The healthy air of Barbadoes is owing to that iſland's being entirely cleared of wood; but the principal town there is fixed on a ſwamp, and therefore perhaps incurably unhealthy. Baſſe-Terre in St. Kitts, St. John's in Antigua, are not leſs ſo, and, as I am informed, from the like reaſon [*a*].

The

[*a*] In the year 1766, fixteen French Proteſtant families, conſiſting of *ſixty* perſons, were ſent, at the expence of government, to *Weſt Florida*; the ground allotted for their reſidence was on the ſide of a hill, *ſurrounded with marſhes*, at the mouth of the river *Scambia*. Theſe new ſettlers arrived in winter, and continued healthy till the ſickly months, which in that country are thoſe of *July* and *Auguſt*; during theſe two months the annual fever of that climate proved ſo fatal to them, that, of the *ſixty*, only *fourteen* ſurvived; and even this ſmall remnant were all in a bad ſtate of health in *September*, and moſt of them died in a few months afterwards. Such cataſtrophes are ſhocking; eſpecially when we conſider, that if theſe induſtrious people had been fixed on a healthy ſpot, not incommoded with the malignant vapours of a ſwampy ſoil, they might have lived many years, and covered a large diſtrict with their offspring. *Kalm* gives another inſtance of ſuch fatal ſituations, in the little town of *Salem*, in Penſylvania, adjacent to which are ſome very low ſwampy meadows. They who come hither from other parts acquire a very pale ſickly look, although they enjoy

The general proofs of an unhealthy ſituation, in this climate, are,

Firſt, Sudden alterations in the evening air, from ſtifling heat, to a chilling cold; this is perceived ſoon after ſunſet, and is accompanied with a very heavy dew, which indicates a ſwampy unwholeſome ſoil.

Secondly, Thick noiſome fogs, ariſing after ſunſet, from mud, ſlime, and other impurities, having ſomething of the ſcent of a new-cleanſed ditch.

Thirdly, Innumerable ſwarms of large muſkeetos, flies, and other inſects, which attend putrid air and low unventilated places, where they delight to breed.

Fourthly, Where butchers meat is ſoon corrupted, and in a few hours becomes tainted and full of maggots; and where wounds, nearly brought to heal, ſuddenly break out afreſh, attended with great putrefaction of the parts.

Fifthly, Where a dead corpſe becomes intolerably offenſive in leſs than ſix hours.

Sixthly, Where, by the ſubſidence of the water in dry weather, the channel of any river is left bare to the ſun, and emits a diſagreeable ſmell, by night as well as by day, from putrid ſlime, dead fiſh and inſects, and other corrupted ſubſtances.

In ſummer nights, the body is moſt liable to fevers, becauſe of the alterations of the air; for, in the beginning of the night, it is ſultry; in the middle, more temperate; and, towards the morning, cool: by which, the accuſtomed flow of perſpiration is checked in time of ſleep, by throwing off the cloaths. This is confirmed by all who travel in hot climates; ſudden cold, after warmth, makes a change in the habit, by repelling the tranſpiring ſteams, which were copiouſly riſing; in theſe climates, therefore, it may be neceſſary to cover the body, when the nocturnal dews happen, leſt the pores ſhould be too ſuddenly cloſed, which might produce fevers of the worſt kind.

The dew, which is moſt unwholeſome and dangerous, is that which riſes imperceptibly from the earth after ſunſet. This may eaſily be

enjoy ever ſo perfect health, and lively colour, at their firſt arrival. In the month of May a moſt diſagreeable ſtench annoys it from the ſwamps; the putrid vapours are wafted upon the inhabitants, and are inhaled into their bodies together with the air which they breathe. At the end of every ſummer they are ſure to be afflicted with intermittent fevers. A young couple, who came paſſengers with *Kalm*, went, ſoon after their arrival at Philadelphia, in perfect health to *Salem*; but in a few weeks they both fell ſick, and died before the winter was half over. A hot atmoſphere, ſo impregnated with putrid particles and watery vapours, cannot fail of producing diarrhœas, dyſenteries, and various kinds of putrid and malignant fevers.

collected,

collected, by inverting a bowl, or glaſs tumbler, and placing it on a ſtick, with the mouth about half an inch from the ſurface of the ground. After fixing it thus at ſunſet, if it be examined about midnight, it will be found entirely covered within with watry globules, like the cover of a boiling kettle, while the outſide perhaps is barely moiſt. But if ſuffered to remain the whole night in this poſition, the condenſed vapour of the earth precipitating towards morning, in the cool hours before ſun-riſe, will cover the outſide alſo with the like appearance.

I have frequently obſerved, that, in Kingſton, there is ſometimes no dew at all perceptible in the morning; at other times, after heavy ſhowers in the Liguanea mountains, and a briſk land wind, it has been very copious. In the former caſe, which happened in dry weather, there either was no reek or perſpiration from the earth of the ſtreets, or the atmoſphere above continued in too warm a ſtate during the night to condenſe any vapours which might aſcend. In general, I think it may be concluded, that it is not wholeſome to be much abroad in this climate after dark, at leaſt without due precaution of putting on additional cloathing.

The beſt preſervative againſt the miſchievous impreſſions of a putrid fog, a ſwampy or marſhy exhalation, is a cloſe, ſheltered, and covered place, ſuch as the lower apartments in a ſhip, or a houſe which has no doors nor windows facing the ſwamp. If, in ſuch place, a fire be kept either at the doors or other inlets, as is practiſed in ſome unhealthy countries during their rainy or noiſome foggy ſeaſon, theſe fires, together with the ſmoak, prove an excellent ſafeguard to thoſe within, againſt the injuries of a vitiated atmoſphere.

The cuſtom of the Negroes in this reſpect, perhaps, may conduce as much as any thing to their enjoying health in ſuch marſhy ſoils, when white perſons are affected by the malignant effluvia, and contract ſickneſs; few of their huts have any other floor than the bare earth, which might poſſibly tranſmit noxious exhalations in the night, if they did not keep up a conſtant fire in the center of their principal room or hall; the ſmoak of which, though intended to diſperſe the muſkeetos, has another good effect, the correcting the night air, and diſarming it of its damp and chill, which might be prejudicial to their healths [*b*].

In

[*b*] Doctor *Trapham* ſpeaks to the ſame effect: "Though water is a moſt neceſſary conveni-
"ency, and its plenty and goodneſs a great accommodation to theſe ſettlements; yet, as the air
"itſelf is very moiſt, we ought to covet as dry a living as may be, and therefore not to lodge
"ourſelves

In ſuch low ſpots, even in this climate, the chill and denſity of the air is ſuch, as to render the breath viſible early in the morning, a circumſtance which is not obſerved in other parts of the lowlands.

Unwholeſome fogs in Jamaica are, ſuch as emanate from lagoons and marſhy ſoils; but they are not common. The fogs of Sixteen-mile-walk, and ſome other places among the mountains, are not unhealthy, nor have they any ill ſmell. Thoſe who inhabit places where ſalt or unwholeſome marſhes are formed by frequent inundations of the ſea, or where the ſhores are lined with ſtinking ooze or mud, and aquatic plants of a noxious quality, ought, during the ſickly ſeaſons, to retire into the country at ſome diſtance. The ſafeſt retreats are to be found on the ſides of hills or mountains, where there are no moraſſes within three miles; preferring alſo thoſe ſituations which are not affected by vapours ſpringing from the circumjacent valleys, at leaſt in their perpendicular aſcent. Experience confirms the fact, that in ſuch elevated ſituations, where the ſoil is dry, and clear from wood and ſtagnant water, Europeans enjoy good health, in the very hotteſt climates, during all ſeaſons of the year: but, if perſons will obſtinately run the hazard of their life and health, by remaining all night, or ſleeping in unhealthy places, they cannot expect to reap the benefit of ſafety and ſecurity from a healthy air in their neighbourhood.

In every iſland, perhaps, ſuch aſylums may be found, where the air proves healthy, and reſtorative to European conſtitutions.

The iſland of Dominica is in moſt places woody and unhealthy; yet there were ſeveral French families in it, who, by fixing their reſidence on the ſides of hills, lived exempted from the attack of agues and fevers, the diſeaſes common there; and thus enjoyed as good a ſtate of health and conſtitution, as if they had been in France.

The beſt ſituation for a change is, where the heat of the day ſeldom exceeds 70 on Fahrenheit's thermometer, and where the cold of the night is not more than 16 degrees lower on the ſame ſcale,

"ourſelves or ſervants receptive of additional water from ponds or rivers; for I have obſerved "it matter of fact, where ſuch care hath been omitted, more lives than elſewhere have been "flooded into *Styx*. Beſides its great preſervation in this reſpect, a dry lodging, *removed at leaſt* "*one ſtory from the ground*, is approved the beſt ſecurity of our white ſervants; as for the Negroes, "though their lodging be near the ground, they force off the moiſture of the earth by their con-"ſtant fires, and thereby become healthy." P. 270.

or at 54; where the ground is cleared from wood and bushes; has no ſtagnating water upon or near its ſurface; where the ſoil is fertile, and favours the cultivation of European plants, and the health of European animals; and, laſtly, where ſheep, brought from England or North America, ſtill retain, without inconvenience, a fleecy covering. There are ſpots of ground, in all the mountains and hills adjacent to the towns in Jamaica, which, by induſtry and cultivation, might be converted into the moſt healthy and delightful rural retirements. In ſuch places, on thoſe eminences where at preſent the chillneſs of the evening renders a fire comfortable, and requiſite to an European conſtitution, the improvement of the ſoil would gradually mend the quality of the air. Gentlemen, who can afford to keep a horſe or carriage, after doing buſineſs in Kingſton, or other maritime towns, might, before ſunſet, return to ſuch a healthy and pleaſant country ſeat as is here recommended, taking the precaution of never ſleeping elſewhere during a ſickly ſeaſon. Thoſe, whoſe circumſtances and buſineſs will permit, ſhould retire, eſpecially in the night-ſeaſon, to ſuch places for health, until they grow inured to the climate; and others, who cannot afford this precaution, or whoſe affairs will not admit of it, ſhould be immediately removed thither when taken ill. Should the change of air not produce an inſtantaneous recovery, it will at leaſt mitigate the ſymptoms of the diſorder; and, the uſe of medicines being attended with more efficacy, a patient will more ſpeedily regain a vigorous ſtate of health. When a perſon is ſeized with a fever, proceeding from the bad air of any place, his illneſs, whilſt he continues there, is daily, nay hourly, aggravated, and reinforced, by a conſtant application of the morbid cauſe. In this ſituation, the beſt medicines, even the bark, have been ineffectual in relieving the patient, whilſt thus inceſſantly expoſed to the ſources of his diſeaſe. They who labour under fevers, fluxes, and other diſeaſes of the like violent nature, may be removed with the greateſt ſafety for change of air. Such, therefore, as are taken ill during the rage of any epidemic ſickneſs, ſhould be carried immediately into a purer air, to ſome diſtance beyond the reach of infection; and frequently, in theſe caſes, this is a certain and immediate cure of itſelf: ſo in 1765, when a mortal ſickneſs raged on ſhore at Penſacola, the crews of

the men of war, lying at a mile's diſtance from the town, enjoyed the moſt perfect health; and ſuch patients, who, after their being ſeized with the fever on ſhore, were carried on board ſhip, preſently recovered; the diſorder, by change of air, ſoon loſt its alarming ſymptoms, and was eaſily ſubdued; nothing is more certain, than that the ſea air, and ſea breezes, in this part of the world, are ſpecifics for the removal of malignant diſorders contracted from a vitiated atmoſphere on the land. I ſhall now apply theſe remarks more particularly to Jamaica. The ſituation of Spaniſh Town is healthy; it has no marſhes about or near it; and the rain water that falls upon it is drained into the river by a pretty rapid deſcent. Nothing more is needful to preſerve this natural ſalubrity of its air, than a well-regulated police, under the controul of the magiſtrates, who ſhould provide, that the ſtreets and environs be kept clear from filth, and all putrid ſubſtances, which might breed annoyance. The air of all the Tropical countries is moſt impure, *immediately* before and after the periodical ſeaſons; and, at ſuch times, the greater caution muſt be uſed to avoid catching colds, which may produce intermittent, or ſometimes remittent, fevers. At ſuch times, or when any epidemic diſtemper of a contagious nature is by accident brought into the town, the adjacent hills afford a convenient and ſecure retreat. The town of Port Royal, being almoſt ſurrounded with the ſea water, is juſtly commended for the ſalubrity of its air, a certain proof of which is the longevity of its conſtant inhabitants.

The town of Kingſton, lying on a gravely ſlope, and open to the ſea breeze, would probably be a healthy place, if it was not expoſed to infectious diſorders, brought into it from the ſhipping; yet, when any ſuch malady begins to rage, the ſick might always find a ſalutary retreat among the Liguanea Hills. I have already ſpoken of the barrack at *Stoney Ridge*, in St. Andrew's; the neighbourhood of this place would doubtleſs be very well adapted for a retreat from contagion, or for the recovery of convaleſcents; nor might it be a loſing project perhaps for a builder to purchaſe land here, and erect a certain number of commodious houſes, to be lett for this purpoſe. Society might allure thoſe to try the experiment, who would otherwiſe be averſe to it, from a diſlike to ſolitude; and, indeed, nothing more alleviates the diſtreſs and dejection incident to

fevers of the putrid claſs, than chearful company. The ſituation of the other towns is but indifferent; but the inhabitants of all have their places of retreat, if they could but reſolve to make uſe of them. For Old Harbour there are the Goat Iſlands, and the Hills of St. Dorothy. Savannah la Mar is at no great diſtance from hills and riſing grounds; Lucea and Montego Bay are ſurrounded with high lands; at the latter place, in particular, the flat ſpace for building is ſo circumſcribed, that, as the town enlarges, the houſes muſt be built on higher ground, along the ſides of the contiguous hill; which circumſtance will one day contribute to render it populous and flouriſhing. The lower part of Kingſton, next the harbour, having been founded upon ſoil recovered from the water, is too much pent up with the ſhipping that lie near the wharfs, and with warehouſes and goods, to be eligible for paſſing the night. Beſides, the mud near this quarter, whenever it is diſturbed, either by the violence of the ſurge in high breezes, or by the oars, poles, or boat-hooks of navigators, is apt to emit a very putrid and unwholeſome ſtench; ſuch ſituations may either generate bad fevers, or exaſperate the ſymptoms of thoſe diſorders which otherwiſe might eaſily be conquered.

Throughout this iſland, wherever we turn our eyes, it appears ſo crowded with hills and riſing grounds, ventilated always with a free and ſalubrious air, that we cannot but condemn thoſe perſons, who chuſe low, damp, and ſultry hollows, for their conſtant reſidence; and who often ſuffer from the ill effects cauſed by ſuch ſituations, without diſcerning the real ſource of their bad health: but in time, perhaps, when the importance of this matter comes to be more ſeriouſly attended to, the planters will allow more weight to thoſe particulars in the œconomy of health; which reaſon and experience combine to recommend.

Thoſe whom fortune has bleſt with abundance, ſhould be ſtudious to preſerve the lives of their dependents, whoſe poverty perhaps is their greateſt crime. The cruelty of expoſing the lives of men to ſickneſs or death, by reſtricting them to dwell in wretched hovels, and on unhealthy ſpots, needs only to be pointed out, inorder to be relieved. The natural generoſity, and benevolent diſpoſition, of the planters will immediately lead them to adminiſter the certain remedy,

although it may be attended at firſt with ſome extraordinary expence to them. The habitations of their white ſervants ſhould be fixed on airy, dry, and elevated, ſpots, raiſed ſome feet above the ſurface of the earth, floored, and conſtructed either of timber and plaiſter, or brick, but never (if poſſible to avoid it) of ſtone; which is a very improper material in this climate for dwelling-houſes, on account of the damp and chill which it ſtrikes in rainy weather; but, whenever it is unavoidably uſed for ſuch buildings, the effects may be rendered leſs pernicious, by ſurrounding them with a ſhed or piazza, or lining the walls with boards, or lath and plaiſter, ſet off to ſuch a diſtance as to let the air circulate between.

The like precautions muſt be uſed in the eſtabliſhment of white families, if the ſpirit ſhould ever revive of introducing and ſettling them in the iſland. The place allotted for their habitation ſhould be ſtony, gravely, or at leaſt dry, open to the wind, and remote from the annoyance of vapouriſh ſwamps, or ſtagnant waters.

It may happen, that many perſons, from the urgent nature of their employment and circumſtances, may be obliged to remain in unhealthy ſituations; in this caſe they muſt uſe the beſt means in their power to guard themſelves from the local miſchiefs to which they may be occaſionally expoſed. Such perſons ſhould ſleep in the higheſt apartments of their houſe, whoſe doors and windows ought to be ſo contrived as not to front or open towards a damp ſoil or marſh. At thoſe ſeaſons of the year when ſwampy exhalations are moſt to be dreaded, as after heavy rains, and great heats ſucceeding, fires made in the evening, and early in the morning, with lignum vitæ, caſcarilla, candlewood, and other reſinous woods, or ſubſtances, would be very ſerviceable. A Guiney merchant of Kingſton, whoſe Negroes were ſeized with the ſmall-pox, then raging malignantly in the town, put them all into a warehouſe, in which was lodged a conſiderable quantity of pimento, for exportation, whoſe odour was ſo powerful as to ſubdue the offenſive ſtench of the diſorder, and refreſhed the patients ſo much, that they all got through it ſafely. But of all *antiſeptic* vapours, none is ſo powerful as the acid ſteam of burning brimſtone, for correcting putrid air, and checking contagion.

In many parts among the mountains I have known houſes upon elevated ſpots not unhealthy, though ſurrounded with woods. The

greater coolneſs of the air, in ſuch places, and their diſtance from any ſtagnant water, or fetid ooze, may contribute to their ſalubrity; the clearing away ſuch woods, which ſcreen the lower ſituations, and increaſe their ſultrineſs, by excluding the free air from them, will render them more habitable, but perhaps not add much to the healthineſs of the former; for the reaſon why the mountain woods are leſs injurious than the cloſe thickets of the low lands, is, that the trees ſtand further aſunder, ſo as to give a freer paſſage to the winds and vapours; and conſiſt, for the moſt part, of the aromatic kinds, which ſerve to correct any noxious exhalations, with their fragrancy and perfume. Their leaves in general are thick and firm; their pores extremely minute, and filled with a reſinous or glutinous juice; by which means they perſpire leſs, and are enveloped with a leſs baneful atmoſphere, than the trees of moiſt and low grounds. Pimento walks are remarkably healthful for reſidence. Perſons, obliged to reſide upon or near marſhy, unhealthful ſpots, ſhould avoid expoſing themſelves, when faſting, to the chills of the morning and evening air, and never go abroad with an empty ſtomach; but, previous to their labour, or amuſement abroad, they ſhould take either a glaſs of wine, with a ſlice of bread, or drink a ſmall quantity of chamomile or bark tea, or of an infuſion of garlic, bark, and rhubarb in brandy; which may be taken either alone, or diluted a little with ſome water, before they venture out in the morning.

In all ſuch humid ſituations ſmoaking tobacco is beneficial; as alſo a more plentiful diet of fleſh, with wine, and the peppers of the country. The pit of the ſtomach, the feet, and the back bone, are more particularly to be guarded by coverings of flannel or cotton; a ſquare piece of thick dimitty, with a tape ſtrap to put round the neck, may be worn next the ſkin, to cover the cheſt and ſtomach. This has been experienced very conducive to health, in ſuch places, and a good preventative againſt thoſe colds and rheumatiſms, which are apt, in theſe climates, to fall on the bowels, and cauſe the belly-ach; and, to theſe precautions the daily uſe of bathing may be added, in the forenoon, when the ſtomach is empty. Strangers newly arrived at ſuch places, or thoſe who are conſtitutionally ſubject to agues, ſhould, during the ſickly ſeaſons, take, every other night, two or three ſpoonfuls of *tinctura ſacra*, or a few grains of *pilulæ ruſi*, not ſufficient to purge,

purge, but only to keep the body gently open; and, for further prevention, a wine glaſs of the [c] infuſion of bark and orange-peel, in water; or a table ſpoonful of a ſtrong [d] tincture of bark, in ſpirits, may be taken, diluted with water, occaſionally, in a morning before breakfaſt. When a perſon is attacked with a fit of ſhivering, or the chills of an ague, he ought to go to bed; and, mixing about two ounces of white-wine vinegar with a quarter of an ounce of finely powdered chalk, ſhould drink them immediately, while in the ſtate of effervescence. This draught generally ſhortens the cold fit, brings on a profuſe ſweat, and may be repeated in the ſubſequent paroxyſms. A mixture of ſalt of wormwood with lime or lemon juice, taken in its effervescent ſtate, is adminiſtered for the ſame intention; but the beſt cure for an ague is the preparation ſubjoined in the note [e], which has rarely been found to fail in carrying it off.

For perſons on the recovery from theſe and other debilitating maladies in the Weſt Indies, no food whatever contributes more or ſooner to the reſtoration of ſtrength, than a turtle, or fiſh-diet, or nouriſhing fiſh-ſoup, warmed with the ſpices of the country; and, if neceſſary, rendered more palatable by the addition of a little juice of ripe limes.

It has been a received opinion, that, upon change of air from a cold to a hot climate, the firſt fever or fit of ſickneſs alters the conſtitution of the body, ſo as to ſeaſon it in the change; and that ſuch a ſickneſs is abſolutely neceſſary to ſeaſon and accommodate an European to it. But this is fallacious.

Sickneſs, though often primarily cauſed by the alteration of climate, does not always adapt the body, nor ſeaſon it; nor is it abſolutely neceſſary for that purpoſe. For many perſons, either from ſome conſtitutional ailment, ſome latent prediſpoſing ſource in their habit, as a ſcorbutic taint, may ſuffer reiterated fits of illneſs, without perceiving themſelves better reconciled to the change, than they were after

[c] ℞. One ounce of bruiſed bark, half an ounce of ſour orange peel, half a pint of boiling water; infuſe theſe ingredients, and, after ſuffering them to ſettle for ſome time, pour off the liquor ſo long as it runs clear.

[d] ℞. One ounce of pounded or bruiſed bark, eight ounces of French ſpirit of wine; let it ſtand in a warm place four days, then ſtrain off, and bottle it for uſe; it may prove more efficacious with a ſlight addition of rhubarb; or, in hot temperaments, a very little nitre. Linde.

[e] ℞. Three drachms of bark, finely powdered, one drachm and half of Venice treacle, the juice of one and half common-ſized lemons, and ſix table ſpoonfuls of ſound red Port wine; mix the ingredients well, and divide into three equal parts; one whereof to be taken at morning, noon, and evening, of the well day, on an empty ſtomach. This doſe is for a grown perſon, and may be proportionably leſſened for thoſe of tender years.

the

the firſt attack; many others ſuffer no illneſs at all from the change, but bear it well; which proves, that ſickneſs or a fever was not required to prepare or adapt them to it. The thorough and proper ſeaſoning to ſuch a climate is brought about effectually by remaining in it for ſome length of time; and all *ſudden changes* from cold to heat, or heat to cold, produce nearly ſimilar effects. Thus, if 500 ſeamen or ſoldiers paſs from England to the Weſt Indies, ſetting out in very cold weather, and arriving there after a quick voyage, many of them will be ſeized with a diarrhœa, and with violent and mortal fevers, if they indulge, ſoon after their arrival, in *rum newly diſtilled*. But, if the ſame men are kept at ſea, and the ſhip does not put into any unhealthy port, during the ſickly ſeaſon of the year, theſe men, after being twelve months in the Weſt Indies, will become perfectly ſeaſoned to the climate, and enjoy as good a ſtate of health, as if they were in England.

So, if the ſame men, after being ſome years in the Weſt Indies, are relieved, and arrive on the Engliſh coaſt, in the winter time, they will be again ſeized with diarrhœas; the cure and removal of which will intirely depend on keeping the patients *warm*. On their change to the hot climate, the humours, unable to paſs off faſt enough by the outlets of perſpiration, fall on the bowels. On their return from a hot to a cold climate, the outlets by perſpiration being ſuddenly cloſed, the humours are repelled, and driven again upon the ſame parts; and the keeping the patients warm is no more than recalling their bodies to the ſame glow to which they had lately been accuſtomed, and thereby promoting a free diſcharge by the ſkin.

It has been obſerved, that muſkeetos are intolerably numerous in thoſe places in the Weſt-Indies, which are leaſt adapted to human habitation. They are found in the greateſt ſwarms among lagoons, and ſwamps on the ſea coaſt, and in little creeks ſheltered with mangrove trees; in gullies which contain any ſtagnant water; in puddles on the flat country after the rainy ſeaſons, and in river-courſes in dry weather, where the water reſts in detached hollows, and becomes corrupted from the fermentation of aquatic weeds, and ſubſided ſcum. Sometimes, I have known them driven from their ſkulking holes, by the violence of ſtrong ſea breezes, to a conſiderable diſtance up the country; but in general among the mountains,

tains, they are ſcarce, very diminutive and feeble. They are principally troubleſome, and in ſwarms, after the periodical rains, when the lowlands are drenched with water, and full of little puddles, where theſe inſects depoſite their eggs, and multiply the breed.

They are therefore no poſitive harbingers of unhealthy ſpots, except where they are found at *all ſeaſons of the year*, in the *greateſt abundance*; ſuch are the places, where they can enjoy a warm atmoſphere, and water undiſturbed by rude winds. They are found in the moſt healthy ſituations; they ſwarm in all the provinces of North America, and even in Canada in the ſummer time; but it is very certain, that in thoſe countries, as well as the Weſt-Indies, they are moſt numerous in the leaſt healthful parts; and that the ſummer ſeaſon is the moſt ſickly time of the year in North America. Theſe inſects cannot exiſt long, nor propagate their ſpecies well, without ſtagnant water. Dry weather, dry expoſures, and a cool air, are equally obnoxious to them; their favourite haunts therefore, and ſuch as ſeem moſt to promote their multiplication, are to be rejected as the leaſt fit (in proportion) for mankind to inhabit, at leaſt during thoſe months in the year when they appear moſt vigorous and numerous.

Butchers meat does not ordinarily grow tainted, in the lowlands of Jamaica, under 30 to 36 hours (unleſs expoſed to the ſun). When hung up in an airy ſhaded place, and protected from flies, it will keep longer. In the mountains, I have eat beef corned and boiled, very good and ſweet, after five or ſix days keeping; and pork pickled here of a twelvemonth old. Corpſes are kept, on the South ſide of the iſland, in general, twenty-four hours or more, according to the nature of the diſeaſe, and ſeaſon of the year, before interment, without becoming offenſive.

The effects obſerved here on metals expoſed to the air, is no criterion of an unhealthy ſtate. This ruſting, or corroſion, particularly remarked on iron or ſteel, is thought to be occaſioned by a muriatic acid, or by nitrous particles, with which the air of this iſland is impregnated. I have ſeen iron work upon one of the higheſt ridges of the mountains, in as healthy a ſituation as any on the globe, corroded in as great a degree as in any part of the lowlands. I obſerved, on a large iron ſcale beam ſuſpended cloſe by the ſea,

ſea, that the ſide next the water was cankered with ruſt in the courſe of a few weeks after being hung up; but the oppoſite ſide remained perfectly ſound, and the paint as freſh as at firſt.

Tranſient ſhowers here, though ſometimes very heavy, do not leave the air affected with moiſture; and theſe metals ruſt leaſt here during rainy weather.

May not ſuch irrigations dilute, conduct, or carry off, thoſe particles floating in the atmoſphere, which at other times act as *menſtrua* upon iron? or, may they not render them leſs active?

Fixible or mephitic air acts very powerfully upon iron but has not any effect upon copper. But copper is corroded in this climate, though not ſo violenly as iron. The volatile vitriolic acid diſſolves both; this latter ſubſtance has been conjectured to be plentifully diſtributed throughout the univerſe, in the ſubterraneous regions, and even in the atmoſphere; it is conſtantly preſent in the *electrical fluid* which is diffuſed in ſuch great abundance between the Tropics; and from the ſuppoſed exiſtence of it in the air, it has been called, the *ſal acidum vagum univerſale* [*f*]. We may therefore venture, perhaps, to aſcribe the effect obſerved to this cauſe, until ſome more probable, or powerful, agent ſhall be diſcovered.

Having now laid down general rules for diſtinguiſhing a good from a ſickly ſituation I proceed to another eſſential article, which merits attention from all Europeans, coming to reſide in this climate, viz.

SECT. II.

CLOATHING.

Faſhion and cuſtom, ſays Dr. Hilary, are two prevailing things, which enſlave the greater part of mankind, though often in oppoſition both to reaſon and convenience, and particularly in our *dreſs*; for no doubt but the looſe, cool, eaſy dreſs of the Eaſtern nations, their gown or banyan, is much eaſier and better fitted for uſe in a hot climate, than the Engliſh dreſs, which is cloſe and tight. All who have tried both, find it ſo: but, ſuch is the influence of faſhion and cuſtom, that one may ſee men loaded, and half melting under a ponderous coat and waiſtcoat, richly bedaubed with gold lace or

[*f*] Falconer.

embroidery

embroidery on a hot day, ſcarcely able to bear them, and little conſidering how much they injure their conſtitutions by a ſweltering load of garments, of whoſe inconvenience they cannot but be ſenſible; and under whoſe preſſure, they cannot but feel the moſt uneaſy ſenſations.

A banyan is the dreſs of the mandarins at the courts of China and Japan, of the nobility and gentry at Indoſtan and Perſia; and why it ſhould not be adopted in other hot countries, can only be attributed to the tyranny of cuſtom, which is ever perverſe, and whoſe councils reſemble the laws of the Medes and Perſians, which altered not. If a Chineſe mandarin was to be crammed into a ſuit of Engliſh cloaths, he would look like a hog in armour, and feel as much diſtreſs. But wrap an Engliſhman, under the torrid zone, in a Chineſe banyan, and he would eſteem it luxuriouſly delightful; cuſtom arbitrarily forbids him to enjoy ſo much bliſs, and commands him to dreſs in the modes of London and Edinbugh. It is not however unwiſe to borrow ſo much from the faſhions of other nations, as we may practiſe ourſelves with equal advantage. To come nearer therefore to Jamaica, let us obſerve a little the management of our Spaniſh neighbours. All their cloaths are light; their waiſtcoat and breeches are of *Bretagne* linen, and their coat of ſome other thin ſtuff. *Wigs* are not much worn among them; only the governor and chief officers appearing in them, and that moſtly on public occaſions. *Neckcloths* are likewiſe very uncommon; inſtead of theſe, the neck of their ſhirt is adorned with large gold buttons, or claſps, and theſe are ſuffered to hang looſe. On the head, they wear a cap of very fine, thin, and white linen. Others go entirely bare headed, having their hair cut from the nape of the neck upwards. *Fans* are very commonly worn by the men, made of a thin branch of the *palmeto*, in the form of a creſcent, with a ſtick of the ſame wood in the middle for a handle. Their *women* wear a kind of a petticoat, which they call a *pollera*, made of thin ſilk, without any lining; and on their body a very thin white jacket; but this is only put on, in what they call their winter, during the rainy ſeaſon; for, in the hot months, they think it inſupportable. Although this attire is ſo ſimple and looſe, yet it is decent; for they

always lace in ſuch a manner as to conceal their breaſts. When they go abroad they wear a mantlet or ſhort cloak. The richneſs of their dreſs does not conſiſt, as with the Engliſh ladies, in a multitude of things piled one upon another; but in the fineſt linen, laces, and jewels, ſo diſpoſed as to add very little to incovenience, and to produce the moſt ornamental effect.

On the head, they wear a cap of fine linen covered with lace, and worked into the ſhape of a mitre; which, being plentifully ſtarched, terminates forward in a point, not eaſily diſcompoſed. This they call *panito*, and it is worn by the ladies, and other native Whites, as an undreſs; nothing can be more becoming, and, having uſed themſelves to it from their infancy, it ſits upon them with a better air. Our Engliſh belles in Jamaica differ very widely from theſe madonas. They do not ſcruple to wear the thickeſt winter ſilks and ſattins; and are ſometimes ready to ſink under the weight of rich gold or ſilver brocades. Their head-dreſs varies with the *ton* at home; the winter faſhions of *London* arrive here at the ſetting in of hot weather; and thick or thin caps, large as an umbrella, or as diminutive as a half crown piece, are indiſcriminately put on, without the ſmalleſt regard to the difference of climate; nay, the late prepoſterous mode of dreſſing female hair in London, half a yard perpendicular height, faſtened with ſome ſcore of heavy iron pins, on a bundle of wool large enough to ſtuff a chair bottom, together with pounds of powder and pomatum, did not eſcape their ready imitation; but grew into vogue with great rapidity, and literally might be affirmed, *to turn all their heads*; for it was morally impoſſible to avoid ſtooping, and tottering, under ſo enormous a maſs. Nothing ſurely can be more prepoſterous, and abſurd, than for perſons reſiding in the Weſt-Indies, to adhere rigidly to all the European cuſtoms and manners; which, though perhaps not inconvenient in a cold Northern air, are certainly improper, ridiculous, and detrimental, in a hot climate. How perverſe is an attachment to thick buſhy periwigs (the fit antidotes to froſt and ſnow), under a vertical ſun; or complete ſuits of thick broadcloth, laced from top to bottom, in a country where there is not the leaſt occaſion to force a ſweat! The proper coats for this climate are of the lighteſt Engliſh broadcloths, commonly known

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by the name of *kerſeymeres*, made without any lining or lace, eaſy and looſe. The waiſtcoat and breeches ſhould be of cotton (corded or India dimity for example), in preference to linen, as it prevents catching cold; a circumſtance not well to be avoided in a linen dreſs, which is no ſooner moiſt, than it ſtrikes a very ſenſible chill, ſo as frequently to obſtruct perſpiration. The ſame ſubſtance is alſo proper for ſtockings. Moſt men however, in this iſland, wear linen drawers in preference to linings, for the ſake of cleanlineſs; and prefer the Ruſſia drab for breeches, as it is very durable, and has a neat look.

White hats are beſt adapted to this climate, on account of their being light and cool. The black hats abſorb the ſun's rays, and are ſometimes extremely inconvenient. All white ſervants therefore, ſoldiers, and others, whoſe employments may neceſſarily oblige them to be often expoſed to the ſun in the heat of the day, ſhould be furniſhed with white hats inſtead of black; the former repelling, the latter imbibing, the heat [*f*]; and experience convinces, that light-coloured cloathing is by far the cooleſt in this part of the world, and black or dark-coloured the hotteſt; for the ſame reaſon a full mourning, or black ſuit, is improper here; becauſe, in ſuch cloaths, the body is more heated by the ſun in walking abroad, and heated at the ſame time by the exerciſe; which accumulated fervour may occaſion dangerous illneſſes. They are prudent, who, inſtead of this, wear a ſcarlet, with black cuffs and button holes, by way of mourning; for nothing is more likely to ſubject a perſon to catch cold, and a fit of ſickneſs, than a ſudden change from an habitual light and cool dreſs, to one twice as hot; and as ſudden a return again, after a time, to his former mode. On the ſame principle, the ladies hats or bonnets ſhould be lined with black, as not reverberating on their faces thoſe rays of the ſun, which are reflected upwards from the earth and water, and occaſion freckles, or tan. And hence alſo it appears, that putting a bit of white paper *within*

[*f*] This is illuſtrated by Dr. Franklin's experiment, who took a number of little ſquare pieces of broadcloth of various colours, and laid them all out upon the ſnow, in a bright ſun-ſhiny morning. In a few hours, the *black cloth*, being moſt warmed by the ſun, ſunk ſo deep as to be below the action of the ſolar rays. The dark blue, almoſt as deep. The lighter blue not quite ſo much as the dark. The other colours ſtill leſs, in proportion as they were lighter; and the white remained on the ſurface of the ſnow, not having ſunk at all.

the crown of a black hat will not keep out the heat, though it would, if placed *without* [*g*].

Travelers in this climate ſhould be careful always to change their cloaths after getting wet by riding in the rain. It is a common practice here, as in the Eaſt-Indies, to cool bottled liquors by wrapping cloths dripping-wet round the bottles, the warmth which the liquors had contracted evaporating with the water as it paſſes from the cloths; and the operation is greatly facilitated by ſetting them in a ſhaded place, where they are acceſſible to the wind [*b*]. A traveler, caught in rain, is much in the ſame ſituation as one of theſe bottles, and, by the quick evaporation of his natural warmth, perceives his body chilled and aguiſh. It is uſual here to ſtrip, and rub all over with rum, and then put on dry cloaths; which prevents any ill conſequence.

Having nothing more material to add on the ſubject of dreſs, I ſhall next ſpeak of,

SECT. III.

Diet *and* general Regimen *of* Life.

A learned phyſician [*i*] has given it as his opinion, that, as the time approaches for ſeamen to enter hot climates, their diet ſhould, by poſitive inſtitutions, be varied from what is uſual at land, or at ſea, in Europe; that inſtinct has taught the natives between the Tropics, and in all hot climates, to live chiefly on vegetable diet and ſubacid fruits; for which reaſon, devouring large quantities of fleſh-meats, and uſing the ſame hard indigeſtible food as might paſs off in cold weather, or more Northerly regions, muſt alone have proved the cauſe of the deſtruction of many Engliſh lives. He, therefore, recommends for trial, in hot climates, that the ſeamen on board men of war ſhould not have ſalt meat of any kind above once a week, or twice; beef and pork alternately; and that every other ſpecies of allowance ſhould be provided in much greater abundance than is commonly done for ſea-voyages:

[*g*] Franklin.

[*b*] If theſe cloths were wetted with rum; query, if they would not render the liquors ſtill cooler?

[*i*] Brockleſby.

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by which regulation, he thinks, many of the ordinary miſchiefs, attending the conſtant uſe of putreſcent ſalted meats, may be prevented.

The example of ſome people in the Eaſtern part of the world has been quoted, by many writers, to ſhew that vegetables are the natural appropriated food for hot climates; but there are ſome circumſtances attending it, in thoſe Eaſtern climes, which eſcaped obſervation, or were not known. The truth ſeems to be, that the animal food, in ſome of thoſe Eaſtern parts, is naturally unfit for food; of which Mr. Oſbeck mentions inſtances. The Gentoos at Surat eat nothing but milk, butter, and vegetables. They have fleſh in great plenty, but ſuch as probably is not very wholeſome, eſpecially to thoſe who come on ſhore after a voyage, and indulge their appetites. They are ſubject to vomitings and diarrhœas, and are in danger of loſing their lives. On this account, Mr. Oſbeck is of opinion, that Brama, or whoever at firſt gave law to theſe people, had diſcovered that theſe meats were very unwholeſome to the Malabariaus. "If all the Malabaric oxen (continues he) "were like thoſe which we got, it is no wonder that the Gentoos "will not eat their fleſh; the meer deſcription of them would "make the moſt hungry loſe their appetites." And he attributes to this meat, that many of the Swediſh ſailors were afterwards exceedingly tormented with intolerably bloody ulcers. This gentleman's conjecture on the origin of their total vegetable diet ſeems, therefore, well-grounded; eſpecially as the Jewiſh law-giver prohibited the uſe of ſwine's fleſh, which in Paleſtine, perhaps, had a particular ill quality, and was thought to have firſt produced that horrid diſeaſe the leproſy, with which the inhabitants were ſo much afflicted.

It is by no means certain, that a total vegetable diet is proper in hot climates, at leaſt not in all of them, nor at all times indiſcriminately. Although vegetables in theſe climates are better concocted and matured by the heat of the ſun, and therefore more nutritious, and in general wholeſomer, than in Europe; yet, after violent rains, the vaſt quantity of water that deſcends upon the earth renders all ſorts of roots, plants, and fruits, for ſome time, crude and unwholeſome. This more eſpecially happens, if a courſe

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of hot dry weather has preceded; for the heavieſt rains always follow ſuch weather; and all vegetables then imbibe the water in a prodigious quantity, till they are ſaturated. At ſuch times, they are very improper food, and often cauſe very dangerous fluxes among ſuch of the Negroes as make too free with them. A vegetable diet, from its extreme flatulence, occaſions other diſorders, inflates the body into an immoderate ſize, and may thus give an appearance of fatneſs; as Mr. Oſbeck obſerved of the Gentoos. Some of the Negroes have the like tumefactions, which would more frequently occur, if they did not uſe ſalt and the country peppers very liberally. The fleſh of fowls and cattle comes ſooner to maturity here than in Europe. The texture of it is looſer, and the muſcular and tendinous parts leſs rigid. Their fleſh, therefore, is not ſo groſs, heavy, and hard of digeſtion, as in Northern climates; but approaches nearer to vegetable food in its nature. A total abſtinence from animal food, in Jamaica, would probably increaſe the relaxation already promoted by the climate, and debilitate the bodily vigour to a very dangerous exceſs. Even the Gentoos, we find, do not wholly abſtain; for they uſe milk and butter (perhaps no ſmall portion of their meal), which are nutrimental, and help to qualify the deleterious effects of their vegetables.

The moſt appropriated diet, in my opinion, for the Weſt-Indies, is a conſtant mixture of animal and vegetable food, (if any thing) inclining to the vegetable; that is, if an equal proportion be exceeded, it ought to be in favour of the vegetable [*k*]. And ſuch is the variety and multitude of this claſs, moſt of which are adapted to

[*k*] It is certain, that, ſo long as men have plenty of vegetables, and will uſe them, they are never troubled with the ſcurvy, whether they live in moiſt, warm, or cold climates. On the contrary, where there is a total want of them, all writers agree, that this diſorder (or tendency of the animal juices to putrefaction) is the immediate conſequence.

Dr. Falconer has a very judicious remark in reſpect to the preparation of fleſh-meats in hot climates. "Meats *little done*," ſays he, "are certainly eaſieſt ſoluble; but they are, at the ſame "time, exceedingly *alcaleſcent*, and run quickly into putrefaction; ſo that it is much to be que-"ſtioned, whether they are to be choſen for thoſe who eat a large proportion of animal food, as "ſuch diet would be apt to induce a habit of body highly ſcorbutic, or tending to putrefaction, "except taken with a large proportion of vegetables." On this account, he ſuſpects, that the French (who, for a warm climate, eat a large quantity of animal food) eat their meat ſo much roaſted, or boiled, from a kind of natural inſtinct, in order to obviate its ſeptic tendency, which is much augmented by the greater heat of the climate.

 nouriſh,

nouriſh, or refreſh the body, that the daintieſt perſon need not be at a loſs in ſelecting ſuch as are moſt palatable to him. The olios, or pepper-pots, here (which conſtitute the ordinary food of the Negroes, were the moſt eſteemed diſhes among the Spaniards, and are equally reliſhed by our natives or Creoles) confirm the propriety of ſuch a diet as I have propoſed; for they conſiſt of fleſh or fiſh, greens, roots, plantains, okra-pods, and pulſe, differently mingled and prepared; ſo that there is a great variety in their preparation and flavour; and every change in ſucceſſion of the ingredients preſents ſome novelty, which is certainly no ſmall recommendation; for they can be ſo altered in taſte, by putting in ſome vegetable or animal ingredients, and omitting others, as to ſeem entirely a new diſh; and they are unqueſtionably a moſt wholeſome kind of food for Europeans newly arrived, provided they are not too highly ſeaſoned with pepper.

Inſtead of attending to what reaſon points out, moſt Europeans, after their arrival here, perſiſt in devouring vaſt quantities of animal food, with very little (if any) mixture of vegetable: they indulge in bad butter, cheeſe, ſalt-beef, ham; and waſh them down with deluges of porter, ale, bad cyder, and all ſorts of wines. The butter imported hither is often in a ſtate of putreſcence when it arrives; in general, it is rancid. So acrimonious an ingredient in diet is noxious to health, diſorders the ſtomach, and, oftener than is ſuſpected, gives riſe to thoſe terrible fevers, whoſe ſource is a vitiated bile [*].

[*] The nouriſhment is extremely hurtful which is drawn from ſubſtances difficult to be diſſolved, which tend to putrefaction, and cannot eaſily be aſſimilated; ſuch as dried-fiſh, and particularly cheeſe, which is often putrid, bacon, and old oil. Butter, in warm climates, by being kept a ſhort time on board ſhip, grows rank and fetid; for it frequently happens in ſhips, particularly thoſe bound to the Weſt-Indies in a warm ſeaſon, that it melts away, like oil, in the firkins, by which it loſes great part of its ſalt; and, the inteſtine motion being increaſed by the heat, it becomes bitter and ſtinks. Such groſs food not only reſiſts the powers of digeſtion very much; but the juices, drawn from them, are of a very acrid nature. Rouppe.

Many particles of fleſh, though carefully ſalted, will in time grow putrid, as appears from Dr. Addington's experiment; who put a ſmall piece of ſalted beef into water, and at the ſame time a like piece of freſh, unſalted beef into another like quantity of water, and found the ſalted fleſh to ſtink firſt; which proves the tendency of it to putrefaction, though the ſalt keeps it from offending the taſte or ſmell: ſo that ſalted fleſh, as well as putrid air, has a tendency to occaſion the ſcurvy, as well as other putrid diſtempers.

Chocolate

Chocolate is wholeſome, and well-adapted to repair the loſs ſuſtained by liberal perſpiration; but it ought not to be too freely uſed by Europeans at their firſt arrival at leaſt, unleſs it is well diluted with milk and water, in which way many of the Creoles prefer it.

All thoſe ſubſtances ſhould be cautiouſly ſhunned which diſpoſe the blood to putrefaction. Such are all rancid fats and oils; tainted fleſh or fiſh; a fleſh or fiſh diet, diluted with ſimple water alone; and exceſs in all ſpirituous liquors. Inſtead of this, ſuch a diet ſhould be obſerved as tends to aceſcency; for this intention are all the varieties of vegetables, combined with ſound freſh meat of fleſh and fiſh; and the ſubacid fruits, as lemons, oranges, ſhaddocks, &c. and wine, particularly Madeira, which, diluted with water, is one of the wholeſomeſt drinks in the Weſt-Indies; it is highly antiſeptic, ſtrengthens the ſtomach and organs of digeſtion, and far preferable to the French wines. Next to this is weak punch, made with ripe fruit, and rum of at leaſt a twelvemonth's age. The vaſt abundance of mild, vegetable acids, as well as the various ſpecies of peppers, diſtributed to theſe climates by the hand of nature, is a moſt benevolent proviſion. The moderate uſe of them, conſidering the tendency of the ſolids and fluids to be relaxed, and contract a putreſcency, is abſolutely neceſſary; and we find the natives, white and black, covet them with a ſingular avidity.

The biſcuit and flour, imported from North-America, are very apt to harbour weevils, eſpecially when they are kept for any length of time. Theſe inſects have ſuch a cauſtic quality, that, when applied to the ſkin in form of a poultice, they will raiſe a bliſter like *cantharides*. How baneful then muſt their effects be on the tender coats of the ſtomach and bowels! The beſt means of driving them away, or deſtroying them, is by expoſing the flour, or biſcuit, to the ſun, in the heat of the day, before it is uſed, or heating it in a hot oven: the former method compels theſe inſects to ſhift their quarters; the latter kills them, and takes away the muſty ſmell they have occaſioned: care, however, muſt be uſed to pick out all the dead, which ought never to be mixed with food.

Diſorders of the putrid claſs are the moſt to be dreaded by Europeans in this climate. Perſons, indeed, living in England and colder

colder climates, are not exempt from theſe maladies; and they happen in both, moſt commonly, from irregularity of diet, want of proper exerciſe, or from debauched habits of life.

An European, on arriving in Jamaica in good health, muſt reſolve, immediately after he is landed, to purſue a regimen of diet, ſomewhat different from what he had been accuſtomed to at home. He ſhould eat leſs fleſh-meat, and increaſe his allowance of vegetables. This diet requires wine; but even wine ſhould be moderately taken, and chiefly conſidered as a mixture neceſſary to qualify and counteract the putrefactive tendency of plain water. On the voyage to this iſland, he ſhould not gorge in ſalt-meat; but, laying in a ſtock of European vegetables, particularly onions, pickled-cabbage, and the like, eſtabliſh ſome or other of them as a part of his daily meals. It is perhaps much owing to the conſtant diet upon onions, that the Portugueſe at Madeira enjoy ſuch good health and vigour. What theſe men eat through neceſſity, others may by choice; ſince the object to be obtained is worthy their purſuit, ſound health, and the poſſeſſion of ſtrength and faculties.

But as an Engliſhman, who has been uſed to a plentiful diet of fleſh during the former part of his life, might ſuffer by a too ſudden or unlimited abſtinence from it; ſo it is moſt adviſeable for them to change and qualify it gradually, abating a little of their fleſh-meat every day, until they can bring themſelves to a due proportion of animal and vegetable dinners, without ſuffering any ſenſible inconvenience. Their greateſt danger is, that, on firſt landing, they find their appetite unuſually keen, after the *tædium* of ſhip-fare, for five or ſix weeks at ſea, and ſtimulated by the ſight of ſeveral dainties they have been before unacquainted with; thus ſtrongly ſolicited to gratify their palates, they may fall into hurtful exceſſes, if they are not on their guard. A proper diet, with exerciſe in moderation, and the avoiding exceſſes in eating and drinking, particularly the former, will procure and preſerve a good ſtate of health; and a man, who regulates his life by a due conformity to this regimen, need not doubt of enjoying it in as great a degree here, as he might have done in other parts of the world.

Inflammatory fevers are not common in the Weſt-Indies; nor a buffy appearance of the blood. The reaſons aſſigned for this ex-

emption are, the warmth and moiſture of the climate, copious perſpiration, and acidulated drinks. Exceſs in eating, drinking, and exerciſe, between the Tropics, neither corroborates the ſolids, nor increaſes the denſity of the blood: theſe errors in the non-naturals may render the Weſt-India blood acrid; but they certainly render the bile *peccant* both in quantity and quality. This is the paſſport to all the fevers in the Weſt-Indies; for it may well be doubted, whether ever the blood is the primary ſeat of a fever, unleſs in perſons newly arrived in the Torrid Zone. Of courſe, the impropriety of frequent bleedings, as always practiſed by the French, and too often by the Engliſh ſurgeons, muſt be obvious; and the neceſſity of carrying off the *peccant* matter by vomit and ſtool, no leſs apparent. This opinion is ſtrengthened by experience of the almoſt conſtant ſucceſs which attends the treatment of them in this way; and the great mortality which has followed the free uſe of the lancet: and hence likewiſe appears the great efficacy of antimonial preparations, and of James's powder in particular, which operate in the manner recommended, and ſeldom fail of making a cure, if reſorted to in time [*m*].

Fevers in the Weſt-Indies ſeldom put on the appearances of inflammation beyond the firſt twenty-four hours; after that, they become putrid, or malignant, and nervous. In the firſt ſtage only of the diſeaſe, blood may be let, and even then in a very ſmall

[*m*] The firſt change, cauſed by the tranſition from a cold into a hot climate, is a rarefaction of all the humours in the body, and of the blood among the reſt; and, when the containing veſſels do not expand ſufficiently to give it a free circulation, the conſequence muſt neceſſarily be a feveriſh heat, anxiety about the *præcordia*, a difficulty of breathing, violent pains in the head, and uneaſineſs. Theſe ſymptoms are ſometimes relieved by a ſpontaneous bleeding at the noſe, which anſwers the end of veneſection: and it is to be underſtood, that I do not mean to condemn bleeding in all caſes, becauſe, where the party is young, vigorous, and contracts a fever immediately after his coming to the Weſt-Indies, moderate bleeding, in the beginning of the diſorder, may often be not only ſafe, but neceſſary; and, for this, the particular ſymptoms are the beſt indication. But it ſhould be uſed in the Weſt-India fevers with great caution, and ſtrict regard had to the age and habit of body, the time that the patient has reſided in the Weſt-Indies, his general diet, and ſuch other circumſtances as may lead to the forming a competent judgement whether opening a vein be proper or not. Where there is a very ſtrong pulſe and great heat, which is often obſervable in young, florid perſons, newly arrived from a cold climate, veneſection is often found ſerviceable, to check the too rapid motion of the fluids, and gain more time to treat the diſorder properly. But ſuch ſymptoms rarely occur, after an European has been a twelvemonth in the Weſt-Indies; unleſs it may happen in Jamaica, by a ſudden check of the perſpiration, on the firſt ſetting-in of the cold Northerly winds.

quantity.

quantity. When the bilious matter has once entered the blood (which it will ſoon do, if ſweats are incautiouſly uſed at firſt), vomits and acid purges become leſs uſeful; and the morbid matter muſt be thrown out upon the ſkin by wild-ſage tea, weak punch, or other liquors which promote a ſlight diaphoreſis. In this diſorder it often happens, that a weak purgative, or emetic, will produce uncommon evacuations. This ſhould not alarm; and the patient's ſtrength ſhould be well ſupported with Madeira whey. This fever often ſubſides into a remittent, and then into an intermittent, whoſe beſt remedy is the bark, which not only produces a wholeſome bile, but invigorates the whole habit. Fluxes and dyſenteries proceed often from the ſame cauſe, a corrupted bile, and ſometimes from a ſuppreſt perſpiration, or too free indulgence in crude, watery vegetables. Of all the ſubſtances known, the bark, and ripe orange or lemon juice, deſerve, for their excellence, the name of ſpecific againſt putrefaction. I knew an European gentleman in Jamaica, who regularly drank every day a ſmall tumbler full of ſweet or ſour orange-juice, uſing them indifferently, immediately after dinner, and enjoyed conſtant health. I remember another who cured himſelf of a bilious putrid fever with no other remedy than the juice of ripe Seville and other oranges. And ſo many inſtances have been noticed of their antiſeptic quality in theſe caſes, that the utmoſt confidence may be repoſed in their ſalutiferous effects.

Much more might be added on the ſubject of theſe diſtempers, their cauſes, ſymptoms, and method of cure; but, as I mean not to enter into an elaborate and medical inveſtigation of them, I refer to the writings of Pringle, Huxham, Lind, Biſſet, Hilary, Rouppe, and De Monchy, who have treated of them with the greateſt ability.

Moſt Europeans, on firſt coming within the Tropics, are affected with an eruption upon their ſkins of ſmall red pimples, which goes by the name of the *prickly heat*. This is looked upon to be ſalutary, unleſs it is repelled; and it is remarkable, that it returns periodically every year, about April or May, on perſons who have reſided a long time in the Weſt-Indies [*n*]. It is, probably, cauſed

[*n*] At leaſt in Jamaica.

by an extraordinary flow of perſpiration, and the current of the humours towards the ſkin, promoted by the heat of climate. It muſt not be unnoticed, that the periſtaltic motion of the bowels being here perhaps more languid than in Europe, perſons newly arrived are often ſubject to conſtipations; and ſometimes the *fæces* are ſo hardened, as to be excreted with great difficulty. The retention of them too long may therefore not only cauſe an acrimony to lodge in the inteſtines, productive of belly-ach, or other ſpaſmodic complaints; but give riſe to bad fevers, by the abſorption of ſuch an acrid and putrid humour into the veins. It is neceſſary, therefore, to keep the body always open. Chocolate tends to this effect; and it is obſerved by Ulloa, that, at Carthagena, where it is to be had extremely cheap, there is not a Negroe ſlave but allows himſelf conſtantly a regale of it after breakfaſt and dinner; but they never uſe it *faſting*, nor without eating ſomething with it. I have, in another place, cautioned Europeans, newly arrived, from indulging too much in it, eſpecially when made thick. I alluded to the coſtlier ſort of chocolate, manufactured here with cinnamon, and other hot ſpices, which are the ingredients that render it improper for them. But the common ſort, chiefly uſed among the free Negroes, and others of the natives who love it plain, is mixed up with maize; and this may be ſafely uſed by ſuch Europeans, diluted with milk and water: in this ſtate it will be found rather cooling than heating; and the addition of ſugar makes it the more aperitive. *Sedes figuratæ* are ſeldom obſerved in this climate; which may be aſcribed to the weaker periſtaltic motion above remarked, as well as to the diet purſued by moſt of the inhabitants, conſiſting chiefly of vegetables and ſoluble ſubſtances.

In all hot countries it has been obſerved, that healthy people generally perſpire very much; and this (from the greater diſpoſition of the humours to putreſcence) may be accounted one of the principal conſervators of health. It is therefore ſurprizing to find Mr. Reaumur aſſert, "that perſpiration impairs the longevity of all "animals, by diſcharging, not only the uſeleſs, but nutritious, parts "of the animal fluids; and that an exceſs of perſpiration ſeems to "be the reaſon why the inhabitants of hot climates live a ſhorter "term than thoſe who inhabit the temperate zones;" for, in fact, this

this effect, by a waſte of actual ſubſtance, can only happen when the body is kept unrepleniſhed, by ſupplies of nutriment, to repair the loſs of what may be carried off by this means. Hence thoſe, who are moſt healthy, are known to dilute more frequently and plentifully than others; their perſpiration chiefly eliminates aqueous particles, which are ſpeedily replaced; they do not grow emaciated, but plump; and gain, inſtead of loſing, weight; which would not be the caſe, if the fact was as Mr. Reaumur ſuppoſes. Neither is it proved, that the native inhabitants of hot climates are ſhorter-lived than thoſe of the temperate zones; ſince there are many inſtances to the contrary, both in the iſlands, and on the continent of South-America.

The reapers in Pennſylvania, who work in the open fields, in the clear, hot ſun-ſhine, common in their harveſt-time (about the end of June, or beginning of July), find themſelves very able to go through that labour, without being much incommoded by the heat, while they continue to ſweat, and while they ſupply matter for keeping up that ſweat, by drinking frequently of a thin, evaporable liquor, water mixed with rum; but, if the ſweat ſtops, they drop, and ſometimes die ſuddenly, if a ſweating is not brought on again by drinking that liquor, or (as ſome rather chuſe in that caſe) a kind of hot punch, made with water mixed with honey, and a conſiderable proportion of vinegar. Hence Dr. Franklin very properly concludes, that the quicker evaporation of perſpirable matter from the ſkin and lungs of Negroes, by cooling them more, enables them to bear the ſun's heat ſo much better than the Whites can do; though, abſtracted from this, the colour of their ſkins would, otherwiſe, make them more ſenſible of that heat [o]. From the ſame cauſe, perhaps, it is, that they do not bear cold weather ſo well, and are more apt to have their limbs froſt-bitten in the Northern parts of America; their greater evaporation contributing to chill them more ſeverely. However this hypotheſis may be, it is certain, that Europeans, coming to reſide in the Weſt-Indies, are never known to enjoy their health and ſpirits, unleſs they perſpire freely; and thoſe, who continue to do ſo, are not afflicted with ſickneſs ſo long as it continues: that regimen therefore of diet,

[o] Franklin's Papers on Philoſophical Subjects.

of

of exercise, and cloathing, which anſwers beſt for ſupporting this regular flow, without carrying it to extreme, is the moſt ſalutary for European ſtrangers to purſue. The natives, black and white, are not ſubject, like Europeans, to bilious, putrid, and malignant fevers: they are not only habituated to the climate, but to a difference in reſpect to diet and manners; which works no ſmall change in mens conſtitutions. A Creole, if he was to addict himſelf to that kind of diet which is known to have a tendency to produce putrid diſorders, or an acrid, corrupt bile, would no more be exempt from them, than an European. I knew a Creole boy, of about ſix years of age, who, being reſtrained by his mother from eating any ſort of fruit or vegetables (the former, leſt they ſhould generate worms; and the latter, through fear of acidities and gripes) made his principal meal every day on butchers meat, fowl, or fiſh, without ſalt, ſeaſoning, or any bread, except now and then a very ſmall quantity, and waſhed it down with plain water. The boy, after perſiſting for ſome months in this regimen, was ſeized with a very violent, bilious, remittent fever, accompanied with a *delirium* and other bad ſymptoms, that threatened his life; but, by adminiſtering the bark inwardly, applying poultices of it externally to the ſtomach and abdomen, and often ſoaking his feet in a ſtrong warm decoction of it, he at length recovered, and doubtleſs owed his life to this noble ſpecific, thus thrown into his body by ſo many different ways. But the acrimony in his blood was apparent, from the vaſt abundance of boils, which broke out afterwards from head to foot. I think it probable, that the luxuriant fleſh-diet of Engliſhmen at home, together with ſome ſcorbutic taint in their blood, may be aſſigned partly as an occaſional cauſe of their being more obnoxious, generally ſpeaking, to bad fevers in the Weſt-Indies, than many other Northern nations. This, however, is not the ſole cauſe, becauſe we find that Engliſh women, who are alſo equally fleſh-eaters, and liable to the ſame ſcorbutic taint in a degree, are not ſo often ſeized with theſe dangerous fevers; nor are they attacked ſo violently, nor to ſuch a degree of malignancy. Perhaps, we may impute this diverſity to the more cool and temperate regimen of the women, their leſs expoſure to heat and hard exerciſe in the ſun, leſs addiction to intemperance, and late hours.

There

There may be other reaſons ſuggeſted for the difference obſerved between the Engliſh men, and thoſe of other countries. Firſt, their exceſſive indulgence in a promiſcuous commerce on their firſt arrival, with the black and mulatto women; and this, with ſo little prudence and caution in their amours, that they are almoſt morally ſure of being very ſpeedily infected. The facility with which the milder ſymptoms of the *virus* are removed, in this warm atmoſphere, ſerves only as an incentive to theſe perſons, and renders them indifferent and careleſs about conſequences; for a *gonorrhœa ſimplex* yields in a very few days to gentle medicines. Encouraged, therefore, to perſevere in this unheeding courſe, they in due time attain to the higheſt honours this impure contact is qualified to confer, as a reward for their temerity; the conſequence of which is, their being laid under abſolute neceſſity of praying to their god *Mercury* for relief. Not a few alſo arrive here, who have already paſſed through many of theſe fiery trials in London, and other ſeats of debauchery. It has been remarked by ſeveral of the moſt eminent phyſicians, and ſtands confirmed by repeated experience, that *mercurial* medicines are attended with the moſt pernicious effects upon ſcorbutic habits, and on ſuch as are diſpoſed to *putrid fevers*. Theſe gentlemen all agree in opinion, that the power of mercurials chiefly conſiſts in weakening and relaxing the ſolids, and in attenuating and diſſolving the fluids; a human body therefore, which has recently undergone a mercurial regimen, is already on the very brink of putrefaction, and very ill prepared to reſiſt the aſſault of a putrid fever. Thus in the *ſcurvy*, a very ſmall quantity of mercury is ſufficient to bring on a ſalivation. When this diſorder raged among the imperial troops in Hungary, four-hundred ſoldiers, who took mercury contrary to the advice of their phyſician, *all* died to a man in a ſalivation. *Pringle* obſerves, that perſons who have lately undergone a ſalivation, and whoſe blood is conſequently in a ſtate of diſſolution, are much ſooner infected by noxious *effluvia* than others; and, that malignant fevers, and the ſcurvy alſo, are rendered more ſevere and dangerous in ſuch circumſtances. To the ſame effect is the remark of *De Monchy*, who found, that, after uſing mercury in *venereal* diſor-

-ders, the *Peruvian bark* loſes a great part of its efficacy, in the moſt virulent caſes. Thus, that admirable medicine the bark, which in ſound habits proves a ſovereign antidote againſt putrid and malignant fevers, is robbed of its virtue by the putrefactive counteraction of mercurials; theſe noxious effects therefore, conjunctly with any morbid diſpoſition of the humours, or with a bad air, and improper diet, or too violent exerciſe in the ſun, may eaſily and naturally either haſten the attack of a putrid diſtemper, or promote the exacerbations of it, if already formed; and, ſuch being allowed the prediſpoſing cauſes, it is eaſy to admit, that a common fever may ſoon degenerate into a putrid, and even one of the moſt malignant ſpecies. The female ſlaves, and even free Blacks, in our plantations, are few of them exempt from this *virus*; but they conceal it by every artifice in their power, that no delay may happen in their buſineſs; for a hindrance in this reſpect would be a certain loſs of profit to them. What *Ulloa* mentions of the Spaniards at *Quito*, is applicable to theſe traders; he tells us, "The "venereal diſeaſe is there ſo common, that few perſons are free "from it; even *little children*, incapable by their age of having "contracted it actively, have been known to be attacked with it "in the ſame degree as perſons who have acquired it by their "debauchery; the chief cauſe of its prevalence, is negligence in the "cure. This diſeaſe muſt naturally be thought in ſome meaſure "to ſhorten their lives; though it is not uncommon, to ſee per-"ſons live to ſeventy-five years or more, who have never been en-"tirely free from that diſtemper, either hereditary or contracted, "from their early youth." It is probable, that the Scotch and Iriſh, who come over with ſounder conſtitutions, leſs impaired perhaps by ſcorbutic and venereal taints, are, for this reaſon, more healthy than the Engliſh; beſides, the Scotch, in particular, if not more chaſte, are at leaſt in general more circumſpect in their amours.

I knew an European gentleman, who, by imprudent connexions of this ſort, was infected not only by the *lues venerea*, but with the *yaws* at the ſame time; under theſe two diſtempers (than which there are few in *Pandora's* box more loathſome), he lingered for a long

long time; the remedies proper for the one, only ſerved to exaſperate the other; and therefore not being able, by the powers of mercury, to obtain relief, he was obliged to leave the iſland, in the hope of receiving ſome benefit from the advice of phyſicians in Great Britain. Another, a young man of a lively but laſcivious turn, for ſeveral months after his arrival, was ſcarcely ever free from venereal infection, having not patience to wait the cure of one taint, before he contracted another; by this inſane conduct, a ſalivation became neceſſary; debilitated with this, and his preceding exceſſes, he was ſuddenly, upon ſome little irregularity, ſeized with a fever, ſo ſlight at firſt, that, had not his conſtitution been worn down, and his whole habit degenerated, it would have been eaſily removed; but, being aggravated by the tabid ſtate to which his body was then reduced, it turned by degrees to a highly putrid diſtemper, and carried him off.

Cataſtrophes of this nature, it is to be feared, have but too often occurred in the iſland, to the untimely deſtruction of many an improvident youth; nor are our ſurgeons wholly to be exculpated, who are but too fond of preſcribing mercurials upon all occaſions, without adverting to their fatal operation on ſome habits.

Ardent ſpirits, particularly brandy, and freſh diſtilled rum, *in exceſs*, are no leſs injurious in all caſes where the humours have a diſpoſition to putreſcence; although, when uſed with due moderation, and not too frequently, they are antiſeptic, or antiputreſcent. What chance have thoſe men for longevity, who act as if they were engaged in a perpetual conſpiracy againſt their own health; who are inceſſantly inflaming and irritating their blood and juices with an acrimony, that is productive of mortal diſtempers; who indulge beyond meaſure in fiery ſpirits; careleſsly hurry about, and uſe violent exerciſes in the hotteſt part of the hotteſt days [*p*]; ſit up late at night, deprive their bodies of refreſhing ſleep, and expoſe them to the night air; and laſtly, who plunge

[*p*] From a great increaſe of corporeal motion, and a want of repoſe and ſleep, the ſame conſequences are to be expected as from fevers; the nature of which conſiſts in an accelerated circulation of the blood, attended of courſe with an exceſſive heat; whence proceeds an enſuing putreſcency of the humours: juſt as a *hare*, killed after being hard run for a conſiderable time, becomes ſooner tainted than one that has been killed upon its form. DE MONCHY.

headlong into venereal debauches, and a mercurial regimen! ought the premature fate of ſuch men, to be charged on climate? They who follow ſuch improper courſes, muſt count on their natural conſequences; and unleſs, by the perverſion of their intellectual faculties, they can be acquitted as lunatics or idiots, they muſt expect, in the award of divine juſtice, to be deemed guilty of ſelf-murder; having willfully, wickedly, and, I am ſure, I may add *wantonly*, put themſelves to death, by means as effectual, as if they had uſed arſenic, or a dagger.

Early-riſing, which has been ſpoken of with the greateſt encomiums by medical writers, for its contributing very eminently to the health, vigour, and activity of animal life, as well as rational, is particularly neceſſary in Jamaica; and no man ever attained to longevity here, who was not an early riſer; nor are any ſo healthy, as thoſe who religiouſly addict themſelves to this practice. It is neceſſary here, becauſe nothing more relaxes the body than the warmth of a bed, more eſpecially if ſleep is indulged at a time when the ſun has aſcended to ſome height above the horizon, and renewed the heat of the atmoſphere [q]. The morning air is here delightfully cool; and the moſt agreeable time for exerciſe is before, or juſt about, ſun-riſe; they who exerciſe at this hour, feel their bodies refreſhed and vigorous, ſo as to ſuffer no inconvenience from heat during the remainder of the day. The bed ſhould be forſaken by ſix o'clock at furtheſt; many there are who riſe at five; this ſuppoſes an early retreat to reſt, the preceding evening; the more common bed-time at night, is from ten to eleven. They who lounge till eight or nine in the morning, and make it an habitual practice, cannot be long free from diſtemper; it is not only,

[q] It is a curious, although not a new remark, that the inhabitants within the Tropics ſleep leſs than thoſe who dwell in the cold, Northern climates; I believe, the difference in this reſpect, between a healthy perſon in Jamaica, and another in Britain, may, on a fair calculation, amount at leaſt to thirty days *per annum*. If an inhabitant of England ſleeps eight hours a night, at an average the year throughout, the inhabitant of Jamaica will be found to ſleep not more than ſeven; conſequently, the latter poſſeſſes thirty days, or upwards, of conſcious exiſtence more than the former; and, at the end of twelve years, may be ſaid to have outlived the other by a full twelvemonth. How far this difference may tend to free the Weſt-Indian from ſome diſtempers, incident to Northern drowſineſs, or to irritate his animal ſpirits, or enliven his faculties, has not yet been examined; but it is probable, that it may obviate, in ſome degree, the relaxing effects of a warm atmoſphere, and ſweep away that gloom from the ſoul, which November weather is ſo apt to caſt upon it in England.

that

that an exceſs of ſleep, inſtead of nouriſhing and refreſhing, enervates and emaſculates, the human frame, but the body gains not a moment's reſpite from heat, or relaxation; it is heated during the day, it is heated again by ſitting up late; and, after retiring to bed, it is plunged into a kind of hot bath; and lies ſtewing in its own vapours: while, as the ſun draws nearer the meridian, the air grows more fervid every moment. So beneficial indeed is the cuſtom of early riſing in this climate, that it fortifies the organs againſt the invaſion of ſickneſs, and is of more importance than any other branch of regimen; more eſpecially, if joined to moderate exerciſe.

It is difficult to ſay, what degree of exerciſe a man may uſe here without danger; it muſt perhaps be conſidered relatively to mens different conſtitutions, and ſtrength. The weakeſt are ſtrengthened by it, and the ſtrongeſt become weak without it. In general, I believe, the inhabitants, eſpecially Europeans, uſe it to a greater degree every day, than men in general do in England, and with ſeemingly leſs fatigue. I have myſelf traveled frequently fifty miles in a day on horſeback, without ſuffering any laſſitude, and always found ſuch journies moſt ſupportable, the earlier I ſet out in the morning [r]. But, conſidering the expence of perſpiration and ſpirits, which the body undergoes here daily, eſpecially in the Southern diſtricts, we ought to infer, that a leſs degree is requiſite here for health, than in colder climates; for it ſeems reaſonable to ſuppoſe, that we ſhould endeavour here, rather to reſtrain, than promote, all violent motions of the blood and humours, and preſerve them calm and temperate, at the ſame time not ſuffering abſolute inaction and ſloth to poſſeſs us ſo far, as to cauſe a ſtagnation; extraordinary exerciſe is leſs hurtful than ſuch an indolent, motionleſs habit of life. The beſt exerciſe in this climate is geſtation, either in a wheel-carriage, or on horſeback; but the latter is to be preferred, except in long journies. But walking is too laborious, and attended with too great a waſte of ſubſtance and ſpirits. The common practice of many in the towns, who are continually in agitation, and take the ſame liberty of buſtling about on foot, at all hours of the day, as if they were in London, is evi-

[r] Sixty miles are uſually reckoned here a day's journey, on horſeback.

dently abſurd. It ſeems probable, that ſo much hurry, which increaſes the *momentum* of the blood, and throws the whole body into violent heat, which is augmented by the intenſe ardour of the ſun at noon, may bring on fevers of the moſt fatal kind. This practice is equally injudicious and unneceſſary; the former, becauſe it may be productive of ſevere illneſs; the latter, becauſe, by riſing early, much cooler hours might be found for tranſacting all the buſineſs, which any man who values his health can, or at leaſt ought to, go through in this climate, during the forenoon. When buſineſs demands attendance abroad, they ought to chooſe the morning and afternoon for diſpatching it, and keep within doors, or in the ſhade, at that time of the day when the ſolar rays are felt with moſt force and inconvenience; but, if they cannot avoid expoſing themſelves, they ought to walk ſlowly, and uſe ſome other precautions, to guard againſt any bad effects. The Negroes arm their heads with a load of handkerchiefs, carefully twiſted about them, in form of a turban. The Eaſtern nations uſe the turban, which is not more calculated for ornament, than as a preſervative againſt the violent action of the meridian ſun upon the delicate, capillary veſſels in the head; the obſtruction of which occaſions obſtinate head-achs, and ſometimes that fatal apoplexy, called by the French, *coup de ſoleil*. In the French, Spaniſh, and Portugueſe colonies, umbrellas are in general uſe, and found extremely ſerviceable to protect the head and body from this unwholeſome ſultrineſs. But our brave countrymen, deſpiſing all theſe precautions, as too ridiculous, or too effeminate, courageouſly face the ſun at high noon; and will ſuffer death rather than put on any armour for their defence. It is not therefore without juſt reaſon, that the Spaniards, who ſit calmly within doors, whilſt honeſt John Bull is anxiouſly trotting about his buſineſs, all beſmeared with duſt and ſweat, ſay proverbially, that, "no animal, "except a *dog* and an *Engliſhman*, is to be ſeen walking the ſtreets "in the middle of the day."

Doctor Hilary exclaims moſt profanely againſt *dancing*: "It is, "ſays he, too violent an exerciſe for a hot climate, and many in"jure their health very greatly by it; I have known it fatal to "ſome; neither is it uſed in the Eaſtern hot countries. But moſt

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" of the ladies are ſo exceſſively fond of it, that, ſay what I will, *they* " *will dance on.*"

The doctor very rightly concludes his ſoliloquy, in deſpair of prevailing on his fair audience to deſiſt from an amuſement ſo delightful to them, and, in my opinion, ſo innocent, if not carried to exceſs. I fear the doctor forgot his reading, when he aſſerted that no ſuch diverſion was in uſe in the Eaſtern hot countries; there are none of them, perhaps, where it is not in uſe: we find it in Aſia, in Africa, and every part of America. The Indians of South America are particularly fond of it; even the grave Spaniard here is melted into an affection for it, and capers in *ſarabands* and *ſaldangos*; the natives of Jamaica are dancers from their infancy. The domeſtic life of women, which prevents them from exerciſing abroad as much as the other ſex, naturally inclines them to love thoſe active amuſements which may be followed within doors; dancing therefore, conſidered as an exerciſe, is healthy and proper for them, promotes the circulation of the blood, and refreſhes the ſpirits in the moſt agreeable manner, by the chearfulneſs and gaiety which it inſpires. In Jamaica, indeed, it is ſcarcely to be called an exerciſe *within doors*; the windows are all thrown open, and the dancers enjoy a conſtant ſucceſſion of freſh air. It is very different here in its effects from what it is in cold countries, where the heat, and offenſive ſmell of fires and lights, and the atmoſphere of a cloſe apartment, from which the external air is carefully excluded, and which is further vitiated by the breath and copious perſpiration of a multitude of perſons crowded together, make it productive of no ſalutary conſequence. It has rarely been prejudicial in Jamaica, except where common prudence was wanting afterwards, and the parties have careleſsly expoſed themſelves, when in a profuſe perſpiration, to the damp and chilling midnight air. They, who are more cautious, cloathe themſelves properly on going home, put on dry, well-aired linen, take a little draught of ſome warm liquor at getting into bed, and ſeldom feel any bad effect, even after what ſome may think an exceſs; the principal reaſon for which may be, that the pleaſure and vivacity, inſeparable from it, in ſome meaſure counteract the laſſitude which ſo much motion (mechanically conſidered) would naturally bring on, and prepare the body for a ſound and undiſturbed ſleep, which reſtores very ſpeedily the waſte of ſpirits; inſomuch, that I have known in this iſland,

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a regular dancing-bout perſiſted in for a whole week, not intermitting a ſingle night, without any ill conſequence to the parties concerned. However, it is certainly more adviſeable to uſe it in moderation; and, thus uſed, it will prove, in my humble opinion, a healthful recreation, an excellent antidote to cares, and a happy promoter of nuptial unions.

The utility of *bathing* need not be inſiſted on, where we find it practiſed by the White and Negroe natives ſo univerſally, and conſtantly. Frequent waſhing the body with water, cleanſes the perſpiratory ducts from that foulneſs that is continually falling upon them from their own condenſed, dewy atmoſphere; the middle of the day is fitteſt for this operation, in water which has been placed ſome hours in the ſun-ſhine, ſo as to acquire a tolerable degree of warmth. The Negroes waſh in the open rivers at that time, and find it moſt wholeſome, by experience; they have a different opinion of *cold-bathing*; and indeed it ſeems not proper for this climate, except at a very early hour before ſun-riſe, and in the cooler mountainous or Northſide parts, rather than the Southern: in the latter, I have known three or four fatal accidents which have followed plunging in cold water in the heat of the day. It ſhould ſeem therefore more eligible to follow that uſage, which experience ſhews to be not only healthy, but neceſſary to cleanlineſs, than to try experiments which have proved unſuitable to the climate, and are condemned by the native inhabitants, whoſe judgement has originally been founded upon trials, of what cuſtom was hurtful, and what harmleſs.

The influence of the *paſſions* upon health, has been the ſubject of many diſſertations from medical pens; in this country it muſt operate with double force, where men are more *feelingly alive* to joy or inquietude; where the nervous ſyſtem is far more irritable than in a Northern climate. Men of lively imaginations and great vivacity (and ſuch are the natives of this iſland) are more liable than others, to ſudden and violent emotions of the mind, and their effects; ſuch ſtrong and ſudden tranſports may actually throw men into acute diſeaſes: but the ſlow and durable paſſions, ſolicitude, grief, ſtifled reſentment, and vexation, are more often dangerous and mortal. Theſe conſuming enemies to health diſturb the functions of the ſtomach, and vitiate its juices, ſo that no wholeſome chyle or nouriſhment can enter the blood; the patient languiſhes under a bad habit of body, contracted from this cauſe,

pines with atrophy, and want of refreſhing ſleep; hence a complication of diſeaſes ſucceeding each other, from bad to worſe; and, unleſs he can ſubdue his anxiety, and reſtore peace to his mind, he gradually ſinks under it, and dies, as it is ſaid, of a *broken heart* [s].

Anxiety affects men in this country in proportion to their ſenſibility, and to its duration. When once it has taken a firm hold, it is generally productive of mortal conſequences. Multitudes have expired here under the preſſure of this fatal cauſe. Hurried by levity of diſpoſition, or want of thought, into an expenſive way of living, or imprudent ſchemes and purſuits; diſtreſs has poured in upon them at once like a deluge. Fretted, and wearied out at length with the conflict, and cloſely beſet on all ſides with implacable creditors, they have yielded paſſively to their fate, and ſunk down into the grave, under a load that was too grievous for their mind to ſupport. In ſuch deſperate circumſtances, a ſlight indiſpoſition is ſoon converted into one more formidable; the ſymptoms become more and more dangerous, and the malignancy increaſes every day, till, in the end, it has deſtroyed thoſe, who required the aid of good ſpirits and chearfulneſs, to ſecond the efficacy of medicine; every drug has loſt its uſual virtue; the organs refuſe to perform their functions; and thus, the diſeaſe in the mind has led the way to a ſure conqueſt over the body. The life of an induſtrious planter is one continued ſcene of activity, both of body and mind. He is neceſſarily engaged in many public duties, as well as private affairs. His ſlumbers are often diſturbed with corroding cares, the failure of ſeaſons, the caſualties to which his property may be liable, and the importunity of creditors. The day is often inſufficient for the multiplicity of buſineſs which he finds himſelf obliged to allot to it. He ought, therefore, to arrange his various occupations, and make them conform to a certain orderly train and method, that he may proceed in them with the greater eaſe and diſpatch; and, by this means, retrench great part of the perplexity, which muſt otherwiſe enſue. The like regular method he ſhould inforce throughout all the inferior departments of his plantation; and, weighing well the uncertainty of all human poſſeſſions, and the frequent viciſſitudes of fortune, he ſhould determine with himſelf to confine his annual expences of living within certain poſitive bounds, ſo as not to exceed, if poſſible, *one*

[s] Cadogan on Chronic Diſeaſes.

third

third part of his clear income, computed upon the average of five or ſeven years preceding. Some caution may likewiſe be requiſite in his dealings with mankind; but there is one, which particularly merits his conſtant recollection; which is, that more perſons in this country have been made unhappy, and even ruined, by *other mens debts*, than by their own. Let him therefore, above all things, keep a ſtrict guard over the liberality or credulity of his own temper, and reſolve inflexibly, *Never to be bound for any man*, and to conſider *debt* as one of the moſt ſubſtantial evils in life. By a courſe of even moderate œconomy, he may have ſome little overplus at the year's end; and let this be applied (if neceſſary) to ſupply the wants of his friend, or his dependant. Men are not injured here ſo much by what they lend, or give away to the neceſſitous, as by ſetting their hands and ſeals to paper too often, and for too conſiderable ſums; which unexpectedly riſe up in judgement againſt them, or their family, after many years have elapſed. By engaging as *collaterals*, they have made themſelves *principals*; deſtroyed their peace of mind; involved their eſtates, and beggared their children; without eſſentially benefiting their pretended friend: for ſuch is the ſtrange diſpoſition of a ſinking man, that, like one who is in danger of drowning, he catches at every ſtraw within his reach; thinks of nothing but temporary expedients; and, between hope and deſpair of extricating himſelf from diſtreſs and ruin, he will, even when he knows it will turn out wholly unavailing to his own affairs, inſiduouſly draw his beſt benefactor into the ſame abyſs, to periſh with him.

Misfortunes here, in planting and in trade, are neceſſarily very frequent, where men often adventure without limits; give, and take credit; are ſubject to be hurt by miſplaced good-nature and confidence; and liable to various calamities and loſſes. It is difficult for men to reaſon themſelves into a calm compoſure under afflictions, or vexatious circumſtances, by all the arguments that philoſophy or religion can furniſh:

" Durum: ſed levius *patientiâ*,
" Quidquid corrigere eſt nefas."
" 'Tis hard: but *patience* muſt endure,
" And ſoothe the woes it cannot cure."

This is the remedy which philoſophy ſuggeſts, as the beſt means of alleviating thoſe ills, that vexation only ſerves to render more ſharp and

and intolerable. The heathen moraliſts called it, for this reaſon, "*portus miſeriarum*; the aſylum of miſeries:" but *Chriſtian* patience brings infinitely more comfort and ſupport. This inſtructs us to believe, that nothing befals us, except by the permiſſion, or the direction, of Divine Providence; it attracts our dependence upon that Being, who can enable us to bear what, otherwiſe, the frailty of our nature muſt ſink under; it informs us, that diſeaſes, pain, loſs of friends, ingratitude, diſappointments in our affairs, and *all the various ills that fleſh is heir to*, fall to the lot of the good, as well as the wicked: the Divine Being exerciſes our virtue with ſuch trials; corrects our vices and miſtakes by theſe examples; leads us to ſoberer purſuits and councils; and excites us to repoſe our future thoughts on his care for our happineſs, by ſubmitting to his wiſe and provident diſpenſations, with ſerenity and fortitude. Theſe trials, in a greater or leſs degree, every mortal muſt expect to meet with, in the courſe of his life; he ſees continual inſtances of them, if he will but turn his eyes to view what befals the reſt of mankind; he ought then to prepare to meet them himſelf; never to be too confident under good fortune, nor too deſponding under the common miſchances to which all are equally liable. Inſtead of giving way to thoſe corroding thoughts, which keen ſenſibility, when too much indulged, is ſure to aggravate with freſh tortures every moment, he ſhould apply himſelf to meditate on the means of leſſening his torment, by ſubmiſſion to the Father of all men, and frequent ſupplications to him for aſſiſtance and relief: books, exerciſe, buſineſs, chearful ſociety, any innocent amuſements, ſhould be reſorted to, for unbending the mind, and breaking the iron chain of ſorrowful reflection. Too many have flown to the bottle, or to *laudanum*, to quaff the ſweet oblivion[*t*]; ſuch men are cowards, who have neither courage to bear up againſt their misfortunes, nor to end a painful exiſtence

[*t*] I cannot avoid taking ſome notice of the abuſe committed by many perſons here, male as well as female, in their daily potations of this baneful mixture; ſeveral of both ſexes love to become inebriated with it, and make their boaſt, that, of all liquors, it is not only the ſpeedieſt and cheapeſt, but the pleaſanteſt, to get drunk with. This vice (for a notorious vice it is) has ruined, and ſtill ruins, the beauty of many a fine woman in this iſland, both in complexion and conſtitution; for it ſo poiſons the whole corporeal maſs, as to render the lips of a deadly pale or livid hue, and the face cadaverous. After frequent repetitions of it, ſo importunate and ſtrong are its ſolicitations, as to admit of no denial, till, in the end, it conſtrains even its debauchees to abuſe it. One morning I paid a viſit to an elderly gentleman, whom I had frequently ſeen, and talked with before,

ence by one bold ſtroke; to end it indeed in ſuch a manner, were but a temporary cure, for this world only; and the means, perhaps, of making that miſery eternal, which otherwiſe would have been, at the worſt, of ſhort duration. To combat with ſteadineſs againſt adverſity, and reſolve

fore, at other places. I found him ſitting in a chair in his hall, and, accoſting him as uſual in as civil a manner as I could, I perceived that, contrary to his former polite and friendly manner, he ſat regardleſs of me, and every thing elſe about him, except that his eyes were fixed upon me with a ghaſtly ſtare. Upon this, I appeared to take no further notice of him, but, addreſſing myſelf to the other company preſent, ſat down, and diſcourſed on different ſubjects. Soon after, he withdrew into an adjoining room, and, ſtaying there not half long enough for me to be informed what his diſorder was, he returned alert and chearful, with a bottle and a ſpoon, and kindly aſked me if I would take a cordial with him; which I declined doing, as I did not know the liquor; but he frankly told me, it was liquid laudanum of his own preparing, of which he had juſt drunk one ſpoonful, and ſhould at leaſt twice repeat the draught in courſe of the day, according to a cuſtom he had practiſed for ſome years paſt. It was ſurpriſing to me, to ſee how ſuddenly and powerfully it had operated upon him; for, inſtead of the torpid, ſpiritleſs creature, whom I firſt ſaw, he was, in the ſpace of five minutes, fluſhed in his countenance, gay, talkative, animated throughout, and univerſally changed in mind and body.

This puts me in mind of the account which travelers have given of the Perſians, who, like other Eaſtern nations, take pills of ſolid opium, which ſome of them gradually increaſe to a doſe that would deſtroy half a dozen Europeans. Within half an hour after taking the pill it begins to operate, and a thouſand vagaries delight their imagination; they laugh, ſing, and talk extravagantly, like men in a delirium, or *maddened* with wine; but, after the effect is gone off, they find their ſpirits exhauſted, and grow penſive and melancholy, till they repeat the doſe again: by this means, ſome make it ſo neceſſary to them, that they cannot live without it.

I have known a whole company of men in Jamaica, at table, pledge one another in this liquor. The women, in general, are more moderate in the quantity they take at once; but, although they ſip it drop by drop, it is repeated ſo frequently, that the whole they take in a twelvemonth is pretty near as much, as what others drink, who recur to it ſeldom, but in larger doſes at a time; and its effects, in both caſes, are equally fatal. Some ladies are never without a bottle of it in their pocket, with ſome lumps of ſugar; and ſwallow it with great privacy, and by ſtealth, twice or thrice every day, increaſing the doſe ſo high, as to eighty or one hundred drops. They pretend it is their "*curarum dulce levamen*," and abſolutely requiſite for their comfort and happineſs.

" Their only labour is to kill the time,
" And labour dire it is, and weary woe.
" They ſit, they loll, turn o'er ſome idle rhyme;
" Then riſing ſuddlen to the *dram* they go,
" Or ſaunter forth with tottering ſteps, and ſlow;
" This ſoon too rude an exerciſe they find;
" Strait on the couch their limbs again they throw,
" Where hours on hours they, ſighingly reclin'd,
" *Embrace* the vapoury god, ſoft-breathing in the wind."

THOMSON.

The Turks, and other diſciples of Mahomet, betook themſelves to this mode of inebriation, becauſe their religion forbad the uſe of wine. The Aſiatic Indians are ſaid to indulge in it, not ſo much to make them ſleep, as from a notion, that it is a great provocative, and qualifies them the better for libidinous exerciſes.

Sottiſhneſs

reſolve to conquer it, is the higheſt teſt of a good mind, true courage, and ſound underſtanding; in other things, men will perſevere through every difficulty, and ſucceed in defiance of every obſtacle; nothing more is required, than the like ſpirit of perſeverance and fortitude, to ſurmount the greateſt ills of life, and trample upon thoſe diſtreſſes, which ceaſe to be burthenſome, when we have learned to bear them; but ever redouble their preſſure upon us, when we bear them with impatience and timidity.

Sottiſhneſs then and luſt being the chief founders of its uſe among theſe Eaſtern people, what opinion are we to form of thoſe ladies in our Weſtern hemiſphere, who are bewitched to the ſame deteſtable cuſtom? If drunkenneſs is ſo diſgraceful to the fair ſex in particular, they ſurely ought to reflect, that it makes not the leaſt difference, in point of diſhonour, whether they fuddle themſelves with laudanum, or with brandy; nevertheleſs, there are too many among them, who, if a dram was to be offered them in public company, would conſider it a high affront put upon them, and yet take the firſt convenient opportunity to beaſtialize themſelves with their favourite liquor, till they are deprived of their reaſon, and driven into the moſt incoherent ravings in their converſation, and the wildeſt extravagancies in their conduct; thus ſacrificing ſenſe, beauty, health, fame, and even virtue, to this pernicious habit. All phyſicians agree, that it is exceedingly hurtful to thoſe of weak and delicate habits, and brings on prematurely the infirmities of old age; for, among the Eaſtern nations, it has been obſerved, that ſcarcely any, who begin this practice while they are young, live to be above fifty. It produces paralytic diſorders, and palſies; hinders digeſtion, and palls the appetite. It likewiſe is charged with cauſing a relaxation of the lower jaw, and a ſtammering ſpeech; in regard to the latter bad effect, I am morally ſure, we may aſcribe the drawling, faltering pronunciation of many women and men in this iſland, to their exceſſive uſe of laudanum.

In ſome caſes, and in the hands of a diſcreet phyſician, it is a noble remedy, and particularly in the diſtemper called the locked jaw, ſo frequent in the Weſt Indies; and not ſeldom, as a palliative in the colic, and belly-ache: but thoſe perſons, who make it a part of their daily diet, receive all the injury it is capable of producing; and preclude themſelves from all hopes of relief from it, in thoſe maladies, where it might otherwiſe have proved their certain friend.

The firm hold which ſo horrid a faſhion has taken in this iſland is really unaccountable, unleſs we ſuppoſe that the force of example, and the alluring perſuaſion of inveterate female tipplers, have combined with the deluding charms of this *Circean* draught:

" Offering to every weary *viſitor*
" Their *magic* liquor in a cryſtal glaſs,
" To quench the drought of Phœbus; which as they taſte,
" (For moſt do taſte through fond, *and curious* thirſt)
" Soon as the potion works, their human count'nance,
" Th' expreſs reſemblance of the gods, is chang'd
" Into ſome brutiſh form of wolf, or bear,
" Or ounce, or tiger, hog, or bearded goat,
" All other parts remaining as they were;
" And they, ſo perfect in their miſery,
" Not once perceive their foul diſfigurement,
" But boaſt themſelves more comely than before,
" And all their friends, and native home forget,
" To roll with pleaſure in a ſenſual ſtye."

MILTON.

SECT. IV.

Of SUGAR, conſidered Medicinally.

There is no better preſervative, perhaps, againſt thoſe diſeaſes which owe their riſe to a putreſcency of the humours, than the juice of the ſugar-cane, and its various preparations. The effects they produce on debilitated Negroes, and on brute animals, whom they reſtore to health and vigour, rendering the moſt emaciated plump and lively, are extremely remarkable. There cannot be a ſtronger recommendation of any ſubſtance proper for aliment, than to ſay, that it is eagerly devoured by all animals, and offenſive to none; more eſpecially, as they, who are governed by unerring inſtinct, are never known to delight in any ſpecies of food, which is inimical to their health: but human reaſon and experience correſpond with this inſtinct, in recommendation of theſe mild, nutritious, and ſalutary effects.

It has been obſerved, that, ſince ſugar and aceſcent ſubſtances have come into vogue, all putrid diſeaſes, the ſcurvy no leſs than putrid malignant fevers, the dyſentery, and even the plague itſelf, are much abated. The ableſt writers on theſe diſeaſes mention ſugar or melaſſes as neceſſary ingredients in the diet of patients afflicted with them; and that their virtue conſiſts in the efficacy with which they reſiſt, and counteract, all putrid humours. The Spaniards in the Weſt Indies, ſenſible of this effect by long experience, uſe it univerſally; it forms a part of all their collations, and they never drink even a glaſs of water without previouſly eating ſome conſerve, or ſweetmeat. In the putrid yellow fever, Doctor Mc Bride recommends very ſtrenuouſly the juice of the *ſugar-cane* before it is thoroughly ripe, diluted and acidulated with the freſh juice of limes or Seville oranges. Let our men (ſays he) in the navy be as well cloathed as in the army, and let them be allowed, whilſt at ſea, a daily portion of *ſugar*; and, I will venture to promiſe that, in a time of war, we ſhall annually ſave ſome thouſands of very uſeful lives.

To the uſe of this, and freſh vegetables, which now make up ſo great a part of the diet of the European nations, it is to be aſcribed, that we at this day ſo ſeldom hear of the dreadful putrid diſeaſes which formerly ſwept off ſuch multitudes, every thirty or forty years, under the name of plagues.

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The diet moſt fit to preſerve health in hot climates muſt conſiſt (for the greater part) of vegetables, and of thoſe ſubſtances, which produce the greateſt quantities of air, in order to afford a ſufficient quantity of antiſeptic vapour, to make up for the extraordinary waſte of air, which is carried off from the fluids by inſenſible perſpiration; and thoſe perſons muſt inevitably fall into putrid diſeaſes, who eat much animal food, which produces but little air; who drink much of ſpirituous liquors, which contain no air in themſelves ſcarcely, and prevent the ready extrication thereof from the aliment, during the digeſtive proceſs; and who incautiouſly expoſe themſelves to a moiſt atmoſphere, which hinders any thing but the aërial part of the perſpirable matter from being carried off.

The great efficacy of vegetables conſiſts partly in their containing a large quantity of this fixed antiſeptic air or vapour, and their impregnation with a very ſweet juice, or mixture of ſaccharine oil and ſalt, which doctor Tiſſot obſerves is highly ſalutary. All the culinary roots, even in Europe, are full of this kind of ſugar, which may eaſily be extracted from them. Experiments to this effect have been tried on ſeveral; and, in particular, eight ounces of the juice of ſkirret yielded one ounce and an half of ſugar [*u*]. This ſaccharine juice predominates in moſt of the fruits and eſculent roots in Jamaica in a very ſurpriſing degree, as if the Divine Being had meant peculiarly to adapt them as neceſſary correctives of thoſe putreſcent humours, which a diet on animal food is apt to generate in this climate. Thus we find, that the Iriſh potatoe, when tranſplanted into this ſoil, acquires a ſweetiſh taſte, which ſhews its impregnation with ſaccharine principles; the ſweet potatoe, the native of this climate, is largely ſupplied with the like impregnation; ſo are the yams, eddos, cocos, moſt of the different ſorts of pulſe, and almoſt all the fruits. The plantain, when ripe, and dried in the ſun, is a perfect conſerve, without the aid of any more ſugar, than what is naturally contained in it; the banana is ſtill more luſcious, but with a ſlight aſtringent quality, which has made it extremely remedial in fluxes; correcting the putrid humour by its antiſeptic virtues, ſheathing the acrimony with its balſamic oil, rendering the bowels gently ſoluble, and yet ſtrengthening their tone by its mild aſtringency. The China oranges here, when full ripe, and in a good

[*u*] Margraff's Mem.

ſoil;

ſoil, are frequently incruſted over with a palpable integument of white ſugar, concreted on their rind, and hardened by the ſun. How benevolent and gracious is this ample proviſion of ſo wholeſome and neceſſary a ſubſtance, which is ſo copiouſly lodged in the ſoil, to be imbibed, prepared, refined, and duly adapted, by all theſe vegetable productions, for the uſe, ſuſtentation, and health, of the inhabitants! The ſugar prepared from the cane contains theſe virtues in abſtract, which are found leſs copiouſly diſtributed to the culinary roots, and eſculent fruits; it therefore preſents itſelf as a portable remedy, always at hand, to ſupply the occaſions of thoſe perſons who are not able to procure other vegetable productions, endowed with the like properties; or to be mixed with thoſe aliments, which contain too little, or none at all, of them; it ſeems therefore peculiarly of uſe, as a neceſſary part of ſea-ſtore, for the ready ſervice of thoſe, who are too diſtant from the land to come at freſh vegetables, and the nature of whoſe fleſh diet requires ſuch a conſtant corrector. The warrant and petty officers on board a fleet are ſcarcely ever ſeized with *acute* putrid diſeaſes, excepting by meer infection; and they are very ſeldom known to become ſcorbutic in any violent degree, unleſs the general cauſe (exceſſive moiſture) be of a remarkably long continuance. The diet of this claſs of men is, in general, the ſame with the reſt of the crew, but they are well clad for the moſt part, and never want a little ſtore of *ſugar*.

The expence of allowing ſugar, or melaſſes, as a part of ſea proviſions, even taking it at the higheſt, is too trifling, when put in competition with preſerving ſo valuable a part of the community as our ſeamen, at leaſt, for all that they might have occaſion for, when at ſea.

The efficacy of this medicine, in preſerving the health of ſeamen, is far from being a recent diſcovery; ſo early as the reign of Charles the Firſt ſugar had been found eminently uſeful in ſcorbutic caſes, as appears by *Woodall's* Treatiſe, re-publiſhed in 1639. But Great Britain had at that time no colonies to ſupply her with a ſufficient quantity of it; and it is worthy remark, that the plague almoſt uninterruptedly raged in London till towards the Revolution, when conſiderable remittances of ſugar began to arrive from Barbadoes, Nevis, Jamaica, and other iſlands, belonging to Britain. This affluence rendered

rendered it much [w] cheaper than ever it had been before; conſequently the uſe and conſumption became far more extenſive, particularly in London, than in preceding times; and the viſitations of the plague gradually became leſs frequent, till at length they ceaſed intirely. Thoſe medical writers, who have entertained very ſanguine expectations from new *wort* in the cure of the ſcurvy, ſeem nevertheleſs to be of opinion, that ſugar is equally efficacious; the ſame reaſons which lead to expect ſucceſs from the one, holding good, in moſt eſſential circumſtances, in regard to the other; and their opinion is founded on this doctrine, that ſuch vegetable fermentable ſubſtances are diſcovered, by experiment, to have the power of preſerving animal fluids from corruption, and of even reſtoring them after having undergone ſome degree of putrefaction.

The hot liquor taken from the *tache*, or laſt copper, in the Weſt India boiling houſes, during crop, and mixed to a ſufficient dilution with water, makes a moſt agreeable drink, having ſomewhat of the taſte of new wort, but more pleaſant; of this both the Negroes and Whites in general are extremely fond, and it ought to be the principal drink of Europeans newly arrived. From this cauſe it happens, that the imported Negroes, purchaſed during the crop, are more likely to do well than thoſe who are introduced at other times of the year; for they are freely indulged with a daily allowance of this liquor, and it is found to recover the languid and diſtempered, and make them grow fat, ſleek, and vigorous. In its operation it is cooling, gently moves the body, and throws any latent acrimony or putrid humour, which may be lurking in the blood and juices, upon the ſurface of the ſkin, as many Europeans experience on drinking it; but, on perceiving boils, or cutaneous eruptions, about the lips, or other parts of the body, to follow the uſe of this beverage, they ignorantly fancy, that theſe ſalutary ſymptoms are a real diſorder, cauſed by ſome noxious quality in the liquor; and ſome have diſcontinued it

[w] When the Portugueſe ſupplied England with ſugar, the price of this commodity was from 7 *l.* to 8 *l.* ſterling *per* cwt. a moſt exorbitant rate in thoſe days. As the Engliſh plantations increaſed, they reduced the price to 3 *l.* and 2 *l.* 10 *s.*; and, ſince that period, to 2 *l.* and 1 *l.* 10 *s.* *per* cwt. But the merchants were obliged to bring it down as low as even to ſeven or eight ſhillings, before they could force the Portugueſe out of the market.

for this reaſon, at the very time, when it has been doing ſuch eſſential ſervice, by driving out ſuch foul and corrupt humours, which, when retained in the habit, produce fevers, and other dangerous maladies. Nor are its good effects confined to the human race. It is the common practice, on the plantations in Jamaica, to feed the working horſes and mules in crop-time with chopped cane-tops, and the ſkimmings of the boiling-houſe liquor, which anſwer better than corn, in preſerving them plump, ſtrong, and healthy. Hogs, poultry, and, in ſhort, all the animals belonging to a plantation, thrive on this juice. Even the dogs in this iſland, although qualified by nature not only to reliſh, but to digeſt, putrid food, are not leſs fond of ſugar. I have known a well-fed animal of this ſpecies, who was commonly dieted from a plentiful table, and never taſted carrion by way of *bon bouche* without ſuffering ſeverely for it; on theſe occaſions he uſed a quantity of what is called here *dog-graſs*, ſufficient, either to make him diſgorge, or compoſe his ſtomach, probably, by the fixed air contained in that plant; at other times he would greedily devour the avogato pear, clammy cherry, ripe plantains, yams, bananas, &c.; but, when introduced to the boiling-houſe, he never failed to regale himſelf without intermiſſion; and, from being in a ſtate of miſerable leanneſs, was ſure to become plump, and full of life and agility.

I have ſeen the good effects of it on Negroes afflicted with the yaws, even after the diſorder (by catching colds after a mercurial regimen) had fallen upon their joints; it threw the venom out on the ſurface in a plentiful eruption, and thus brought on a criſis, which no other known remedy could have produced ſo defireably.

In worm diſorders there is not a more powerful remedy than the juice of ripe canes, to expel theſe vermin [*x*]. The Negroe children (as if prompted by inſtinct) ſuck them with the utmoſt avidity, and are always relieved. When powders and other vermifuge medicines are adminiſtered, melaſſes or ſyrup uſually forms a part of the compoſition, and perhaps contributes more than is generally imagined to

[*x*] Doctor Grainger obſerves, that ſugar is commonly ſuppoſed to favour worms; that, however, he knows this, from repeated experiment, to be a *vulgar error*. That perhaps no one thing in the *materia medica* is more deadly to worms than *cane-liquor*, unleſs we except *muſcovado*, mixed with an equal quantity of ſweet oil, eſpecially what is made by expreſſion from the cocoa nut.

their

their ſucceſs. I have known many old white perſons in this iſland, extremely fond of the refined ſugar, eating it frequently in a morning, and with a ſingular *goſit*, from a firm aſſurance (eſtabliſhed by long experience) of its mild, balſamic, and ſalubrious, operation.

Some (ſays Brookes) are great enemies to ſugar, and affirm, that it produces I know not what bad effects; but, as thoſe who have uſed it very freely have never received any detriment from it, we may conclude, that it is intirely harmleſs. It does not produce conſumptions, as ſome pretend, becauſe an apothecary, who had that diſtemper, almoſt lived upon ſugar of roſes, and was cured by it. Some have affirmed, that it produces the ſcurvy, and was the original cauſe of it; whereas it is well known, that the ſcurvy appeared long before ſugar was in uſe: beſides, the pooreſt people, who eat much leſs ſugar than the rich, are moſt afflicted with the ſcurvy. This is likewiſe true of common ſailors, who eat more ſalt proviſions, and leſs ſugar, than their officers. Some aſſert, that it turns ſour upon the ſtomach, but give us no argument to prove it. An acid may indeed be extracted from ſugar, and ſo there may from all ſorts of corn, as well as wine; but then it muſt be performed by art, and turned into an ardent ſpirit firſt, by fermentation. Beſides, ſugar is a natural ſoap, and will readily mix with any ſort of liquor; and therefore it is not probable that it ſhould turn ſour on the ſtomach [*y*]. The officinal compoſitions of ſugar are allowed on all hands to be good in diſorders of the breaſt; and, mixed with oil of ſweet almonds, it is good in coughs, hoarſeneſſes, and the like. Externally applied, it is a very great vulnerary, eſpecially when mixed with a little brandy, whoſe ſtyptic quality, joined to the balſamic virtues of the ſugar, makes a compoſition, which will heal wounds, cleanſe ulcers, and *prevent putrefaction*. Doctor James concurs in the ſame opinion. When duly uſed (ſays he) it is not ſo offenſive to the blood as is vulgarly

[*y*] I am apt to ſuſpect, that the other ingredients, ſuch as rancid butter, and other greaſe, unfermented flour, and crude fruits, &c. with which ſugar is generally combined by paſtry-cooks and confectioners, may occaſion ſuch effects, and deſerve the whole blame, which has been wrongfully aſcribed to the ſugar alone, from ignorance of its principles. This probably is the only wholeſome ingredient belonging to ſuch compoſitions, and may prevent much of the bad conſequences they would otherwiſe produce, eſpecially in the weak ſtomachs and bowels of children, who are the principal ſufferers.

thought. It is daily taken to a degree of excefs by fome, who, inftead of being injured by it, live in a found and perfect ftate of health. It is a mild and fweet falt, which is far from being unfriendly to the mixture of the fluids, becaufe it *corrects acid, bilious* humours, and renders the body foluble.

Every teftimony, in fhort, agrees in pronouncing it to be one of the beft adapted preiervatives of health in cold as well as hot climates; from its nutritious, healing, and antifeptic qualities. Thofe who reject punch, from an opinion that lime or lemon-juice is offenfive to their bowels, which often is the cafe in gouty habits, would do well to mix fugar and fyrup with their rum and water; at the fame time being very moderate in the ufe of that fpirit; they may be affured, that fuch a beverage will be far wholefomer for them than the liquor called *grog*, which is a mixture of rum and water only; for, although rum is far preferable to any other fimple diftilled fpirit, yet it may be advifeable in the Weft Indies to mix it with fome fermentative ingredient; and none is more proper than fugar or melaffes.

For the fame reafons on which the caufe of the plague's decreafe in many parts of Europe has been fuppofed, it may be juftly concluded, that putrid and malignant fevers neither originate fo frequently, nor (when brought by infection) ravage fo extenfively in the Weft Indies now as formerly they did. A proof of this declenfion is not only the comparative healthinefs of Jamaica, formerly deemed a fickly ifland, but the greater health of the feamen employed in this trade, who ftill drink as hard, and expofe themfelves to all extremities of the climate as much, as they did one hundred years ago. Yet the merchant fhips feldom lofe any of their crew by thefe diftempers, and moft of them lofe none. Some will attribute this to the more extenfive cultivation of the country, the cutting down its thick woods in feveral parts, and melioration of its atmofphere; but there is fuperadded to all this the much greater quantity of fugar manufactured throughout the ifland, and the greater facility which the feamen have found in getting at fupplies of it for their private ufe, whilft they wait in port the loading of their fhip, as well as during the voyage home; for, when they cannot procure it *gratis*, they either buy of the Negroes for a little tobacco, or other trifling confideration, or get it by theft. There is now near fixty times as much fugar made in the

ifland,

iſland, as there was an hundred years ago; and a large quantity falls to the ſhare of the Negroes, not only in what is given to them, but what they ſteal, which it is impoſſible to prevent, as they are the conductors of it to the ſhipping-place, as well as manufacturers. The ſuperfluity, or what they do not reſerve for their own uſe, is chiefly diſpoſed of to the ſailors, and poorer Jews; the ſailors likewiſe, who come aſhore to the wharfs, find many opportunities to fill their hats or pockets from the packages that lie there. Beſides this, they are generally allowed ſugar on their voyage home, to mix with their tipple; and, when it is denied them, they make no ceremony in purloining it; and, by this means, eſtabliſh a pretty regular article in the Britiſh factor's account with the planter, which goes under the name of *plunderage*. From this cauſe we do not hear of the crews of Weſt India men ſwept off, or indeed hardly afflicted at all with the ſcurvy, or thoſe malignant diſeaſes, which ſo commonly depopulate the Eaſt India ſhips in their paſſage homewards; although ſome of the former, in wet and ſevere winter voyages to England, are often, by contrary winds and bad weather, detained at ſea for a ſpace of eleven or twelve weeks, and without any difference to their crews in point of diet from thoſe employed in other trades, except that they have the uſe of ſugar and melaſſes; and rum, inſtead of brandy.

Theſe facts ſeem to be confirmed by the conſent of the ableſt of the faculty, who acknowledge this change to have been actually wrought; and ſome among them have thrown further light on the cauſe of it, by inſiſting, that the very *ſame preſervatives*, in *Weſt India* voyages, anſwer as well againſt *malignant*, *remittent*, and *intermittent*, *fevers*, as againſt the *ſcurvy*. Grounding our judgement therefore on the concurrent evidence of obſervation, and the opinions of ſo many learned and intelligent phyſicians, who have adopted their ſentiments, upon certain experience, and moſt accurate enquiry, we are well ſupported in recommending the plentiful uſe of the cane-liquor, and its preparations, to all thoſe who paſs from Europe to reſide in Jamaica; and may venture to aſſert, that it is perfectly inoffenſive in its principles, and ſingularly conducive to health in its effects on the human body in that climate. The Spaniards in our neighbourhood are very liberal in their uſe of ſugar and honey; their ſweetmeats they eat chiefly with wheat bread, which they reſerve for theſe and chocolate only. The

honey they ſpread on caſſava cakes; the affinity between theſe two ſweet ſubſtances need not be inſiſted on.

That malignant and terrible diſeaſe, called the *black vomit*, was unknown at Carthagena (as it is ſaid) till about the year 1729. It was ſuſpected to have been firſt brought thither from Porto Bello. It made its appearance in that year on board the guarda coſtas and galleons lying in the harbour, and deſtroyed almoſt the whole of their crews. The Spaniſh phyſicians attributed it to the ſalt meat on which the ſeamen were fed, as it was obſerved to rage more among them, than thoſe who had been able to live on more wholeſome food; they conſidered ſalt meat as tending to bring on this diſtemper, and that the humours it generated, together with the labour and hardſhips of duty, inclined the blood to putrefaction; but it is certain, that the ſailors alone were not its only victims; for even paſſengers, who had not taſted any ſalt meat during the voyage, felt is effects; it was therefore, with more appearance of truth, imputed to the peſtilential air of Porto Bello. It is remarkable, however, that the *natives* of *Carthagena*, and thoſe who had lived there ſome time, were not, nor ever are, affected by it; but enjoy an uninterrupted health, amidſt the dreadful havock it makes among others; it ſeems rational to ſuppoſe, that this diſorder has its ſource at firſt in a high degree of the ſcurvy, which, from the baleful influence of the ſwampy *effluvia* at Porto Bello, degenerates into a putrid fever of the worſt ſpecies. This is conſonant to the idea of our Engliſh writers on the ſubject, who aſſert, that ſuch as have any *ſcorbutic* ſymptoms are in porportion more ſubject to the *dyſentery*, and *malignant putrid fevers*; and likewiſe are the moſt ſeverely handled by theſe diſtempers. A proof of this theory, was the memorable deſtruction of the ſeamen belonging to admiral *Hoſier's* ſquadron, at the *Baſtimentos*, which began with the ſcurvy, and was compleated by a malignant putrid fever, and dyſentery, contracted from the fatal air of that place. The diet of the *native* Spaniards, and others, who naturally fall into their cuſtoms at Carthagena, preſerves them free from any ſcorbutic acrimony, or diſpoſition in their humours to breed or admit the entrance of putrid diſeaſes. The ſame good conſequence would probably enſue at *Kingſton* in *Jamaica*, if the inhabitants of that town would adopt a diet, and regimen of life, ſimilar to thoſe of the Spaniards at Carthagena. For although this

diſeaſe

diſeaſe has made but little ravage, at any of our Jamaica ſea ports, of late years, in compariſon with anterior times, which is to be aſcribed to the greater abundance of vegetable food, ſugar, and fruits, in common uſe; it ſeems likely, that the inhabitants would be equally proof againſt its attacks, as the Spaniards are found to be, if they would but depart a little more from a too plentiful fleſh diet, and ſtrong liquors, and regale more frequently on chocolate, and ſugared preparations; uſe none but rum of due age, with the ſubacid fruits, not green, but thoroughly ripened; with ſuch other materials, in their ordinary refreſhments, as, by the conſent of experience, and medical precepts, appear beſt calculated to reſiſt the venom of this, and ſuch like putrid diſtempers. That *Carthagena* is not a very unhealthful climate (though in a low ſituation, and intenſely hot), is manifeſt from the good old age which ſeveral of its inhabitants attain, many of whom enjoy ſo confirmed a ſtate of health, as to reach their 80th year. This, indeed, is not an extraordinary thing in Jamaica, which is much cooler, and where there are now, and have at all times been, ſeveral perſons exceeding that period; but, in order to make this longevity a more univerſal bleſſing, thoſe means and habits of life muſt be practiſed, and reſolutely attended to, which are found to be the moſt conducive and favourable to the end propoſed. I ſhall next conſider, as another ingredient in the common diet of perſons in the Weſt Indies, the article of

RUM.

SECT. V.

I do not know of any author, who has treated this ſubject in a manner ſo ſcientific and elaborate, as the ingenious Mr. *Doſſie*; as his poſitions, relative to the analyſis and properties of this ſpirit, have not been controverted, and appear to be the reſult of experiments, joined to an eminent degree of chemical knowledge, I ſhall readily adopt, and endeavour to illuſtrate their truth, by other obſervations. From theſe, a judgement may be formed, why rum in ſome circumſtances is to be conſidered an unwholeſome article of diet; why under others it is quite the reverſe, when uſed in moderation; why it is to be preferred to other ſimple-diſtilled ſpirits, whether it be drank in moderation or to an exceſs; and hence will appear the means moſt certain,

to diſarm it of noxious qualities, and adapt it with greateſt ſafety to common uſe.

1. Ardent ſpirits, in their pure ſtate (*i. e.* not dulcified by union with ſome corrective), have a violent aſtringent action upon the ſolid parts of animals, coagulate the fluids, and diminiſh the power of the nervous ſyſtem.

From theſe cauſes they produce ſuitable effects:

A tabidneſs, or waſting of the extremities,

A nervous weakneſs, or tendency to palſy,

Deſtroy the appetite and ſecretions,

Render the liver ſchirrous, and occaſion dropſies.

On diſſecting the bodies of perſons, who have died of exceſſive dram-drinking, the whole liver has been found converted into a ſchirrus of peculiar hardneſs, ſo as to be altogether incapable of its office, of *ſecreting the bile*; and the meſentery ſometimes aſtoniſhingly enlarged and tumefied.

§ To this may alſo be added, Doctor Macbride's poſition, that ſuch ſpirits contain little or no air *per ſe*; and that they prevent the ready extrication of it from alimentary ſubaſtnces during the digeſtive proceſs. From all which cauſes it is evident, that perſons, who indulge in ſuch drink, generate nothing but crudities in the ſtomach: and are ſubject to dyſenteries, waſting of the fleſh for want of nouriſhment, all ſorts of nervous diſorders by the continual irritation of acrid matter, and to dangerous fevers; from the want of that aërial principle, which is neceſſary to ferment and prepare the aliment for concoction. Rum is therefore leaſt wholeſome, when it comes neareſt to ſuch pure ardent ſpirit in its properties; and hence, new or freſh diſtilled rum, which is in this predicament, appears to be in its moſt unwholeſome ſtate.

2. The ſubſtances, which, by uniting with pure ardent ſpirit, counteract its noxious qualities, are, *volatile oils*, generated either in the fermentation or diſtillation; and *acids*, either ſuch as were natives in the particular vegetable matter which was the ſubject of fermentation, or ſuch as are generated in the courſe of the fermentation.

3. Theſe corrective ſubſtances are, in part, combined with the ſpirit before diſtillation, and riſe united with it; and, in part, uncombined with

with it before the diſtillation, but, riſing with it then, unite themſelves gradually with it *afterwards.*

4. It is from the *latter* union, which takes place *after the diſtillation*, that rum is ſo much improved by time, and eſpecially in a caſk. Where a large quantity of it is kept together, the inteſtine motion being greater, and at greater liberty to act, than in a ſmall confined ſpace, the particles are more ſpeedily brought within the ſphereof each other's attraction, and the union more quickly compleated. Hence, when kept in bottles, a very great length of time is required to perfect it; but when kept in caſks, the ſpirit becomes gradually milder, and loſes that violent aſtringency, which manifeſted itſelf before this change, in a fiery ſenſation in the mouth and throat of thoſe who have drunk it.

§ I have taſted rum in Jamaica, which had been bottled 30 years, but ſtill retained this pungent, fiery quality, and a moſt diſagreeable twang; which ſhewed, that the oil was not thoroughly united with the ſpirit. But, when it is kept in a caſk ſix or eight, to twelve months time, is generally ſufficient to perfect it; thoſe planters who keep their ſtock rum in large butts, which hold three or four hundred gallons, find this union perfected in a ſtill ſhorter time; and the rum ſo packed is of a far ſuperior quality to what is ſtowed in ſmall caſks.

I am apt to ſuſpect, that there is likewiſe, in all freſh diſtilled rum, a certain etherial volatile ſpirit, of a very cauſtic and pernicious quality, which *evaporates* by keeping for ſome time in caſks, but cannot entirely eſcape when ſuch freſh rum is put into bottles well ſtopped, and laid on their ſides.

It ſhould be the practice, on all the plantations in this iſland, to lay up one or more puncheons of rum every year, that they might ſupply their white men with what is of due age, inſtead of poiſoning them with that fiery, unwholeſome ſpirit, juſt drawn from the ſtill. A neglect of this humane œconomy, either through a pitiful avarice, or a brutal indifference, has deſtroyed many hundreds. The like caution may be offered, in reſpect to the ſoldiers and ſeamen on this ſtation. The way to have it wholeſome, and potable, is to lay up, in large tight buts, a ſufficient ſtock to ſerve two years; the one-half new, the other at leaſt a year old; by this method, there would be a conſtant

ſtant ſupply of good ſpirits; and whatever ſuperfluity might remain, upon leaving the iſland, would certainly produce much more than the prime coſt, whether it ſhould be diſpoſed of at that market, or brought to Great Britain.

5. Where an *acid* abounds, the ſpirit gains by time, in conſequence of this dulcification, a grateful flavour and odour.

Where *volatile oil* abounds, the ſeeming rankneſs of ſmell and taſte gradually goes off, or is converted into a ſpecies of perfume.

6. The wholeſomeneſs is alſo improved by time, as it cauſes a privation of thoſe ill qualities, which render the freſh diſtilled ſpirits ſo noxious.

7. The melaſſes ſpirit, diſtilled in *Britain* and *North America*, is ſo defective in the *volatile oil*, which is the great corrective, and gives the characteriſtic to rum, that it is moſt palpably different from it in taſte and flavour, as well as in its moſt ſalubrious qualities.

§ For this reaſon the North American ſpirit is better than the Britiſh; the former being made from the firſt-drawn melaſſes, which generally contains a portion of ſugar, and a large ſhare of this oil. The French melaſſes indeed is impoveriſhed very much, by their boiling it over again, to make their *paneel* ſugars; but in Jamaica this piece of œconomy not being practiſed, the melaſſes ſold here to the North Americans is twice as rich as what they purchaſe at the French iſlands; and their diſtillers probably find it ſo in the yielding.

In Britain the melaſſes is proportionably jejune, and deprived of its richneſs; as the muſcovado ſugars, by the time they fall into the *baker's* hands, have been pretty well drained; ſo that what is drawn in the refining proceſs, and afterwards ſold to the diſtillers, muſt be very much impoveriſhed.

Some diſtillers buy up the dark uncured ſugars, which yield a ſpirit of better quality; but it is impoſſible for them to produce the ſame ſpirit as Jamaica rum, where the liquor for diſtillation is compounded of various mixtures, not to be obtained by the Britiſh diſtiller.

This liquor, for example, conſiſts of

1—part ſkimmings,
1—part waſhings,
1—part cool lees.

To

To theſe variouſly compounded, according to the particular judgement of the manufacturer, and other circumſtances, the melaſſes is added during their fermentation in the ciſterns, and in the propoſtion of about ſix gallons of melaſſes to every hundred gallons of liquor.

Sometimes it is made wholly of crude cane-liquor and melaſſes, run into fermentation together.

So that not only the ingredients are various and differently compounded; but the melaſſes, which is the principal or only ſubſtance uſed in Britain and North-America, bears in Jamaica but a very ſmall proportion to the other ingredients, being only as 6 to 100, or thereabouts.

8. The ſpirit, when meliorated by union with theſe corrective ſubſtances, and by age, is reduced to a mild and gentle ſtate; and, when taken *in moderation*, is not only ſafe and wholeſome, but even in ſome caſes ſalutary and medicinal.

Its aſtringency, when duly reſtrained, renders it invigorating and cordial; and its power of checking the animal ferments, renders it opponent to a putrid diſpoſition. In hot countries, therefore, it prevents that extreme relaxation which is generally ſo incommodious and debilitating; and, by its antiſeptic power, that tendency to a putrid habit, which induces the moſt fatal diſeaſes.

§ The eſſential points, to make it become medicinal and wholeſome, are then, 1ſt, the keeping it to a due age; 2dly, the uſing it in moderate quantity. The uſe of it in the Weſt-Indies, under theſe precautions, is ſo far from being injurious, that it adapts the body to ſuſtain the heat of the climate with leſs inconvenience, and checks the humours from running into putreſcency. This ſeems confirmed by obſervation, and the cuſtomary practice of the inhabitants in hot climates.

Among the Spaniards at Carthagena, the uſe of ſpirits is ſo common that the moſt regular and ſober perſons never omit drinking a ſmall glaſs every forenoon about eleven o'clock, alledging that it ſtrengthens the ſtomach, weakened by copious, conſtant perſpiration, and ſharpens the appetite. *Hacer las once*, *To do the eleven*; that is, to drink a glaſs of ſpirit, is the ordinary invitation. But this cuſtom, which is not eſteemed pernicious when uſed with *moderation*,

has degenerated into vice; many being ſo fond of it, that they do nothing the whole day but *Hacer las once*. Perſons of diſtinction uſe Spaniſh brandy, but the lower ſort a kind of rum diſtilled from the ſugar-cane.

Jobſon remarks, that the common people in Guiney eat only *once* a day, which is after ſun-ſet. They hold, that eating ſeldom, and in the cooler part of the day, is a good preſervative of health. He adds, that the natural moiſture being drawn outwards to refreſh the external parts when parched by the ſun's heat, the ſtomach is then cold, and fitter to receive a dram than to digeſt ſolid food; in proof of which opinion, he aſſerts to have found by experience, that he and his men could drink as much brandy in the middle of the day, at a time, as in England *would have burnt out their very hearts*; that is his expreſſion.

The ſweating, which happens in conſequence of overmuch relaxation in *ſome* hot climates, ſeems to be of the colliquative kind, reſembling that which accompanies putrid diſtempers in their advanced ſtage, when there is an utter proſtration of ſtrength, and when the blood is haſtening into a total diſſolution; a moderate dram of ſome ſpirituous liquor, at ſuch times, operates by its bracing or aſtringent quality, and ſuppreſſes the immoderate flow of perſpiration; hence thoſe perſons who drink this liquor moderately, when they are almoſt overcome with the debilitation of heat and moiſture, perceive a ſenſation of coolneſs, and ceaſe to ſweat ſo profuſely. But the wholeſomer way of uſing it would probably be with a due mixture of water, like the reapers of Pennſylvania, mentioned by Mr. Franklin. In this way likewiſe admiral Vernon, when he was at Jamaica, cauſed the crews of his ſquadron to be ſerved, and it cauſed a wonderful change in their health; for with this caution they became leſs ſubject to bad fevers, and were able to go through the fatigues of their duty without inconvenience.

The moſt wholeſome proportion of rum to water, in this climate, is as 1 to 16, or half a pint of rum to a gallon of water, and the allowance to ſoldiers, ſeamen, and white ſervants, ſhould rarely or ever exceed it, for their ordinary beverage; the price of half a pint of rum is ſeldom above 1½ *d.* Jamaica currency, or 1¼ *d.* ſterling; the navy allowance of beer is one gallon to each common

ſeaman *per diem*, the price of which cannot be rated lower than 3 *d.* whence it appears, that, without any extra charge to government, the ſeamen on this ſtation might be ſupplied with a daily allowance of ſugar or melaſſes, *viz.* a pint of melaſſes, or half a pound weight of muſcovado ſugar, the coſt of either of which would not exceed one penny ſterling, and in general it would be found to fall ſhort of the expence of beer, about ¼ *d.* ſterling *per* gallon, and conduce infinitely better to keep the men in good health.

The liquor called *grog*, or a mixture of rum and water, is often rendered noxious by putting in an over-proportion of rum. For although the drinkers of it ſet out at firſt with a moderate quantity of the ſpirit; yet, as by habit it grows more and more taſteleſs, they are induced gradually to add a little and a little more, till they bring their mixture to equal parts of half rum, half water, and ſometimes three parts ſpirit to one of water, for their common dilution at meals, and in the heat of the day. I have known ſeveral perſons deſtroy themſelves in this manner, who at firſt were extremely ſober and temperate; but it was a work of ſome time before they arrived at that degree of exceſs which was neceſſary to bring on a dropſy, or other bad habit of body. Without a large proportion of water, or the correction of a ſubacid, as the juices of fruits, melaſſes, ſugar, *cremor Tartari*, tamarinds, and the like, it promotes, inſtead of allaying, thirſt; and every draught, that is ſwallowed, ſerves but to provoke the ſwallowing another, till the faculties are ſtupified.

After being heated in this climate with exerciſe in the ſun, I know not a more excellent remedy than a baſon of warm green tea, ſweetened with ſugar or ſyrup, with the addition of a ſpoonful of ſound old rum. This preſently reſtores the perſpiration, takes off the ſenſation of fatigue, and is cooling and refreſhing. But cold liquors, as punch, *&c.* drank at ſuch a time, are apt to ſuppreſs the perſpiration, increaſe heat, and bring on violent pains in the head, and ſometimes a fever.

9. The ſaccharine matter fermented in order to the making rum, produces in hot climates a copious quantity of *volatile oil*, which unites with the ſpirit *during fermentation*.

Part of this oil then combines with the ſpirit, and comes over in the courſe of diſtillation united with it.

The other part riſes uncombined, but unites by *ſlow* degrees *afterwards.* A proportion of volatile oil is likewiſe produced in the proceſs of diſtillation, by the action of the fire upon that ſaccharine matter in the diſtilling liquor, which has continued unchanged by fermentation, and adheres to the ſtill, *in form of what is generally called dunder.*

10. The volatile oil, which comes over uncombined, imparts to freſh diſtilled rum that rankneſs of ſmell and taſte, which are almoſt always found in it. And the aſtringent quality of the pure ſpirit, as yet not united in due proportion with this oil, cauſes that fiery pungency, which it remarkably poſſeſſes at that time.

11. But the union being afterwards perfected and matured, by due age, the rank taſte, ſmell, and acrid pungency, are then converted into ſuch as are grateful. The aſtringent and coagulating powers of the ſpirit, of courſe, are materially corrected, inſomuch that they ceaſe to be detrimental to thoſe perſons who drink it in fit moderation.

12. This dulcification is verified by an eaſy experiment. A piece of raw fleſh being ſteeped in brandy, another in rum, it is found, that the plumpneſs and ſoftneſs of the fleſh is much longer retained under the action of rum, than under that of brandy. Although brandy will harden it ſtill leſs than rectified ſpirit of wine, or alcohol.

13. Brandy is united with ſome portion of *acid*, but no *volatile oil.* It comes therefore nearer to *pure* ardent ſpirit, has not its noxious qualities corrected, and conſequently is very inferior to rum in ſalubrity.

14. There are inſtances where the freſh diſtilled rum has all the ſenſible good qualities that, in general, are only to be gained by the improvement of time and long keeping. This peculiarity has its cauſe in the volatile oil being of ſuch a nature, that the whole of it unites immediately with the ſpirit in the proceſſes of fermentation and diſtillation, and thus renders the rum perfect at the firſt.

§ This muſt be underſtood only in a certain degree. For the beſt ſpirit that can be made, when firſt drawn, is not without that fiery, pungent, acrid taſte before deſcribed, though it becomes diveſted of it in a much ſhorter time.

15. This

15. This materially depends on the right management of the diſtilling proceſs, taking care never to draw off the ſpirit or *runnings* too low; for whenever this happens, the concreted matter at the bottom of the ſtill will be apt to burn, and an *empyreumatic oil* comes over, which requires great length of time to make it unite with the ſpirit, and ſometimes it cannot be cured of this depravity by the longeſt keeping.

§ The beſt method for preventing ſuch an effect will be, to keep up an equal, and not too violent, fire, and to draw off the runnings for marketable uſe not a moment longer than while they continue perfectly limpid, colourleſs, or clear from any whitiſh cloud or tinge; a ſmall quantity of which is ſufficient to ſpoil the flavour of a whole puncheon of the ſpirit.

§ This milky tinge is the ſure criterion, to ſhew that a burnt or nauſeous empyreumatic oil is riſing, and that the rum is what is commonly called *ſtill-burnt*. It aſcends commonly towards the end of the operation. Some planters draw the runnings too long, from a miſtaken thrift of making the moſt they can, and thus perhaps depreciate the whole of their diſtillation. What firſt comes over is always the beſt, and, when diluted to the ſtandard proof with pure ſpring water, it makes the fineſt rum. In Jamaica, they generally mix the whole of the firſt runnings together, and diſtil or rectify them over again, reſerving alſo the low wines, or latter runnings, for the ſame purpoſe.

16. This empyreumatic oil is apt to diſagree with ſome ſtomachs, and cauſe the heart-burn. But the effect is rather an inconvenience than any injury. It only gives riſe to an unpleaſing ſenſation, but does no real prejudice to the health.

17. No ſpirituous liquor digeſts more kindly, or aſſiſts digeſtion more efficaciouſly, than *good rum*, ſufficiently diluted with water, and drank in *proper quantity*. The uſe of it has even been found effectual in ſome chronical caſes of bad digeſtion, where all other means of relief have failed.

The comparative effects of rum and brandy on the health have been noted at ſea, where they are particularly diſtinguiſhable; when it has happened, that, in failure of being able to procure the former, the

the latter has been ſubſtituted. The decline of health that has followed has been exceedingly conſpicuous on this change, from the uſe of rum to that of brandy; numbers of ſeamen contracting diſorders they were free from before.

§ Mr. *Kalm* mentions, that, in the North-American provinces, rum is eſteemed much wholeſomer than brandy; and he was told by *Major Rutherforth*, that, being upon the *Canada* expedition, he had obſerved that ſuch of his men as drank brandy for ſome time, died of it; but thoſe who drank rum were not hurt, though they got drunk with it every day, and oftener than the others.

The cauſe of this great difference is obvious from the foregoing remarks.

19. It is proper however that this ſpirit ſhould always be drunk in moderation. Whatever quantity infringes on ſobriety, and brings on any diſorder, ought to be diminiſhed. It is always proper likewiſe, that in the daily conſtant uſe of this ſpirit, it ſhould be diluted with water or other ſmall liquor, which will render it more mild and inoffenſive in its action on the ſtomach, and organs of ſecretion.

The too copious uſe of thoſe very aſtringent acids, the juice of limes and lemons along with ſpirits, has greatly promoted the injury done to the health of thoſe who have drunk them to exceſs, and in moſt habits they are apt to do miſchief. But the juice of oranges, and milder fruits, taken with ſuch ſpirits, is leſs noxious. Lemons and limes ought always to be admitted ſparingly and with the greateſt caution.

§ It is a very wrong and injudicious cuſtom in Jamaica, in taverns as well as private houſes, to uſe green limes in making punch; for lemons or Seville oranges are ſeldom made uſe of. The juice of green limes is of a very corroſive nature; and hence its efficacy in cleanſing foul ulcers. There is ſtrong reaſon to believe, that this moſt noxious ingredient is often productive of cramps and other ſpaſmodic complaints; and that its bad effects would be more ſeverely felt, if it were not that they are in ſome meaſure corrected by the ſugar which makes a part of the compoſition. The acid of this unripe fruit is ſo ſharp, that it excoriates the inteſtines, and

cauſes

cauſes bloody ſtools, if ſwallowed without any corrector [y]. But when they are ripe, their juice, having been thoroughly concocted by the ſun, becomes mild and inoffenſive, if uſed with a due proportion of ſugar; and experience ſhews, that all fruit may be more ſafely eaten, the more ſugar it contains.

The ſafer way is, to ſubſtitute the Seville orange, which grows wild in every part of this iſland, and might eaſily be propagated in ſufficient quantity on every plantation, or in the neighbourhood of the towns, for ſupplying the inhabitants.

It is a queſtion whether the addition, of the caſhoo fruit, which poſſeſſes an highly ſtyptic acid, be proper in punch? It communicates a pleaſant flavour, and perhaps the roaſting before it is uſed for this purpoſe may abate much of its aſtringency, which is ſo great in the crude fruit, that it has often performed a cure in dropſical complaints, occaſioned by the immoderate uſe of ſpirituous liquors; I ſhall not therefore haſtily condemn, what may poſſibly operate as an antidote in ſome degree to the bad effects of thoſe ſpirits.

It was a long time a vulgar prejudice, that the diſorder called the belly-ache was cauſed by drinking rum mixed with dark uncleanſed ſugar in punch. But it is morally certain that this was an erroneous opinion, and that the juice of unripe fruit, which was ſuppoſed the moſt harmleſs ingredient, was in fact the primary cauſe of this miſchievous conſequence in *many caſes* [z].

[y] If a fowl juſt killed, or a piece of butchers meat juſt ſlaughtered, is ſteeped before it is put on the ſpit, in the juice of unripe limes for ſome little time, or if the juice of three or four is ſqueezed into the water wherein ſuch fleſh is intended to be boiled, it will become ſo ſoftened as to be thorougly dreſſed in an hour's time. The Negroe cooks, who are to dreſs what is called here a *ſurprized fowl*, or one which is required to be roaſted or boiled with great expedition immediately after it is killed and plucked, pour lime-juice down the throat, and at the vent, to make the fleſh tender and eatable. The ſame effect is cauſed by the juice of the unripe papaw fruit, which is known to be highly cauſtic. An eminent phyſician for this reaſon adviſed, that the limes uſed for making punch ſhould be ſliced thin, and boiling water poured on them, to extract mucilage out of the ſeeds, which may prevent the acid from ſhutting up the neck of the gall-bladder; and he affirmed that it might be drunk with much more ſecurity by being ſo blended.

[z] Dr. Cheyne declares it the *ſole* cauſe. "In the *Weſt-Indies* (ſays he) where, from the neceſſity of drinking much, and from the *want of proper liquors*, they are forced to drink much *punch*, though lemons and oranges be in their full perfection, they are *univerſally* afflicted with nervous and *mortal* dry belly-aches, palſies, cramps, and convulſions, which *cut them off in a few days*, entirely owing to this *poiſonous* mixture." The doctor was ſadly miſtaken in theſe poſitions, and ſo he was told by a cotemporary writer. "If the Weſt-Indians are *univerſally* afflicted with theſe diſorders, and are *cut off in a few days*, how can any inhabitants remain alive? But if the

This diſorder is a ſpaſmodic affection of the bowels, which may proceed from the irritation of ſuch a corroding acid, or from a ſudden repulſe of the perſpiration after the body has been violently heated

" the *punch-drinkers* alone are meant, the doctor has been miſinformed; for the people in the " Weſt-Indies have plenty of wines from all the countries producing that commodity, and ale " and cyder from England, and are under no neceſſity of drinking punch for want of other liquors. " They make Madeira wine and water ſerve the common purpoſes of drinking, as we do ſmall " beer in England; nor is it to to be ſuppoſed that an opulent people, whoſe commerce obliges " them to have dealings with almoſt every country in Europe, would want any conveniency that " Europe can afford; nor can we imagine, without inſulting the good ſenſe of theſe people, that " they would indulge themſelves in a liquor ſo poiſonous and deſtructive to them, as the doctor " deſcribes punch to be, when they have ſo great a variety of other liquors that anſwer all the " ends of drinking. The dry belly-ache, which is ſo peculiar to that part of the world, attacks " the women as well as the men; yet the women there are particularly remarkable for their " temperance, and abſtinence from ſtrong liquors; and many of both ſexes, who never taſted " punch, or indulged in any ſtrong liquor in their lives, are afflicted with this diſtemper. Nor " is it true that it is mortal; going to a colder climate never fails to produce a cure, without " taking any other remedy; and this diſeaſe is ſo far from cutting them off in a few days, that " they who live ſoberly, when they are ſo afflicted, generally recover in a very little time; and it " will hold thoſe who continue the exceſſive uſe of ſtrong liquors many months, and even years, " before they are either killed by it, or cured of it." The laſt point is in regard to the fruit, lemons and oranges, which, the doctor ſays, are found in the utmoſt perfection in thoſe places; and of courſe he ſuppoſed, they were uſed only in that ſtate: but herein he was greatly miſtaken again; for whatever miſchievous effects theſe fruits have produced, have been owing entirely, either to the eating too large a quantity of them at a time, or to the uſe of ſuch as were not half ripe, and conſequently not in that ſtate of perfection which he has ſuppoſed. Dr. Trapham, in remarking on this diſorder, ingeniouſly obſerves, that the Eaſt-Indians, though living under much the ſame temperament of climate, are not afflicted with it; which exemption he aſcribes to their conſtant uſe of baths and unctions; by which the cutaneous pores are kept open for a free diſcharge of the perſpirable matter, and the origin of theſe ſpaſms thus ſet looſe, inſtead of being locked up. And upon this principle he ſtrongly recommends the uſe of warm and refreſhing baths, ſweetened with orange-flowers and the aromatic leaves of the country; more particularly after a journey, or other hard exerciſe; to which may alſo be joined dry-rubbing with flannel or a coarſe towel. This advice is ſtrongly ſupported by an obſervation which every one here muſt have made, *viz.* that the Negroes, and the white natives, who bathe every day, are rarely or ever ubject to this diſorder; and that warm bathing has generally procured relief and eaſe to patients labouring under it, when other remedies have failed. Trapham mentions a ſpecific for it, which had been proved efficacious by a vaſt number of trials; this is a ſpecies of *tithymalus*, Br. p. 234. called by Piſo, *Cajacia*, p. 102. ſnake-weed, or creeping-hairy-ſpurge. It is a ſmall, creeping, milky plant; its leaves not unlike thoſe of mint, but longer and narrower, of a dark-green colour; its ſtalk inclining to a reddiſhneſs, with ſmall fibres or hairy radicles; between its leaf, at the joints of the ſtalk, the flowers come out in ſmall bunches, and of a green colour. It is common in all the dry ſavannahs of Jamaica.

A drachm of the dried herb is given powdered in any convenient liquor, and repeated once in three or four hours till the uſual ſymptoms abate; or it may be made into a ſyrup, and given from one ounce to three, *pro re natâ*; likewiſe in decoctions and clyſters. He recommends it alſo to be infuſed or boiled in the medicated baths prepared for caſes of this nature.

with

with motion or hard drinking, by which ſome acrimonious humour is lodged upon them. Sailors who tope half rum, half water, till they are ſweating at every pore, and tumble almoſt naked on the open deck, or in a ſtreet, and there ſleep, expoſed to the damps of the night air and dew; or white ſervants on plantations, who follow the like ſottiſh practice; or others who are obliged to travel in the night, and after riding hard till a ſweat is excited, come on a ſudden to a ſteep hill, or a river, which conſtrains them to walk their horſes a gentle pace; or thoſe who are chilled by a ſudden rain; or who are too careleſs after violent dancing; all theſe perſons are liable to be afflicted with ſuch a ſpaſmodic diſorder. Hence it appears, that it may proceed from a variety of cauſes, and affect even the moſt ſober and temperate perſons, as is well known it does in Jamaica; and the *oleum ricini*, or *nut-oil*, which is uſed with ſo much ſucceſs in giving relief to thoſe afflicted with it, owes perhaps its efficacy to the opening, ſoothing, lubricating nature of its operation, by which it ſweeps away the acrid matter that was perpetually ſtimulating, ſupplies the want of *mucus*, to the abraded parts, and recompoſes the nerves, in conſequence of which the ſpaſm or convulſion ceaſes.

Let me now juſt recapitulate, for it cannot be repeated too often, the deſtructive effects of ſpirituous liquors *immoderately uſed*; for rum, though leſs pernicious than any other, is not leſs noxious in the end, when drank in exceſs for any conſiderable time.

When drank in this manner, they render the fibres of the body too rigid and tenſe. They communicate an acrimony to the animal fluids, and, not mingling freely with them, thicken, coagulate, and obſtruct their circulation, eſpecially in the ſmaller veſſels. They cauſe the liver and meſenteric glands to become ſchirrhous, render the bile tenacious and viſcid, deſtroy the appetite, hinder the excretion of the urine, and produce diſeaſes that terminate in untimely death [*a*]. The dropſy was formerly ſo common in Jamaica,

[*a*] Their corroſive action on the ſtomach and bowels may be imagined, from the effects obſerved on the hogs in Germany fed with the diſtillers waſh; their guts are ſo rotted, that the inhabitants cannot make hogs-puddings with them. To the ſame cauſe it is owing, that the fleſh of ſuch hogs becomes ſo tender that it will not keep by ſalting.

It is a known obſervation of expert dealers in hair for wigs, that they can diſtinguiſh the dram-drinkers hair by the touch, finding it dry, harſh, dead-ended, and unfit for uſe: and in the ſame

maica, that it went by the name of the *country diſeaſe*; it drew its origin from the practice of inebriating with raw rum, which in thoſe days was almoſt the only ſpirituous liquor the inhabitants were able to procure. It is now grown uncommon; the inhabitants are not only more temperate, but provide themſelves with Madeira wine, and a variety of other vinous liquors; drink leſs rum, and more diluted; perhaps too they are much improved in the art of diſtillation, and have produced ſome amendment in point of quality.

One of the beſt of all drinks for this climate is good water, mixed with a moderate quantity of ſound wine, as I have had before occaſion to remark; but as ſome cautions are neceſſary to direct the choice of ſuch water as is beſt accommodated to health and digeſtion; or to inſtruct the means of purifying and correcting it, when impregnated with noxious mineral or other particles; I ſhall conſider them in a ſeparate ſection.

WATER.

manner it is that it ſpoils the ſtomach and bowels, the liver and lungs, and the whole body, of thoſe unhappy perſons. Their ſtomachs are contracted into half the common natural ſize, and hardened like leather that has been held to the fire; the conſequence of which is a loſs of appetite, and a waſting conſumption.

The rage of mankind is ſuch for theſe liquors, that it is almoſt dangerous to ſay any thing in their behalf, leſt it ſhould be miſtaken for an encouragement to perſevere; and indeed it avails but little to preach up moderation in the uſe of them, to thoſe who will ſet no bounds to their ſottiſh habits from any ſenſe of their ill conſequence to health; ſuch beaſts muſt be reſtrained by meer force and authority, and debarred from the means of procuring ſo much as may do them injury, for they cannot or will not judge for themſelves within the line of common prudence.

It appeared from admiral *Knowles's* orders, when he commanded a fleet at *Boſton*, that his men got drunk with New-England rum at the rate of a *thouſand in a day*; and that 1400 New-England men were killed by it in two months; and in New Jerſey, where it is ſold very cheap, the people are ſo attached to it, that in harveſt-time they make it their bargain to have every man a *pint* a day, beſides wages.

Thoſe commanders therefore cannot be too much applauded, who have the prudence and humanity to oblige their men to drink ſpirits largely diluted with water; which, as I have before taken notice, was practiſed with the happieſt effect by admiral *Vernon*. Captain *Ellis* attributed to the ſame wiſe precaution, the uncommon ſucceſs he had in bringing home, in the years 1753 and 1755, all his white men, which were thirty-four, and thirty-ſix in health, from a *Guiney* voyage of fifteen months. Hales on Ventilators.

The ſame precaution ſhould be uſed by the commanders of the regular troops, and the overſeers of plantations in Jamaica. Nothing can more plainly evince the fatal effects of theſe exceſſes, than the general appearance and untimely end of moſt of the white men and Negroes employed in the diſtilling-houſes, who, as they can ſupply themſelves freely and without reſtraint, ſo they ſwill immoderate quantities of freſh diſtilled rum, piping hot from the worm; for they cannot

ſo

WATER.

SECT. VI.

Water, in its natural ſtate, is no where to be found entirely ſimple and pure; but it is generally treated of by authors, under two heads, common, and mineral. Common water admits of all thoſe various impregnations, which are not obvious to the ſmell or taſte, and have no ſenſible action on the human body. The impregnations in mineral waters will affect the body, and health, according to the properties of the ſubſtances diſſolved, or contained in them; and in proportion as the quantity of ſuch heterogeneous particles be greater or leſs. But it is to be obſerved, that this definition is not compleatly ſatisfactory: there is a middle claſs of water, which is uncompounded with any mineral or foſſile ſubſtance, and yet may contain particles imperceptible to the eye or taſte, different from what are uſually found in common water. It may, for example, contain the ſubtile *ova*, or *exuviæ*, of various inſects, or a volatile gas,

ſo well procure any better. They are bloated, pallid, emaciated, without appetite, and generally die of dropſies or conſumptions.

The overſeer ſhould never deliver an allowance of rum to the white ſervants to uſe at their pleaſure, unleſs he can rely on their diſcretion and ſobriety; it ought to be ſerved to them every day ready mixed with water; at leaſt this might be the conſtant ſure penalty of their being ever found inebriated.

The beſt way of leaving off a habit of dram-drinking is, by degrees to mix water with the drams; to leſſen the quantity of ſpirit every day, and keep to the ſame, or an encreaſed quantity of water, till, in about the courſe of a week, no ſpirit, or but very little, is uſed.

By this means the party will ſuffer no inconvenience, hut reap great benefit, as has been experienced by many.

If any gnawing is left in the ſtomach, a little warm broth is a good remedy.

The appetite always increaſes after leaving off this cuſtom of ſwilling raw ſpirit, unleſs by too long a continuance the tone of the ſtomach is deſtroyed.

In this melacholy ſtate,

Take One ounce of elixir proprietatis.
Three drachms of elixir of vitriol.
One drachm of Minſicht's elixir of ſteel: mix together.

A teaſpoonful of this mixture in a ſmall wine-glaſs of white-wine, or a cup of carduus or chamomile tea, every morning and evening taken faſting, is recommended * for the benefit of thoſe who have wiſdom or reſolution enough left to deſiſt from a pernicious *Exceſs* in theſe liquors, which cannot be long perſiſted in, without the greateſt miſchief to health; for ſuch perſons only it is meant; and not for thoſe infatuated wretches, who are blind to ſelf-preſervation, and wilfully ruſh into their grave.

* Hales.

injurious to health. It is of conſequence therefore, to have ſome *criteria*, whereby to diſtinguiſh any noxious qualities contained in water, that ſuch may be choſen as is beſt adapted to preſerve health. Philoſophy and experiment have inſtructed us in the means of making the diſcovery, in moſt reſpects; and likewiſe have pointed out thoſe waters, which deſerve a preference before others, for their lightneſs and ſalubrity.

Of all waters the atmoſpherical, or rain water, is the moſt light and ſimple; yet even this is found to contain ſome impregnations, diſcoverable by a chemical proceſs. Next to this, is ſpring water; which varies in purity and goodneſs, according to the nature of the ſoil through which it percolates; what riſes amidſt a rocky, gravelly, or chalky *ſtratum*, is generally moſt eſteemed. The water of wells, if fed by a ſubterraneous current, comes next in order; and improves, by ſtanding for ſome time expoſed to the air before it is drank. River water is not much to be recommended, unleſs ſome previous cautions are uſed in depurating, and preparing it for uſe; but of all waters, ſuch as is ſtagnant, found in lakes, ponds, or ditches, is the very worſt. I ſhall now apply theſe diſtinctions more particularly to Jamaica. The rain water here is experienced to be extremely light, pure, and wholeſome, collected in thoſe mountainous places where no ſprings are at hand; provided it is carried in clean gutters, into ſome reſervoir, or ſhaded place, which is not expoſed to the ſun at any time, nor open to inſects for depoſiting their eggs. When I was at St. John's Town in Antigua, ſome years ago, I obſerved moſt of the houſes were provided with ciſterns, for receiving the rain water which fell on the roofs; this water, from the multitude of muſkeetos which bred in it, the lizards, cockroaches, and other animals, that had fallen in, and the dirt waſhed down from the houſe tops, was feculent, and almoſt putrid. Such water, even boiling can ſcarcely accommodate to health. The water of many of the rivers in Jamaica is turbid, from the frequent heavy ſhowers that fall in the uplands, and flood them; in general therefore, their water ought to be kept for ſome days, until the clayey and other impure particles are entirely ſubſided, or that it is otherwiſe purified. The water of lagoons is

ſo fetid, that the ſenſes will ſufficiently caution againſt the admitting any of it into the ſtomach.

The moſt common impregnations in the Jamaica waters are,

On the South ſide — a foſſile muriatic ſalt, terrene particles, and particularly lime-ſtone.

On the North ſide — Terrene, argillaceous, ſtalactite matter, and chalk.

There are likewiſe, of the mineral claſs, ſuch as are known to be impregnated with iron and ſulphur; and others, that are ſuſpected to contain copper, lead, or allum.

1. BRACKISH, or Water impregnated with a Muriatic Salt,

Is diſcovered, by letting fall two or three drops of ſolution of ſilver (in *aqua fortis*) into a glaſs of it; when, if there is ever ſo ſmall a quantity of that ſalt, it will unite with the *aqua fortis*, and cauſe it to ſeparate from the ſilver, which will fall ſlowly in the form of a white cloud; and if the proportion of the ſalt be large, the cloud will have a curdled appearance, and a cœrulean caſt.

2. TERRENE Impregnation.

A few drops of oil of tartar will diſcover a ſuperabundance of earthy matter, by cauſing it to precipitate to the bottom of the glaſs, in a whitiſh cloud or ſediment.

3. CALCARIOUS and STALACTIC Matter.

Syrup of violets detects alcaline as well as acid particles; communicating to the water a greeniſh tinge, if an alcali, and red, if an acid predominates.

4. VITRIOLIC, CHALYBEATE, or IRON.

The milder acids, as vinegar and lemon-juice, poured into a chalybeate water, give it a ſweetiſh taſte. But the principal teſt of the iron impregnation, is the black colour it ſtrikes with a vegetable aſtringent, as tincture of galls; and the purple caſt when an alcaline ſalt, or lime water is added to the aſtringent; and which is of deeper hue in proportion to the larger mixture of the alcali. The galls of which the tincture is made, for purſuing this experiment, ſhould be blue, of the ſtrongeſt kind, freſh and ſound.

5. SULPHUR

is diſtinguiſhed by the taſte, and inflammability of the ſediment; and by the waters ſtriking a black colour, with a few drops of ſolution

ſolution of *ſaccharum ſaturni* in water; or ſolution of lead in the nitrous acid; by its ſudden tarniſhing of ſilver; and by the fetid ſmell reſembling a rotten egg, or ſcowerings of a foul gunbarrel, on dropping in ſolution of alcalis.

6. COPPER.

This is diſcovered by ſpirit of ſal ammoniac, made with quick-lime; which, if the ſmalleſt particles of copper are preſent in the water, cauſe it to aſſume a very beautiful blue colour. Iron precipitates this metal. A plate of iron laid in water, impregnated with copper, will ſoon be covered with an incruſtation of it.

7. LEAD

is not a native impregnation of mineral waters; it is generally found in the earth united with ſulphur in form of an ore. Waters, impregnated with its ruſt or mineral vapour, ſtrike a pink or red colour with *aqua fortis*, and are highly poiſonous; for which reaſon, on liquor ſhould ever be kept in leaded ciſterns or other veſſels, either for drink or preparing food. That lead, when diſſolved by fire, or corroded by an acid, emits poiſonous *effluvia*, is ſufficiently ſhewn by the diſeaſes incident to plumbers and painters. But much leſs heat than is required for melting lead, is capable of detaching ſuch pernicious *effluvia*. The heat in the bowels of the earth in this climate may be juſtly ſuſpected, eſpecially in Liquanea, and other parts where lead ore has been found to work this effect; ſo far at leaſt as to impregnate any ſprings of water, which circulate among this ore. Water alone, if not perfectly pure, is a ſufficient agent to cauſe a ſolution of the metallic poiſon; and has been found by experience to imbibe it largely. The noted colic of Amſterdam, which for a long time eluded the ſearch of phyſicians with reſpect to its cauſe, took its riſe from this poiſonous impregnation of the rain water, which was collected in leaden reſervoirs, after firſt lodging on flat leaded houſe roofs, upon which the leaves of trees had fallen in great abundance about autumn. Theſe excited a fermentation, which corroded the lead, and contaminated the water. *Tronchin* relates that whole families were ſeized with this dreadful colic: eleven perſons fell ill with it at once in one houſe; who, upon new covering the roof with other materials, and changing their water, recovered. Dr. Baker ſuſpects, that the lead uſed about the

works

works in our plantations, where ſugar and rum are made, is a principal cauſe of the Weſt-India colic, or belly-ache. But in this conjecture he ſeems to be greatly miſtaken; for, if this was true, the effects would always be certain and invariable; and thoſe only would be ſubject to that malady, who ſwallowed rum and ſugar in the largeſt quantities, which does not agree with obſervation or experience; ſince many are ſubject to it, who never drink any rum, and eat but very little ſugar. The drinkers of new rum are the moſt ſubject to it, the reaſon of which I have endeavoured to explain. Beſides, the cauſe is not proportioned to the ſuppoſed effect. It is true the mill-bed is covered with lead; but the metal ſuffers no abraſion, as in a Devonſhire cyder-mill, to which the Doctor's idea perhaps compared it. The cane liquor does not reſt upon it long enough, or with preſſure enough, to act upon the metal; it falls in ſmall quantities, and keeps on its progreſs, in a gentle ſmooth current to the gutter, which is commonly made of ſolid wood hollowed; and where one gutter joins another, the joint is ſometimes covered for the ſpace of two or three inches with a piece of lead, though more generally with clay. Two or three ſuch gutters at moſt are commonly long enough to reach the receiver in the boiling houſe, which is made entirely of wood; and there the liquor remains to ſettle, till it is wanted for the copper. If any ill effect can be ſuppoſed to ariſe from this metal in the proceſs, it can only happen from what is laid round the rim of the coppers, where it undergoes a conſtant great heat; and might poſſibly communicate its *effluvia* to the liquor, whenever it is ſuffered to boil ſo high as to come in contact with it. This the boilers in ſome meaſure prevent, by beating it conſtantly down with their ſkimmers; however it might be adviſeable, never to lay the lead low in the coppers. In the diſtilling houſe, this metal is never uſed in any ſhape; and, therefore, the rum cannot be ſuſpected to be impregnated with any of its *effluvia*, except what may come in the ſkimmings, which are but a ſmall part of the liquor uſed in diſtilling rum. Whether the ſkimmings have any ſuch impregnation, is a fact very queſtionable, and not very probable; but againſt a partial degree of impregnation, the oleaginous and laxative principles of ſugar appear to be a ſufficient preſervative; and hence it is found, that they who

eat *pan ſugar*, which is the hard cruſt formed about the mouth of the *tache*, and which cannot well be taken off without ſcraping at the ſame time into the very ſubſtance of the lead, do not ſuffer any of thoſe ſpaſmodic ſymptoms in their bowels after eating it, which the ruſt or *effluvia* of this metal are apt to cauſe, when combined with things which are not qualified to correct their natural effects. Dr. *Cremer* obſerved, that the potters at Oſterhout near Breda, though conſtantly employed in glazing earthen veſſels, were rarely affected with any diſorder in their bowels; which exemption he attributes to the large quantities of butter and fat bacon, which are their ordinary food; ſo experience has taught the labourers in lead mines, to fortify their ſtomach, and inteſtines, with fat broths, and ſuch like unctuous aliments, which are antidotes to this poiſon.

The vapour ariſing from the ſmelted ore at the mines in Mendip Hills, in Somerſetſhire, is ſo poiſonous, that if it ſweeps the ground adjacent, it affects the graſs in ſuch a manner, as to deſtroy cattle or ſheep that browze on it. There is a *flight*, or light ſubſtance, which floats in the ſmoak; and this, if it chances to mix with the water in which the ore is waſhed, and carried away with the ſtream, is ſaid to have deſtroyed cattle, that have drunk of it after a current of three miles.

The diſorders to which the workmen are ſubject, are pains in the ſtomach, violent contorſions of the bowels, obſtinate coſtiveneſs, aſthmas, and ſhortneſs of breath, vertigos, paralytic affections, loſs of appetite, ſickneſs, and frequent vomitings.

The ſoil about theſe mines is red and ſtoney; and the ſtones waſhed by the brooks and ſprings, are of a reddiſh caſt and very ponderous: I cannot preciſely anſwer, whether the ſoil about the Liquanea lead mines has a conformity in this reſpect. It ſeems, from the foregoing account, that a ſtrong degree of heat is required to diſengage this pernicious fume; the ſubterraneous heat is ſufficient for ſuch an effect in ſome places, where there are *ſtrata* of particles qualified to produce it by their fermentative action. No doubt too, but ſtones containing this mineral, if lying upon and very near the ſurface expoſed to a Tropical ſun, may cauſe this poiſonous vapour to be emitted or perſpired in ſome degree; and, mixing with the air, may render it unwholeſome; but we have no certain proof, that

with twenty creditors inſtead of one. Let him above all things endeavour to fix his negociations with a merchant of eſtabliſhed character, known probity, and extenſive trade, either in Britain, or Jamaica; let him cultivate that merchant's eſteem and confidence, by candour, openneſs, ſincerity, and all poſſible punctuality; this once attained, he need not fear to have all the ſcope of credit allowed him, that any reaſonable man can expect; nor need he fear to obtain extraordinary aſſiſtance, if any unforeſeen calamity ſhould befall his affairs. As for thoſe unhappy planters who have unguardedly involved themſelves in diſtreſs, by relying too credulouſly on fair words, and empty proffers of ſervice; and who would fain pay their juſt, as well as *unjuſt* debts, if they could; and want only a moderate allowance of time, which their inſatiable and perſecuting factor refuſes to grant; let me recommend to all who are in this predicament, to mortgage their eſtate, without delay, to a merchant of known integrity: it is better even to truſt a man of reputed integrity, than a notorious pick-pocket: it is better to bear the burthen and heat of the day for the *gentleman*, than the *villain*. To conclude, let them ſhudder at the thought of giving up their labour and inheritance to fugitive tranſitory ſtrangers, whoſe regard for them, or the land in which they live, extends no further than the proſpect of exacting a ſpeedy and competent fortune out of both; on which they have in view, to maintain themſelves comfortably in ſome other part of the world. In the iſland, the merchant of fixed reſidence, large capital, and liberal ſentiments, ſhould be ſought after, in preference to theſe birds of paſſage: in forming a connexion with a merchant in Britain, the choice may be regulated by the advice of ſome opulent and experienced planter; and although mock-merchants are to be found even here, yet, for the generality, the Weſt India merchants in Britain are men tenacious of their character, and abhorrent of mean practices; theſe are the men, who, ſatisfied with holding a reſponſible ſecurity in the property and toils of the planter, will patiently contribute their ſupport till his mine is dug, and the ore brought to that degree of perfection in the furnace, as to enrich and recompenſe both parties [*d*].

SECT.

[*d*] Since the foregoing was written, the *act* (*13th Geo. III. cap.* 14.) paſſed, "for encouraging "the ſubjects of foreign ſtates to lend money upon the ſecurity of freehold and leaſehold eſtates in "any of his Majeſty's colonies in the *Weſt Indies*, *&c.*"

SECT. VI.

The courſe of exchange between Jamaica and Britain, was formerly 35 *l. per cent.*, but ſince raiſed to 40 *l.*; at which it has remained

Whilſt this act was in agitation, the aſſembly of Jamaica, being apprized of its tendency, paſſed a bill to the ſame effect, only allowing 6 *l. per cent.* intereſt, inſtead of 5 *l. per cent.*, which clearly ſhewed, that their ſentiments were in favour of the project. Some little oppoſition however was made to the act of parliament while in its progreſs; becauſe, ſeveral evil conſequences were apprehended, as well from letting *aliens* into the poſſeſſion of property in our colonies, as admitting them to ſhare in the profits of conſignment; and ſome other objections were alſo taken upon other accounts, which ſeemed to have been grounded upon the tenor of the act, as it was at firſt framed. Theſe objections were over-ruled, and the act, after ſeveral material alterations, was exhibited in its preſent form, which is leſs exceptionable.

It took its riſe from the diſtreſſed condition of many principal landholders and ſettlers in the *ceded iſlands*, who had purchaſed their lands at a very exorbitant price, and borrowed largely to ſettle them: the returns being no way anſwerable to the ſanguine expectations they had formed, they became in courſe very deeply involved in debt, both to the crown, and to monied men in England, who ſaw no chance of being paid, except by ſupporting this ſcheme; as ſome monied men in Holland, who had caſh to lend at 5 *l. per cent.* (which is much more than they could make of it abroad), were inclinable to put it out upon mortgage in our iſlands, provided they could be ſecured by a law in a due mode of recovery.

It was urged (among other arguments) in favour of the act, "That the lands in the new ceded iſlands were purchaſed at a vaſt price; that, by the late bankruptcies in the kingdom, money was grown ſo ſcarce and valuable, that all the channels in which it uſed to flow into the colonies were ſtopped up, and the poor ſettler left incapable of carrying his eſtate to any tolerable perfection, or of complying with his engagements, for want of being able to procure money for the neceſſary ſupplies, ſtock, and advances.

"That not above a *tenth* part of the lands in thoſe iſlands was yet brought under cultivation; and of that tenth, one *third* belonged to perſons who had not yet erected works, nor were able to do ſo, unleſs aſſiſted by loans.

"That there being *not the leaſt proſpect* of ſettling them by means of any funds then within the *Britiſh* dominions, the greateſt part of them muſt revert to the crown without being paid for, and remain uncultivated and uſeleſs, unleſs loans were procured.

"That the increaſed quantity of money by means of foreign loans, would produce the happieſt effects upon the Britiſh ſhipping, commerce, and manufactures, by finding more employment for the firſt, more materials for the ſecond, and more extenſive conſumption for the laſt.

"That foreign loans would not tend to raiſe the price of Negroes or utenſils; for that the planters, with money in their hands, would be enabled to make more punctual and regular payments, be ſupplied better, and at a cheaper rate than they were at that time.

"That ſuch loans would not lower the price of ſugar. For, although the produce of our colonies may be greatly increaſed by them; yet, the *increaſe* will be *gradual* and *ſlow*; beſides, the conſumption of ſugar is thought to be every day increaſing in Europe and America, and will continue to do ſo. That the principal part of the increaſed quantity of ſugar has come from Jamaica and Granada; both of which are now *in their prime*; and *that it is high time their younger ſiſters ſhould be uſhered into the world*, and accompliſhed as children of the ſame parent. That ſome of the old iſlands are daily falling off, and *Dominica* is more adapted to the culture of coffee and cacao, than ſugar. That the additional quantity, therefore, to be expected from St. Vincent and Tobago, cannot be thought capable of influencing the market, when we conſider the rapid increaſe of population in

our

remained unvaried for many years: this has been aſcribed to its numerous and valuable productions, and the money imported from the neighbouring fountain heads. The coins formerly current here are

our American colonies; and ſince this article is deemed by the very loweſt claſs of the people, in the remote parts of Great Britain and Ireland, as a real neceſſary of life. That it is likewiſe making its way into the extenſive empire of *Ruſſia*, which (it is ſuppoſed) may, in a few years, take off from us an *immenſe quantity* of that produce; ſo that the proprietors of eſtates in the *old iſlands* need not fear any diminution of price from any increaſe of quantity in the new iſlands; which, there is the *greateſt* reaſon to believe, will not keep pace with the increaſe of conſumption."

Theſe are the moſt material illuſtrations I have ſeen upon the ſubject; from whence it is very evident, that the *new iſlands* were meant to be ſerved at the expence of the *old*; and, notwithſtanding the inferences are plauſible, yet there is much remains to be proved, that is taken for granted, and muſt be left to the teſt of time and experience. The great ſtroke was, to pay off a very large debt, contracted by the *new ceded iſlands*; and money ſtood engaged in Holland for that purpoſe: but it is not ſo certain, that the Dutch will advance large capital ſums to the other iſlands that may be deſirous of borrowing; or, that ſuch loans will redound, *in the end*, ſo greatly to the advantage of the kingdom, as has been ſpecioufly repreſented. The beſt to be hoped from the ſcheme is, that if there is really that want of money in the kingdom, the Weſt India merchants or middle-men may borrow from foreigners, to lend out in the colonies; and if they can take up their loans at 3½*l.* or 4 *l. per cent.*, there will be a ſaving to the nation annually of 1½*l.* or 1 *l. per cent.* on the ſcore of *intereſt*. But taking the matter the other way, it is acknowledged, that moſt of the produce from our Weſt India iſlands is ſpent or conſumed in Great Britain and Ireland; if foreigners therefore advance upon the credit of this act to our planters, without the intervention of a *middle-man*, it is clear, they will gain or draw from this kingdom annually 5 *l. per cent.* on the ſums ſo advanced; which will be in a proportionably large amount to the principal lent.

If we rate this principal at *two millions ſterling*, I believe it will be thought not too much for what may be wanted at an average in all our iſlands; for we may be aſſured, that the call there for loans will increaſe in proportion to the facility of meeting with money-lenders; but eſtimating the whole at two millions, the annual ſum then drawn out of the kingdom by foreigners will be 100,000*l.*; and as it is certain this loſs muſt fall upon the national ſtock, ſo this act operates really in the ſame manner, as if the *nation* (not her *Weſt India* ſettlers) had borrowed the money; it makes no difference in the balance of political arithmetic; and then the matter comes to this queſtion, Whether the nation might not have borrowed ſo much money upon a lower intereſt, *i. e.* upon more advantageous conditions? and what will be her genuine profit *per annum* (deducting 100,000*l.*) upon the increaſed quantity of produce to be made in conſequence of this loan, ſuppoſing ſhe ſhould conſume all that increaſed quantity herſelf, and re-export *none* to *Ruſſia*? I ſhould be glad to ſee theſe queſtions ſatisfactorily anſwered. Moreover, I much doubt the truth of the grounds upon which ſome other of the poſitions are built. I doubt if there is really that want of money in the kingdom; or whether, if the colonies had offered 6*l. per cent.*, which is 1*l. per cent.* better than the money-lenders in Great Britain can make by lending at home, they might not have been ſupplied with all that was *abſolutely neceſſary* for them, without any loſs to the nation. The contrary, I know, is ſtated in the preamble of the act, in order to juſtify the meaſure; but, although the parliament may be ſaid, on this account, to have recognized the fact, yet, I believe, there are few perſons who ſeriouſly regard it in this light. Upon the very principles of the arguments urged, the ſlower and more gradual the increaſe of produce advances, the longer will the loan continue unpaid, and the more money will go out of the kingdom for intereſt. If it be ſaid, that the alien will take his remedy, and recover his principal by bringing the mortgaged premiſes to a ſale; this is not likely to happen ſo long as he can receive punctual payment of 5 *l. per cent.* intereſt;

are ſpecified in the following table, with their rates, as the ſame were regulated by act of aſſembly, paſſed in 1681.

Gold coin.	Silver.	Sterl. val.		Val. in curr.		Val. in preſent curr. proportioned to the ſterl.	
		s.	*d.*	*s.*	*d.*	*s.*	*d.*
Spaniſh Doubloon or French Piſtole,	—	15	4¾	20	0	21	6½ 6/10
	Piece of Seville, Mexico or French Ecu,	3	10¼	5	0	5	4¾ 1/2
	Peru piece of eight,	3	1	4	0	4	3¾ 1/2

And

but it will be his beſt advantage to let the incumbrance reſt at the option of the borrower; and as the act gives an effectual mode of proceeding againſt the borrower, ſo the latter will think himſelf under a ſtronger obligation to pay his intereſt punctually, that he may claim the longer time for payment of the principal; which he will be in no hurry to diſcharge, ſo long as any part of his eſtate remains unimproved.

That this act may be of ſervice to many diſtreſſed ſettlers who have good lands, I do not doubt; but, in a general *national* view, I can only regard it as an opportunity given to foreigners, of lending upon the higheſt ſecurity of the *national faith*, in order to gain more in this channel, than they are able to gain by purchaſing into the public funds of this, or any other ſtate in Europe.

It may be acceptable, after what has been ſaid, to give the heads of this act:

Cl. 1. ſtates the difficulty of procuring loans from the ſubjects of this kingdom, and enacts that aliens may lend money on ſecurity of eſtates in his Majeſty's Weſt India colonies, at intereſt *not exceeding 5l. per cent. per annum.*

2. That, in caſe of non-payment, ſuits may be brought and proſecuted by ſuch aliens, or their attornies, at common law, or in the court of chancery in the reſpective colony, praying a decree for ſale; and the plaintiff or complainant be entitled to the ſame remedy for debt and coſts due, as any Britiſh ſubject, except obtaining directly or indirectly the actual poſſeſſion of the mortgaged premiſes.

3. The court of chancery may decree the ſale of ſuch mortgaged premiſes, where the mortgager has conſented to a ſale.

4. Service of writ or proceſs of the court on the known attorney or agent of ſuch alien reſiding within the juriſdiction, to be deemed good ſervice; and, in caſe the defendant ſhall not appear and anſwer, the court, upon coming in of the maſter's report, may make a final decree for payment with intereſt.

5. The alien mortgagee refuſing to receive payment of the ſum when lawfully tendered, the mortgager is, in that caſe, to pay the ſame into the bank of England, with the privity of the accountant-general of the high court of chancery of England, purſuant to the method directed by act 12 Geo. I. and according to the general rules of court, and of act 12 Geo. II. for the benefit of the mortgagee, his executors, &c. and to be veſted in government ſecurity.

6. A

And all their fractions, or minor aliquot pieces, were proportionably rated. The act of parliament paſſed 6 Queen Anne (1707) ch. 30, in order to remedy the inconveniences that attended the different rates, at which the ſame ſpecies of foreign ſilver coin were current in the American colonies, endeavoured to reduce them all to the following ſtandard rate, according to which it enacted they ſhould paſs for the future, *viz.*

	Dwts.	Gra.	Sterl. val.	Value at 140 *l. per cent.* exch.
Seville piece of eight, old plate, of	17	12	4*s.* 6*d.*	6*s.* 3½*d.*
Ditto, —— new ——	14	0	3 7½	5 0½
Mexico, —— ——	17	12	4 6	6 3½
French Ecu, —— ——	17	12	4 5	6 2½
Peru piece of eight, ——	17	12	4 6	6 3½

The halfs, quarters, and other parts, in proportion to their denomination, and light pieces according to their weight. It likewiſe ordained, that Seville, Pillar or Mexico pieces of eight, of full weight, ſhall paſs for 6*s.* a piece in current money; and that Peru pieces of eight, and dollars, ſhall be regulated according to this ſtandard table. This act was not attended with the ſucceſs expected from it, for trade will break through every reſtraint of this nature; the different circumſtances of theſe colonies, in reſpect to their balance of trade, and the means or opportunity of ſupplying themſelves with ſilver coin; their having none other but *foreign coin* for their circulation and export; and of courſe the fluctuating value of the ounce of ſilver among them, have cauſed them to deviate very conſiderably from this ſtandard. If we ſuppoſe, for example, the following to be the rates of exchange now in uſe with the ſeveral colonies mentioned, and take the ſtatute rate of 5*s.* 6*d.* ſterling, as the ſtandard value of the ounce of ſilver; a clearer judgement will be formed how greatly the colonies have been obliged, by the neceſſities of their trade and ſituation, to vary from it.

6. A certificate of the accountant-general, under his hand, for the payment, to be a good and effectual diſcharge to the mortgager.

7. And until the mortgagee, or his repreſentative, ſhall petition the high court of chancery for an order to receive the ſum ſo paid into the bank, the accountant-general is to place the ſame in government ſecurity, and from time to time pay the dividends, intereſt, &c. ariſing from it, to the perſon entitled to the ſum ſo paid in.

8. The ſaid court of chancery, upon a petition in a ſummary way from the mortgagee, or repreſentative, to order payment of ſuch ſum.

9. This to be deemed and adjudged a public act.

Rate

	Rate of Exchange.	Current value of the dollar.	Proportional of current value of oz. silver.	Standard value of the oz. silver sterl. changed into curr. according to the rate of exch.
		s. d.	s. d.	s. d.
Boston,	133⅓	6 0	6 11	7 4
New York, East Jersey, Nevis, Montserrat,	175	8 0	9 2¾	9 7½
Pennsylvania, West Jersey, Antigua, St. Kitt's,	165	7 6	8 7¾	9 1
Virginia,	125	5 7	6 6	6 10½
Maryland, North Carolina,	145	6 6	7 6	7 11½
South Carolina,	700	33 0	38 1	38 6
Jamaica,	140	6 6	7 6	7 8¾
Barbadoes,	135	6 0	6 11	7 5
Quebec, Montreal, Halifax, Annapolis,	110	5 0	5 9¾	6 0½

The foreign coins at present used here in circulation are,

Gold.	Silver.	Weight. dwts.	grs.	Value sterling. £.	s.	d.	Current value. £.	s.	d.
Spanish doub. doubloon, milled,		17	8	3	9	4	5	0	
Ditto, Ditto, doubloon, hammered,							4	15	
Ditto doubloon, milled,		8	16	1	14	8	2	10	
Ditto ditto, hammered,							2	7	6
Ditto pistole, milled,		4	8		17	4	1	5	
Ditto ditto, hammered,							1	3	9
Ditto half pistole, milled,		2	4		8	8		12	6
Ditto ditto, hammered,								11	10½

Gold.	Silver.	Weight. dwts.	grs.	Value ſterling. l.	s.	d.	Current value. l.	s.	d.
Ditto quarter ditto, milled,		1	2		4	4		6	3
Ditto ditto ditto, hammered,								5	11¼
	Mexican dollar,	17	8		4	8		6	6
	Half ditto,	8	16		2	4		3	3
	Quarter ditto,	4	8		1	2		1	7½
	Eighth ditto,	2	4			7			9¼
	Cobs [e], or hammered pieces of 8,							5	0
N. B. Guineas and Moidores, Tab. VII.	Pieces of 4 ryals,							2	6
	Pieces of 2 ditto, or piſtorins,							1	3
	Ryal or bit,								7½

The Spaniſh milled dollars are generally of full weight. The Spaniards are ſo exact in adjuſting this money to 17 dwts. 8 grs. that a very great quantity of them, upon examination, has been found to fall very little different from this ſtandard, at an average. I have not noticed the weights of the hammered gold or ſilver pieces, their alloy being different from the other marketable milled pieces, and ſo much clipped, filed, and depreciated, as to be greatly below the value at which they are ſuffered to paſs current. The milled double doubloons, having been raiſed by an act of aſſembly ſome years ago 5*s.* each above the hammered, have continued ever ſince at this advanced rate, by general conſent of the inhabitants, although that act was diſallowed by his Majeſty. They were led into, and ſtill remain in, this error from a vain notion, that advancing the price is the means of keeping them in the iſland: I have already endeavoured to ſhew the fallacy of ſuch meaſures; in conſequence of which, the iſland in fact is impoveriſhed 6 *per cent.* for every one hundred pounds worth of this coin that is brought into circulation. The piſtorins and half piſtorins, if of full weight, are not fit for a remittance to Europe, as they are coarſe ſilver, at leaſt 6*d.* *per* ounce ſterling under ſtandard ſilver; their baſeneſs is ſufficiently diſtinguiſhed by their black complexion. For this reaſon, they have eſcaped the fate of the better coins, and are per-

[e] From *Coba*, Spaniſh cant word for a ryal.

mitted

mitted to remain in the iſland, where, together with the old hammered dollars, pieces of eight, and ryals, which are ſo much diminiſhed by wear, clipping, and ſweating, as not to be exportable, they form the chief part of the ſilver in preſent circulation. It is not ſurpriſing, that the dollars ſhould eagerly be bought up, with theſe piſtorins and ryals, for exportation; but rather, as the profit is ſo large, we ſhould wonder that a ſingle milled dollar, of full weight, remains in the iſland; for 624 of theſe ryals, intrinſically not worth more than 17 *l.* 14 *s.* 4 *d.* will buy ſixty dollars intrinſically worth here 19 *l.* 10 *s.* currency. There is no country, perhaps, where the coins in circulation are more in need of a ſtrict examen and reformation than in this iſland. When the Spaniards were in poſſeſſion of it, it is ſuppoſed their circulation was almoſt wholly carried on with copper money. Large quantities of it, ſtamped ſomewhat like the piſtorins, have been dug up in Spaniſh Town, the hills adjacent to it, and other parts; but no gold nor ſilver coin was ever found, that I have heard of; nor does it appear, that the Engliſh forces, who conquered the iſland, acquired any booty of this ſort; it is probable therefore, that either the Spaniards poſſeſſed none, or that what they had was carried away with them when they retired to Cuba. It is certain, that when they firſt withdrew, they were in expectation of being reinſtated again, which perhaps induced them to bury their copper money; and this ſeems further confirmed by the report of ſome Spaniards, who have ſince declared, that a liſt of theſe interments, with the marks by which they might be diſcovered, is ſtill preſerved in a regiſter at Cuba, by way of aſcertaining and perpetuating the claim of the deſcendants under the original proprietors. Theſe copper pieces are extremely thin, and equal in weight to about one farthing each ſterling; ſome of them are divided or cut ſo as to be current at $\frac{1}{2}$, $\frac{1}{3}$, and $\frac{1}{4}$ of the whole; and in general, they are ſo much worn, ſo effaced with age and corroſion, that the characters and letters upon them are almoſt undiſtinguiſhable. I have ſubjoined a delineation of one of the more perfect, and the reverſes of two others. The inſcription appears to be, CAROLVS ET JOANNA, HISPANIARVM REX ET REGINA; Charles and Johanna, King and Queen of the two Spains (the Old and the New); for Mexico, or Nova Hiſpania, was, long before the æra of this coin, annexed to the Spaniſh dominion. Some of the pieces ſeem inſcribed with Joanna only, others with Ferdinand and Joanna,

and

Whenever at a loſs to find out the cauſe, or nature, of a diſtemper (which generally was the caſe), a doſe of laudanum was the firſt piece of artillery he brought into the field, to begin the attack. If the ſymptoms ſtill left him doubtful, *repetatur doſus!* laudanum again, either *per ſe*, or jumbled with a new mixture, to raiſe the credit of his ſkill, and prevent detection. Thus the ſiege went briſkly on, with laudanum, to the end of the campaign, until the patient's life, or conſtitution at leaſt, was fairly ſapped, and compelled to ſurrender at diſcretion. As *opium* was his grand ſpecific for all hyſterical and nervous ailments, as well as others where the ſymptoms puzzled the doctor's imagination; ſo mercury was lugged in by the head and ſhoulders, to ſave his credit, in all caſes of cuticular eruptions, belly-achs, and topical inflammations. If mercury failed, after a bill of one or two hundred piſtoles, "The de-"vil's in this obſtinate diſeaſe!" cried Apozem; "it is not, ſure, "in the power of phyſic to conquer it! There's no remedy left, "Sir, but to flee to Bath, or change the climate!" This was the laſt reſource of his art; for he reaſoned thus: "I ſhould be a con-"ſummate blockhead, indeed, to put the finiſhing ſtroke to this "buſineſs, and ſo blow myſelf up at once. No! let my patient "periſh at Bath, or on the road thither! or ſail for Britain, and die "in his hammock! If death ſhould lay hold of him, after he is "diſcharged out of my hands, *thou canſt not ſay I did it!*" Thus argued Mr. Apozem; and thus did he extricate himſelf from many a troubleſome ſcrape. It was a great misfortune to the public, that his father had not kept him long enough at ſchool to acquire a ſmattering of Latin: it was, indeed, no leſs inconvenient to himſelf, and multiplied his difficulties on many occaſions. But true genius leaps over every ſtumbling-block; and, what he could not conſtrue with the help of Cole's dictionary, he always gueſſed at as well as he was able. No man, ſurely, could have done more. It is needleſs to ſay, that he never boaſted his ſkill in decyphering a common *formula*, or Latin preſcription. He condemned the folly of writing receipts for health in an unknown tongue; and one might as well have ſent him an inſcription taken from one of the ruins at Palmyra. After puzzling his brain for half an hour in vain, to diſcover the meaning, he uſually mixed up ſome horrid

hotchpot of his own invention, in order to comply with vulgar prejudice, and leave no room to ſuſpect that he had not compleated a grammatical and claſſical education. It was enough for him, if he could but luckily explain the laſt words of a preſcription, to diſtinguiſh a *fiat bolus* from a *fiat hauſtus*. Under the auſpices of theſe qualifications, the following eſcape of a patient may be conſidered as almoſt miraculous. A certain gentleman was troubled with an eruption on his ſkin; and, having a ſmattering of medical knowledge, he took upon him to be his own phyſician, wrote a Latin preſcription for a liniment, in which *ſulph. vivum* was the principal ingredient; and diſpatched it to be made up by Mr. Apozem. Our hero pored over it for ſome time with great attention; and, concluding at length that *ſulph. vivum* and *argent. vivum* were couſin-germans, compounded a mercurial ointment; with which the patient unthinkingly beſmeared himſelf from head to foot: but, in a ſhort time, he became convinced of his error; the eruption ſtruck in; he gave himſelf up for a dead man; and, indeed, did not come off without a violent fit of illneſs, which had nearly coſt him his life. I cannot, without horror, reflect on the multitudes who have quietly deſcended into their grave, leaving the frauds impoſed upon them undetected. It was always a maxim with Mr. Apozem, "that the dead tell no tales."—"My reputation," (thought he) "is ſafe, under the authority of a diſtemper which "is often known to be mortal. But, if that won't ſerve my turn, "I'll ſay the patient was *ſulky*, and determined not to live; or "that he was *faint-hearted*; or had a bad habit of body; or had "lived too free in his youth; or wanted a *ſtamen*; or that *ſome-*"*thing* broke within him; or—any other reaſon why." Under ſuch prudent *ſalvos* did Mr. Apozem, "not having the fear of "God before his eyes, but moved and ſeduced by the inſtigation of "the Devil," go on to ravage and deſtroy the human ſpecies, with as little remorſe and ſhame as Alexander the Great, or the greateſt ſlaughterers of antiquity. His utmoſt dread was the decline of ſuch bloody buſineſs; his principal wiſh, the quick ſale and conſumption of his drugs, which were rotten or ſophiſticated: though, bad as they were, he generally made a profit of one thouſand *per cent.* upon them in the retail way. The ſale of theſe poiſons

formed

formed the moſt gainful part of his buſineſs; though he was, occaſionally, a phyſician, apothecary, ſurgeon, man-midwife, dentiſt, phlebotomiſt, farrier, &c. He profeſſed every branch, knew as much of one as of another, underſtood none: and, thus accoutred, he was ready at all calls, and engaged in the cure of diſtempers, whoſe names he had never heard before. He had a happy manner of diſcuſſing the *rationale* of any diſeaſe, of which I ſhall give a ſpecimen that does him honour. He was ſitting one day by the bed-ſide of his patient, whom the hero had over-doſed with a purgative, which cauſed fifteen evacuations in a few hours; and, the irritation ſtill continuing, the very *mucus* of his bowels came away. The patient, alarmed at this appearance, languid and almoſt ſpent, having taken no ſuſtenance all the day, for want of ſome reſpite from his agony, requeſted the doctor to inform him of the cauſe of the laſt mucilaginous diſcharge. "Oh," quoth Apozem, with an air of moſt ſolemn ſagacity, "it is nothing more than the ſuper-"fluous juices of the blood, Sir, which are following the operation "of the *bolus*, Sir; 'tis a ſure diagnoſtic that the medicine has "worked critically, and that the morbid acrimony of the *primæ* "*viæ* is depurated from the abdominal emunctories." Mr. Apozem continued in this ſtrain till he had talked his patient faſt aſleep by dint of hard words; in which comfortable ſtate he ſoftly left him, to recruit his waſted ſpirits.

Mr. Apozem was a profeſſed enemy to regular phyſicians, becauſe none, who valued their good name and reputation, would be concerned with him; for they never could have the ſatisfactory aſſurance, that a ſingle ingredient of their preſcriptions would ever enter into Mr. Apozem's manufactures. It was impoſſible they could meet with ſucceſs; for, when they preſcribed one thing, Apozem was ſure to compound and adminiſter ſomething very different: ſo that, in deſpight of all their learning and aſſiduity, the patient was morally ſure of dying. When the manner of the death came to be the ſubject of converſation, Apozem laid it, with a ſhrug of his ſhoulders, at the phyſician's door: "the poor man "died *regularly!*" After a few ſuch examples, the preſcriber loſt his buſineſs; and Apozem was ſent for in his ſtead. I have often thought, that, conſidering the deſolation which Apozem ſpread

through the country, and the many hundred victims which he ſacrificed every year, there ariſes a very ſtrong evidence of the ſalubrity of the climate, which of itſelf is pregnant with but few endemial diſeaſes; and theſe are pretty well underſtood by phyſicians of any tolerable education and experience; ſo that, had it not been for the activity of Mr. Apozem, the proportion of ſuch as might have owed their *exit* fairly and truly to the climate, during the time he flouriſhed here, would have been too inſignificant to cauſe the ſmalleſt ſurprize.

Mrs. Apozem (for our hero thought meet to take unto him a wife, in hopes of making ſome reparation to ſociety for the thouſands he had ſent out of the world) was a religious, good ſort of a woman, and would very often give him wholeſome admonition. "I would adviſe you, my dear Mr. Apozem, ſaid ſhe, to turn from your evil "ways, and honeſtly confeſs your ignorance, by refuſing to preſcribe "for diſorders, to which you know you are as much a ſtranger as "myſelf. Surely this would be more humane in you, than to go on "at this rate, wilfully and conſciouſly adminiſtering your ſlops to the "deſtruction of your fellow creatures. Ignorance is never criminal, "except when it does miſchief; and then, if it is unchecked, God only "knows where it will ſtop. It is true, you think to ſuppreſs your "qualms of conſcience by alledging, that you do not diſpenſe your "ſtuff with a downright direct intention to wound or kill; but, if the "effect is generally hurtful, what does your intention ſignify in the "ſight of God? If you was to ſtand in the middle of a crowd with a "loaded gun in your hand, and diſcharge it with your eyes ſhut, "would this acquit you of the damage that enſued; you might ſay, "I took no aim, I poſitively did not fire at any particular perſon, and "therefore did not intend to kill the poor man who happened to be "ſtruck with the ball: but, I am afraid, this excuſe would not ſatisfy "a jury, they would moſt undoubtedly call it *murder*, and, after all "the logic of your diſtinction, you certainly, my dear, would be "hanged, which heaven forbid! for in ſhort, although you did not "poſitively intend to kill Dick or Tom, yet you conſciouſly did an "act, which, your own mind muſt have ſuggeſted, was not perfectly "innocent, conſidering the fatal effect it would in all human probability occaſion." Mr. Apozem uſed to hear theſe harangues pretty frequently, and ſometimes he would even promiſe amendment; but ſo

flinty was his breaſt become by inveterate habit, that the dying groans of a patient never coſt him a ſingle pang; and he grew more hardened in proportion as he ſuffered no loſs, either in buſineſs or character, from ſuch misfortunes; ſo fertile was his invention, in ſhifting the blame from his own hands. Thus, like a ſkilful archer, he dealt his arrows from behind a buſh, whilſt,

"Sævit atrox *Volſcens*, nec teli conſpicit uſquam
"Auctorem." "*Volſcens* ſtorm'd, nor found
"The daring author of the diſtant wound."

He never voted the calling in a phyſician, till his patient lay at the very laſt gaſp, drenched with his deadly potions beyond the ſalvation of medicine; and hence always drew the advantage of proclaiming, "that death and the phyſician generally came into a ſick room toge-"ther." His rule for viſiting, is not the leaſt curious part of his œconomy: whenever he was ſent for, his maxim was, to meaſure the delay of ſetting out, and the length of the viſit, "according to the "ſtrength and length of the patient's purſe." If he ſaw reaſon to expect a handſome gratuity, or a long bill, he uſed to ſcud upon the wings of the wind, and was at the patient's wriſt in a trice. He held, that "putting any interrogatories to ſick perſons, was only perplexing "their minds, already too much diſcompoſed with illneſs; and im-"peached the dignity of thoſe who are born doctors, and ſo compre-"hend every branch of the art, by natural intuition." Any enquiry therefore, into the paſt habits of living, diet, exerciſe, irregularities, and the general ſtate of health and conſtitution, "were utterly ſuper-"fluous to a man of true penetration." Apozem was ſatisfied to ſay no more, than "I'll ſend you ſomething directly;" and he never was known to break his promiſe; phials, boxes, and gallipots, followed by dozens, whilſt, repoſing in his elbow chair, he ſat down to enter *£. s. d.* His viſits were repeated three or four times *de die in diem*, more or leſs, according to the patient's rank and fortune. If his applications were unable to interrupt the laborious efforts of nature, and the diſeaſe began to loſe ground, it was very well; there was, however, no want of regular ſupplies, of pectorals, emenagogues, febrifuges, and vermifuges; paregories, and ſudorifics; laxatives, and alteratives; fomentations, and embrocations; draſtics, and epiſpaſtics, to be ſwallowed, or applied,

applied, every fifteen minutes, night and day; none of which, we may be ſure, were unnoticed in Mr. Apozem's manuſcript, commonly called a Journal.

To conclude my narrative; ſince the beſt precautions cannot at all times guard the moſt temperate and careful; ſince all fleſh is ſubject to pay the debt of nature, and even doctors themſelves are not exempted from the common lot of mortality; ſo it fell out, that Mr. Apozem was taken, by ſurprize, with a malignant diſtemper, which laid hold of him with ſo much violence, that he was very near calling out for help of the faculty, if he had not been reſtrained by a riveted opinion, that ſuch auxiliaries were like the Saxons and Normans, who (upon invitation) firſt drove out the inteſtine enemy, and then fell upon the inteſtines themſelves: conſigning himſelf therefore to deſpair, he ſoon fell a victim to his own drugs, which had inflicted the ſame fate on many a worthier man. Such were the life and opinions of Mr. Apozem, who might boaſt of having ſent more ſouls to the banks of Styx in one year, than the yellow fever ever did in ten.

The ſcience of phyſic, when taken out of the hands of ſuch poiſonmongers, is truly noble. We find the Saviour of mankind employed himſelf in this godlike office; his miracles were medicinal, he "went "about doing good," and his divine power was exerted in healing the ſick, reſtoring ſight to the blind, and vigour to the infirm. It certainly merits the greateſt encouragement in all inhabited countries, but more eſpecially in colonies and new ſettlements, where unuſual diſeaſes are obſerved. This exalted art, if duly cultivated, is capable of producing very important effects in ſuch places. If nothing more was to be expected from it, than the augmentation of commerce, this alone is a ſufficient motive for a trading people to give it the moſt honourable diſtinctions among them; ſince commerce ſtands ſo largely indebted to phyſic, and its ſiſter botany, not only for materials of import and export, but the abilities of men employed in collecting thoſe materials.

Nor muſt we paſs over the happy conſequence accruing to a new ſettlement, from having its endemial diſeaſes thoroughly underſtood, and the lives of the ſettlers preſerved or prolonged, by medical ſkill and ſagacity.

The number of hands in ſuch a place is generally ſo inconſiderable, that a ſudden mortality, and the loſs of a very few inhabitants, may nip the

the moſt hopeful project in the bud, and deter other adventurers from going to reſide in it; for, if once the character of any remote ſettlement is eſtabliſhed for unhealthineſs, it is always found a very difficult taſk, and a work of long time, to diſpel the popular prejudice, and convince mankind that ſuch a place is habitable. Beſides, it may happen, that the perſons firſt carried off by the attacks of ſickneſs in ſuch a country, for want of proper medical aſſiſtance, have been the chief promoters or undertakers of the ſettlement; they may be men of the moſt capacity and ability among the inhabitants; and, in ſuch caſe, the loſs is irreparable.

But, in a colony already formed and provided with a legiſlative power, it is the higheſt reproach, it is even an impiety, that a tribe of *Apozems* ſhould be tamely permitted to over-run and depopulate it, preying on the purſes and lives of innocent men, with an impudence, ignorance, and rapacity, that is unparalleled. If the woods were peſtered with tigers or rattle-ſnakes, like the foreſts on the American continent, with what terrors ſhould we not reflect on the deſtruction they might cauſe! with what zeal and ſolicitude would not the legiſlature promote rewards and encouragements to extirpate them! Yet, in ſome colonies, they have been known to ſuffer with impunity a much more lethiferous race of ſavage animals in human ſhape, who have ſtifled the emotions of humanity and conſcience, whilſt they poiſoned, and tortured to death, the bodies of their very friends and benefactors.

The dignity of the ſcience of healing (not of *murthering*) ought ſurely to be placed on the firmeſt baſis in ſuch a country; that, whilſt the inhabitants conſide their very exiſtence to the phyſician's care, he may be enabled, by proper regulations, to aſſure himſelf, that his patients will not be forced to ſwallow any other mixture than what he has preſcribed; and that the varying, or adulterating, his preſcription, will be puniſhed by the laws, in the ſevereſt and moſt exemplary manner; and ſurely, if we conſider a moment, that ſuch deceit is no leſs than a clandeſtine attempt againſt the life of one party, and the reputation of another, it muſt appear an offence of the moſt capital nature, and worthy of capital puniſhment.

As a foundation for this, we may recommend the plan, which that good man colonel Codrington found means to carry into execution, from the opulence of his fortune, and liberality of his ſentiments. He,

no

no doubt, had long deplored the calamitous circumſtances of Barbadoes, unprovided with a ſufficient ſtock of practitioners, regularly trained to the knowledge of phyſic. He was ſenſible, that a colony, ſurrounded with enemies, and liable to internal inſurrections of ſlaves, required a conſtant ſupply of white inhabitants; and that, if the proportion of thoſe annually imported did not counterbalance the number annually ſwept off by diſtempers, the colony muſt inevitably decline; for, it is the multitude of uſeful hands which conſtitutes the vigour and proſperity of every ſettlement; and the greater the mortality is, the greater, and heavier, muſt be the labour that falls upon the ſurvivors: if 500 men only are employed to garriſon a country, which, from its extent and circumſtances, requires 2000, the inſufficient body may harraſs themſelves to death, and yet be unable to maintain their ground againſt an enemy; ſo if, by judicious practice, only 500 lives *per annum* are retrieved, which, by erroneous practice, would have infallibly been loſt to the community, no man ſurely will deny the importance of ſuch an acquiſition to a Weſt India colony; the ſaving thoſe lives may introduce, perhaps, an increaſe of many hundred more to the ſtock by procreation; add to this, that the death of a principal planter, on whoſe well-being twenty white perſons are probably dependent for bread and employment, is equal to the loſs of twenty-one perſons; becauſe theſe diſcarded ſervants, who have attained to no fixed property, may remove to ſome other country in ſearch of a proviſion. Nor does the loſs entirely reſt here; if he was a virtuous man, ſuſtained a public employment with integrity, and diffuſed happineſs and utility from the greatneſs of his ſtation, his ability, and benevolent ſpirit, ſuch a chaſm becomes ſtill more extenſive, and difficult to be repaired. Colonel Codrington, who enjoyed the government of Barbadoes, deviſed by his will in 1710, two plantations in that iſland, and likewiſe a part of Barbuda, another of the Carribbee iſlands, in value about 2000*l. per annum*, or upwards, to the ſociety *de propagandâ fide*, for the purpoſes of inſtructing Negroes belonging to Barbadoes, and the other Carribbees, in the Chriſtian religion, and for erecting and endowing a *college* in Barbadoes, in which the liberal arts ſhould be taught, particularly *phyſic and ſurgery*. A college was accordingly erected there, the good effects of which may be traced, not only in the greater number of white inhabitants in proportion to the other Britiſh

iſlands,

iſlands, but in the ſuperior ſkill of the phyſicians reſiding in it; for, it has been in no ſmall degree owing to the practitioners of Barbadoes [s], that we have any tolerably ſcientific account of diſeaſes incident to the Weſt Indies, their treatment, and method of cure. We muſt not expect, perhaps, to ſee a tolerable performance on this ſubject, compoſed by a Jamaica phyſician, until the legiſlature, in commiſeration of the ſufferings, and loſs of inhabitants, ſhall take vigorous and effectual meaſures, for excluding all thoſe from commencing phyſicians, who do not bring with them authentic and ſufficient credentials, certifying their qualification for ſo arduous a buſineſs.

It is true, a diploma from Glaſgow does not always confer ſenſe, neither ſhould the want of that *venal honour* deprive any man of the eſteem and deference due to real merit. If a ſurgeon or apothecary has got the education and knowledge required in a phyſician, he is a phyſician to all intents and purpoſes, and ought to be reſpected accordingly [t]; but ſome line ſhould be drawn, in order to reſcue the practice out of the hands of low and illiterate perſons, who are a ſcandal to the profeſſion. The diſeaſes of the human body are ſo intimately combined, that it is impoſſible to underſtand ſome of them perfectly, and be entirely ignorant of the reſt; and equally impoſſible to underſtand any of them without a proper knowledge of *anatomy*, and the *animal œconomy*, both in its ſound and morbid ſtate. To excel in this profeſſion, requires a greater compaſs of knowledge than is neceſſary in any other art. A knowledge of the mathematics, at leaſt of the elementary parts of them, of natural hiſtory, and natural philoſophy, are eſſentially connected with it; as well as the ſciences of anatomy, botany, and chemiſtry, which are deemed its immediate branches. There are likewiſe ſome pieces of knowledge, which though not abſolutely neceſſary to the ſucceſsful practice of medicine, are yet ſuch ornamental acquiſitions, as no phyſician, who has had a regular education, is found without; ſuch is, an acquaintance with the Latin, Greek, and French languages; to which may be added, ſome knowledge of the world, of men, and manners [t]. All theſe qualifications we look for in a regular-bred phyſician; but when the three branches, of the preſcriber or phyſician, the ſurgeon, and the apothecary, all mix in one man,

[s] Viz. Towne, Warren, Bruce, Hillary, and others.

[t] Gregory's Lectures.

which is more generally the caſe in Jamaica, we may diſpenſe with many of theſe attainments, ſo requiſite in an accompliſhed phyſician, provided ſuch a practitioner is well acquainted with the ſciences of anatomy, botany, and chemiſtry; for, without a competent knowledge in theſe, he cannot underſtand properly the principles of any drug or medicine, nor in what manner to apply it to a diſeaſed body. The animal machine will be, in his hands, like a watch in the hands of an Indian; he will ſee it move without knowing the cauſe; and when it is diſordered, he may break it to pieces by his unſkilful attempts to rectify it. Perhaps, no ſcheme might be apter to eſtabliſh the practice on a proper footing in Jamaica, than the erection of a college, endowed with a library, lecturers on phyſiology, pathology, anatomy, botany, and the *materia medica*; with licenſed inſpectors of apothecaries ſhops and drugs. Teſtimonials of a regular apprenticeſhip ſhould be required from every apothecary, ſurgeon, or man-midwife, and an oath for the honeſt and conſcientious diſcharge of his reſpective function, before he could be admitted to open ſhop, or practiſe in the iſland.

From ſuch an inſtitution might be hoped the beſt effects, in reſpect to the health of the inhabitants, the triumph of ability and learning over impudent empiriciſm, and a large fund of information to guide future practitioners; here is the nobleſt field for botanical enquiries, and the readieſt helps to anatomical knowledge. In proceſs of time, the commerce of the iſland might expect to participate the advantages reſulting. The ſpices of the Eaſt, the bark tree of Peru, the balſam trees of Mexico, and many other valuable plants and productions, might be introduced under the auſpices of a learned ſociety, and propagated in this fertile ſoil.

Providence has accommodated every region with ſpecific remedies for its endemial diſtempers: but the medicinal virtues of the Jamaica plants are as yet but little known to any of its practitioners. It is attended with leſs trouble to find a medicine in the next drawer, or gallipot, than ramble into woods for it, or enter upon a laborious courſe of experiments. And, in truth, very few here underſtand any thing of botany, or chemiſtry. Yet as the American diſeaſes differ in many reſpects from thoſe of Europe, ſo they ſeem to require a different *materia medica*; and none can be ſo appropriated, as the native

productions

productions of the country to which thoſe diſeaſes are endemial. The practice of phyſic then, where neceſſarily deviating from the European (reſpect being had to the diſtinctions occaſioned by climate) would become eſtabliſhed upon more rational, and certain grounds; many lives would annually be ſaved, and the profeſſion, which is now diſgraced by illiterate dabblers, would reſide in hands, from whoſe ſkilfulneſs the inhabitants might expect more ſecurity to their life and welfare, whilſt the iſland, thus relieved from one principal cauſe of mortality, would ſee its people multiply, its trade and exports enlarge, its ſtrength and opulence augment. From the neceſſary connexion of cauſes with effects, it is reaſonable to think, that all theſe advantages would happen, in conſequence of a thorough *purgation* of abuſes from the practice of phyſic in this iſland.

A moderate ſhare of induſtry, with health, has laid the foundation of many a great fortune in Jamaica; this place is, therefore, juſtly an object of attention to thoſe, whoſe ſlender patrimony, or indigent circumſtances, render them unable to gain a competent proviſion in their native country. It is the aſylum of the diſtreſſed and unfortunate, where all may enjoy ſuſtenance, and where a beggar is unknown. They who arrive now have an advantage, unknown to our anceſtors, of coming to an eſtabliſhed ſociety, which, from the number of towns and ſettlements, has every accommodation and convenience that can be deſired. Here is ſtill ample room for many young beginners, ſince much of the beſt land has hitherto, by reaſon of its central ſituation, lain neglected and uncultivated. The daily improvements that are making in the roads will ſoon (with the public aid) render theſe lands of the middle diſtricts extremely valuable, and convenient for ſettlers; the chief difficulty which always attends new ſettlements, in hilly or woody countries, being the want of good carriage roads, affording an eaſy communication with towns and ſea-ports. It is a further inducement, that theſe diſtricts are as healthful as any part of Great Britain; which circumſtance ſeems fully evinced by the undiſtempered lives of thoſe perſons who have already reſided in them. The purity and mild cool temperature of their air, at all times of the year, are propitious to human health, whilſt the fruitfulneſs of the ſoil is inexhauſtible, and affords abundant ſupplies of food more than anſwerable to the labour beſtowed upon it. What may be further conducive

to population, muſt depend on wiſe laws and fit regulations, calculated for the protection of property, the encouragement of induſtry, the abolition of tyranny, the diſcountenancing of ſelfiſh monopolies, and the *conſervation* of *health*. Theſe demand aſſiſtance, from a legiſlature influenced by public ſpirit, a liberal judgement, and perfect knowledge of their country's beſt intereſt. Such a legiſlature need not to be informed, that the advantages of a thorough population and ſettlement are of ſuch vaſt importance to this iſland, as to be well worth their purchaſe, by every ſuitable proviſion and encouragement in their power to frame or beſtow. Convinced of this truth, the means are obvious.

APPENDIX

APPENDIX *to the* SECOND VOLUME.

JAMAICA is divided. p. 1.] My opinion in regard to the Indian origin of the name of this iſland, as hinted in the former volume, p. 353. is ſtrengthened by the account we have from Peter Martyr, in his Decades; who ſays, that it was called Jamaica by the Indian inhabitants when the Spaniards firſt diſcovered it.

Indian natives, who fell victims to the barbarity of their Spaniſh conquerors, p. 153.] Peter Martyr mentions, that it was exceedingly populous; and the Indian natives far more lively, acute, and ingenious, than any the Spaniards had met with in the other iſlands.

Known by the name of Curtin's ſpring, p. 138.] This water, I am informed, has been examined, with ſtill greater accuracy, by Dr. Turner; but I have not been fortunate enough to meet with his ingenious remarks upon it.

P. 207. To the account of Weſtmoreland pariſh I am enabled to add the following particulars:

Its metropolis was formerly Queen's Town (now Croſs-Path), which contained a church and many inhabitants. But, in the year 1729, ſhipping began to reſort to the harbour of Savannah la Mar; and, in the following year, the parochial meetings were removed thither, and houſes began to be built. Theſe changes brought on a ſpeedy declenſion of the old town. The ſtructure of the fort was firſt begun in 1733; and it was judiciouſly ſituated for commanding the ſeveral channels leading into the harbour; but the town, inſtead of the low, ſwampy ſoil on which it now ſtands, might have been placed, with far greater advantage, about a mile more to the Eaſtward, on an elevated, dry ſpot, through which a rill of good water conſtantly runs. This ſcite would likewiſe have been more commodious for carrying on mercantile buſineſs; not only becauſe there is a greater depth of water near the ſhore, but that ſmall veſſels may paſs to and fro with any wind. The inhabitants of Savannah la Mar lie under the further inconvenience of being obliged to fetch their water, for domeſtic uſes, from a great

diſtance acroſs the bay; except immediately after the rainy ſeaſons, when, by the flooding of ſome gullies, they gain a temporary ſupply in their neighbourhood. The ſum of thirteen hundred pounds has been lately expended on repairs to the fort, which the pariſhioners intend to furniſh with cannon.

The town contains near one hundred houſes: Beckford-town conſiſts of about thirty; and the remainder of the ſavannah has about as many more. The number of veſſels loaded here, at an average of the laſt four years, amounts to about eighty *per annum* (not including coaſters, or droguers); and their burthen has been computed at eleven thouſand five hundred and eighty-five tons; which calculation allows about one hundred and forty-five tons to each veſſel. Hence ſome opinion may be formed of the conſequence and value of the trade carried on at this port. And, that an eſtimate may likewiſe be made of the improved ſtate of the plantations in this pariſh, the following may ſuffice.

Anno.	Negroes.	Hhds. of Sugar.	Number of Sugar Eſtates.
1770,	17237	7915	72

which the reader may compare with the ſtate I have before given of it for the year 1768.

Manning's free-ſchool maintains only ſix or ſeven boys. This is attributed to ſome inattention in the truſtees; for it is aſſerted, that the fund is improveable, and very capable, if judiciouſly managed, of ſupporting many more. I know not what truth there may be in this charge; but, if it is fairly adduced againſt the truſtees, there is evidently ſome defect in the law which was paſſed for regulating this foundation.

Mineral Waters.

The chalybeate ſpring at Ricketts Savannah has been already found of ſingular benefit in obſtructions, and other diſorders accompanying a lax fibre. It appears to contain volatile-vitriolic-acid, ſelenitic-earth, and a portion of fixible air. This ſpring, if it was properly attended to, and guarded from the acceſs of rain and other mixtures, might prove highly ſerviceable to the inhabitants. There is alſo a hot-ſpring lately diſcovered in the mountains lying between this pariſh and Hanover; in all probability it is ſulphureous, and has affinity in its principles and operation to the hot bath of St. Thomas

St. Thomas in the East. As yet it has not undergone any analyſis: But there is every reaſon to believe, that it will prove, upon experiment, not to differ much from the Eaſtern medicinal ſtream; and, in this event, that it will be of the utmoſt utility to the pariſhioners, and indeed deſerving of every public and private encouragement in order that its ſalutary effects may be rendered more acceſſible and diffuſive.

The other articles proportionably, p. 229.] Dr. Campbell, in his Political Survey of Great-Britain, &c. vol. II. p. 666, has favoured us with a liſt of the exports from this iſland in the year 1770, with their value. The latter, however, is rated arbitrarily; which muſt always be the caſe in ſuch calculations, though probably not varying much from the truth. If the rates ſhould be judged too high, it will be at the ſame time conſidered, that the articles of

Indigo,
Tortoiſeſhell,
Zebra-wood,
Lignum-vitæ,
Braſiletto,
Fuſtic,
Logwood, and ſome few others, beſides
Bullion,

are not enumerated, though a large allowance is due to them.

Exported from Jamaica, *A. D.* 1770.

		£. Sterling.
2249	bales of cotton, at 10*l. per* bale,	22,490
1873	cwt. of coffee, at 3*s.* 5*d. per* cwt.	6,068
2753	bags of ginger, at 2*l.* 5*s. per* bag,	6,194
2211	hides, at 7*s. per* hide,	774
15,796	hhds. of rum, for Great-Britain, at 10*s. per* hogſhead,	157,960
679	ditto Ireland, at 10*s. per* hogſhead,	6,790
16,475		
15,675 pieces, 8,500 feet,	Mahogany,	50,000
2,089,734	lb. wt. of pimento, at 6*d. per* lb.	52,243
		61,970

61,970 hhds. of ſugar, at 17*l.* 10*s. per* hhd.		1,086,620
205 bags of ſarſaparilla, at 10*l. per* bag,		2,250
Total exports to Great-Britain and Ireland,		1,391,408
Ditto to North-America,		146,322
Ditto to other parts,		1,000
		£ 1,538,730
In 1763, the exports to Great-Britain and Ireland were rated at		£ 1,076,155
The advance therefore in ſeven years, *i. e.* to 1770, is —		£ 315,253

In the above detail, the export to North-America is certainly put a great deal too large; and the export to other parts, as diſproportionably too ſmall; the reaſon for which is very obvious: and, beſides, it is probable, that many veſſels, which were deſtined to other parts, took out clearances for North-America. I ſhall add to the foregoing the eſtimated value of exports in the ſame year (1770) from the other Britiſh ſugar-iſlands, and ſtate their aggregate in compariſon with that of Jamaica, omitting fractions, as in the former example.

	£
Grenades,	506,709
Antigua,	465,990
Barbadoes,	436,013
St. Kitt's,	427,454
St. Vincent,	110,501
Montſerrat,	102,540
Tortola,	71,828
Dominica,	62,856
Nevis,	57,982
Anguilla,	5,857
Total from the Windward Iſles,	2,243,730
Total from Jamaica,	1,538,730
Grand total,	3,782,460

THE END OF VOL. II.

CORRIGENDA.

VOL. II.

Page.	Line.	
26	23	r. which *prevent*.
31	(penult.)	r. *acacia*.
33	13	del. *and* (before) "the Conflux."
39	20	r. and *faſtneſſes* of.
45	15	r. were *even* known.
49	1	r. or *Echinite*.
50	25	r. *Montano*.
15	22	r. *Cudjoe*.
61	19	r. *have* encouraged.
63	17	r. quite dry, *although* at.
65	18	r. *Indian*.
69	28	r. *in width*.
Id.	(4th from the bottom)	r. the channels dangerous to.
75	29	r. *is* extremely.
80	1	after *St. Anne*, place a *comma*.
87	2	r. *detainer*.
107	11	after *dry*, place a *comma*.
115	33	r. exhalation.
118	21	del. *Men*.
138	5	place a *comma* (after) *acid*.
149	7	r. 30,900 lb. wt.
197	7	r. *Commiſſions*.
202	26	r. *ſurely* opulent enough.
223	9	r. *cultivable*.
226	18	r. *Morſe's*.
227	15	r. *Burthen*, fifty thouſand.
233	(penult.)	r. tranſmiſſion *of*.
236	35	r. ſuppoſed *in this caſe*.
238	24	place a *comma* (after) *Governor*.
250	10	r. *are* barely.
261	21	r. *an el Ayre*.
294	7	(Note) r. after ſeven years, *and* 10 *s. on every Patent of Naturalization*.
298	31	r. for *Inſtance*.
299	3	r. *to* make.
305	22	r. *may* be.
319	(Note, 3d from the bottom)	r. or *Broth*.
323	11	del. *to* (after) *than*.
325	5	r. *could* be.
328	5	place a full ſtop (after) *Miſtreſs*.
339	5	r. *had* taken.
343	34	del. *were*.
353	7	place a *comma* (after) *been*.
360	10	r. *Loango*.
403	21	r. and *Lava*.
407	25	r. the Trace.
414	17	r. in *as many* different.
458	19	(after) *Stipulation* place the † reference to the *Note*.
465	29	r. perſons *thither*.
468	3	r. *making* at.
470	19	r. *thoſe that* lay.
473	27	r. *horrid* rite.
475	5th of Chap. IV.	r. to the *opinion of my readers*.
484	5th from the bottom,	r. *through* an exact.
Id.	3d Id.	r. reaſoning *then*.
494	(4th Note)	r. *Impriſonment*.
499	25	r. *Glebæ*.
502	18	r. 30 *l. nett*.
527	(8th Note)	r. from *it*.
542	26	r. *they* muſt.
562	1	r. *a* vice.
Id.	29	r. *produced* a wonderful.
569	21	r. *they* cannot.
574	14	r. *no* liquor.
Id.	20	*et ſequent*. r. *Liguanea*.
576	29	r. it *ſhould ſeem*.
577	13	r. *Alum*.
589	21	r. perſons, *only perplexed*.
593	5	r. ſee *any equal* performance.
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